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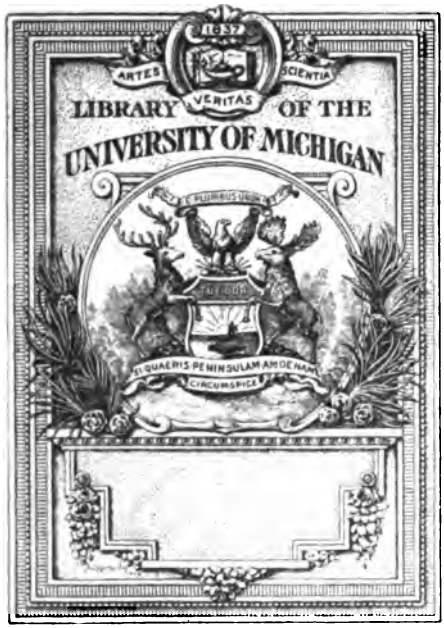
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The Edinburgh Review

or Critical Journal

JULY, 1913 —————— OCTOBER, 1913

To be continued Quarterly

Edited by HAROLD COX

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The Edinburgh Review

JULY, 1913 No. 445

EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE OF ENGLAND

1. **Studies in Foreign Education.** By CLOUDESLEY BRERETON. George G. Harrap and Co. 1913.
2. **Vives: on Education.** By FOSTER WATSON. Cambridge: University Press. 1913.
3. **Herbert Baring Garrod: Essays and Memoir.** Macmillan and Co. 1913.
4. **The School Journey Record, 1912.** School Journey Association. 1913.
5. **Government of India: Department of Education.** (No. 301—C.D.) 1913.
6. **Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on partial exemption from School Attendance.** (Cd. 4791, 4887.) 1909.
7. **Report of the Consultative Committee on Attendance, compulsory or otherwise, at Continuation Schools.** (Cd. 4757–8.) 1909.
8. **Continuation Schools in England and elsewhere.** Edited by M. E. SADLER. Manchester University Press. 1907.
9. **Some Thoughts concerning Education.** By JOHN LOCKE. 4th ed. enlarged. 1699.

A NOTABLE wave of educational energy is passing through England at the present time. Never before has one phase of social duty been the subject of such widespread attention. The ranks of the teaching profession, an immense

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army, of whom three-quarters are women, have become class-conscious and may in time fulfil the fear of Mr. Robert Lowe by affecting the course of politics. The lawyer, the architect, and the doctor, as well as the divine, are now busily at work on educational problems. The psychologist, the social economist, the eugenist, have turned their refreshing labours to the field of youth. The specialist, hand in hand with the publisher, is opening new avenues of inquiry to the eyes of the child. And, most significant of all, historians, such as Professor Foster Watson, are studying in meticulous detail the history of pedagogy, the history of method, of manners, of educational administration, of schools, and of school books. This painful study of the history of education is significant indeed, for it means that the methods of Hegel and Darwin are at last to be turned upon the problem that is the most important among human interests—the problem of (to use the phrase of a seventeenth-century writer) 'making 'a man.' After a century of activity unexampled in the history of the world, of activity devoted in a singularly peaceful period to the acquisition of both material wealth and enormous territorial possessions, we have realised that the Midas-touch has worked the unmaking of many millions of men and women. The business of education is the making of men; England at this time is making wealth rather than men. For three-quarters of a century our educational system has been at work and it has never succeeded in overtaking the social problem. If some traveller from a happier planet desires to read the record of our educational efforts he has but to look down on the faces of two million children with their school life behind them, waiting for the call of life, untrained, unfit, unhappy. It is no matter for wonder that an impulse of educational energy is running through the nation, that workers are looking across our unique educational past in search of some inspiration for the future.

The history of English education is no mean story. The records go back even into the centuries of the Roman occupation. From the days of Alfred and the Saxon and Danish period we inherit a tradition of mind-work and hand-work moving together. Soon after the Conquest we see the gradual creation of schools for more advanced thinking, and of machinery for more advanced technical work, deliberately intended

to supplement an established network of parochial elementary schools. Early in the thirteenth century we find two great universities crowning a national educational system—a system adapted, no doubt, to meet the needs of a comparatively restricted population, a system hampered in many ways, but one that kept alive the tradition of the Roman Imperial schools and that set store on thought and scholarship, on art and handicraft, in days when cathedrals rose and great works were written amid the threat of famine, plague, and sword. The culture and the industry of those rude, but tutored, times are a perpetual reminder of what a nation can do even in circumstances of social unrest and economic instability. Despite the dark days of the late fifteenth century, despite the revolutionary effects of the Reformation, the Renaissance did not forget England, and the Elizabethan age saw the germination of the seed that magicians of the Middle Ages, such as Roger Bacon and Geoffrey Chaucer, had sown.

In certain senses the Elizabethan age was the golden age of English education. No doubt in detail any particular point or aspect of education in that age has been exceeded in our own. The heirs of all the ages, we have greater scholars, riper teachers, possibly better books; but taken as a whole, as a national concern affecting every filament and nerve and brain-cell of the body politic, the Elizabethan age was unique, almost incomparable. That age had, though of course on a vastly smaller scale, the very problems to solve that face us to-day, and it solved them. Few students realise the extent to which university and technical as well as school education permeated the nation. Idleness was of no account in those days. The sturdy beggar had short shrift. The State professed to transform, not to manufacture him. The Elizabethans had, as we have, a stern problem with which to deal. The Wars of the Roses, the economic changes in land-holding, the break-up of both the feudal and the monastic systems, had left many poor uncared for, many families ruined. As early as 1535 it was provided that beggar children over five years and under thirteen years of age were to be given over to masters of husbandry or other crafts 'to be taught . . . 'by which they shall get their livings when they be come to 'age.' The forethought of this provision puts our own time to shame. It was supplemented by the Statute of Apprentices

of 1562, which, however, exempted from compulsory work 'a student or scholar in any of the universities, or in any 'schools.'

The educational progress during the half-century that followed was in its nature almost miraculous. The schools and universities were relieved of all the burdens of taxation. The curricula of and attendances at the schools were closely supervised by the diocesan authorities. The parochial schools were deliberately worked as feeders of the grammar schools and the universities. The endowment of new elementary schools and grammar schools progressed with wonderful rapidity. Local authorities began to stir in educational matters and even sent promising scholars to the universities. The legislature devoted itself with special care to securing the efficiency of intermediate and university education. Everything was done that could be done to knit up the grades of education, to purify the administration of educational trusts, to secure good teaching. And beside these schools stood trade schools, and the entirely admirable system of apprenticeship by which the child was grafted into his master's home and sent out into the world a trained man.

Throughout the Elizabethan age education in all its grades and, best of all perhaps, the technical education of the poor had an importance in the public mind that it has never had since. Then it interested both the parent and the State. This was, indeed, the most significant manifestation of the Renaissance spirit. There was a clamour for equal educational opportunities and for the best teaching. The passion for education filled up the Universities to a level scarcely since surpassed. In 1612 there were at Oxford 2920 students. If we assume that the population of England at the opening of the seventeenth century was 5,000,000, that the two hundred or more really efficient grammar schools, as supplemented by private schools and tutors, educated 20,000 boys, and that the universities contained 5000 students, it would follow that one in every 500 of the whole male population was at a university, that one per cent. of the male population of school age (which could not exceed 500,000) and one quarter of the boys in the grammar schools passed to a university. It may well be that more than 20,000 attended the grammar schools—there were, of course, more than 200 grammar schools

—and if so the educational system was more efficient than has been supposed. Such percentages are unknown to-day. We are only now rediscovering the fact that a university is the combined heart and brain of an educational system, regulating the flow of life and the flow of thought. For a Government Department or the Committee of a Local Authority to undertake such work is contrary to national interest, and the practice tends to throw all education into the hands of one or two bureaucrats who are not necessarily interested in either education or culture. Only the dire necessities of a period when university life was practically dead could have committed a nation to such a course. The future must restore the universities to their natural position, with such safeguards for the administration and expenditure of public money as democratic institutions make necessary.

The history of education in England from the breakdown of the Elizabethan system in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century to the present time is a sad, though latterly a heroic, story. With the Restoration the modern problem began to take shape. The parochial schools and grammar schools broke down under the combined stress of new economic conditions, of religious uniformity legislation, of lack of seriousness in public life. The educational need was recognised by earnest sections of churchmen and nonconformists, but so strong were the forces of disintegration that one of the most important school endowment movements England has known, lasting from 1660 to 1730, failed in any way to meet the new needs. Schools without the spirit of education are useless, and the innumerable charity schools that sprang up to deal with the extraordinary multiplication of children for whom no education was available, soon proved the truth of this law. A blight fell alike on the universities and the grammar schools in the very period when the need for an organised system of education capable of providing trained teachers was supremely urgent.

It is needless here to recall the story of the rapid aggregation of population in certain districts towards the end of the eighteenth century as the result of the invention of machinery adapted to localised trades and manufactures. The parochial system collapsed under the pressure of these conditions, and years passed before any attempt, with one exception, was

made to meet what seemed like a temporary emergency, but which was in reality the first manifestation of the educational problems by which we are faced to-day. Cheap labour was needed, and it was available in the shape of children of the age of six or seven years and upwards. The children of the manufacturing districts, reared in heathendom and in slavery, were deliberately dwarfed in body, mind, and spirit. Pauper children under nine years were, until 1819, compulsorily apprenticed under the perverted Act of Elizabeth. Parish apprentices were often sent by contract from London to the Lancashire cotton mills 'in carts like so many negro slaves.' Until 1878 children of the age of nine could be employed in the silk mills. Long after the middle of the nineteenth century the conditions of employment for child labourers were still intolerable.

Nor was it only in the North that children suffered, and education was unknown. The condition of London in 1785 was a scandal to civilisation. Every educational effort seemed to have failed. In this year the Sunday School Society attacked London. It was the opening of the new campaign. The conscience of the nation was in revolt. By 1834 this voluntary effort had produced Sunday schools with 1,500,000 pupils and 160,000 teachers. In Manchester the Sunday schools were thrown open on two week-day evenings for secular instruction, and the ages of the scholars varied from five to twenty-five years. The workers hungered for new life. Post-haste on the heels of the Sunday schools came the monitorial schools, the schools of Mr. Lancaster and Dr. Bell, known later as the schools of the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society. The business of these societies was to overtake the educational deficit, and the effort was an heroic one. A century has left the Herculean task still unaccomplished. This is not the time, though it might well be the place, to re-tell the story of the internecine struggle between the two societies, but that struggle awakened the torpid legislature of England. A Parliamentary contest followed, and after thirty years of abortive efforts the first Parliamentary grant was made on the 17th of August 1833. It is true that the Factory Act of 1802 (which incidentally revealed the condition of the mill children by providing that male and female apprentices should sleep in separate rooms)

had long before imposed a measure of compulsory education on the children. To this Act, which never became operative, some reference will be made directly, since it has an important bearing on our present position.

It is not proposed here to retrace the long and really wonderful story of the voluntary schools between 1833 and 1870. Despite rapid increase of grants, ever-increasing parliamentary interest, and the creation of an Education Department supplemented by a Department of Science and Art, it was found that the growth of population and of educational needs outstript, with ironic ease, all efforts, all enthusiasm. The year 1869 found us with a million of children between the ages of six and ten, and half a million between the ages of ten and twelve, not even on the school registers, while of the million and a half on those registers less than 400,000 exceeded ten years of age. The position was intolerable, and compulsory education was introduced by the Acts of 1870 and 1876. The introduction of school boards and undenominational schools had one remarkable effect. It gave a vast impetus to voluntary effort, and despite the competition of schools entirely supported by rates and taxes, the voluntary system maintained, and maintains, a position of enormous importance in national education. Not even the abolition of fees in 1891 could destroy the voluntary schools, and the relief afforded them in 1902 has preserved in full vigour one of the most important aspects of English National Education.

The new vigour of elementary education was supplemented by the awakening of secondary education. The Endowed Schools Act, 1869, aroused from their long sleep the Elizabethan and later schools, and in thirty years these foundations were in full usefulness once more and at last provided for girls as well as boys.

The year 1899 found education faced by a new difficulty. The greater school boards, realising with a sound instinct the absolute need of higher education for the masses of the people, had developed in their schools a well-meaning but unreal system of education that competed with the revived secondary schools. It was not a good system, it was what Sir Joshua Fitch called a '*cul-de-sac*' system, and being free it competed on unfair terms with the endowed schools, and threatened to destroy secondary education altogether and supplant it by a

smattering of general knowledge. The evil was obvious, and the Courts in the *Cockerton Case* declared that it was illegal for an elementary school to give higher education. The Board of Education Act, 1899, created the present Board, with power over secondary as well as elementary education, and the Education Act, 1902, substituted 328 local education authorities for the 3500 school boards and nearly 800 school attendance committees. These new authorities are authorities for higher as well as elementary education, and the Acts make it possible not only for the teachers to receive the highest training, but for the universities to inspire and set the ever-rising standard of all education. Thus the danger to secondary education was averted while educational administration was brought into union with the local government system once more and machinery was on the ground capable at last apparently of overtaking the educational arrears that for more than two centuries had afflicted the nation.

But the authors of the Act of 1902 had overlooked various considerations: how were the elementary and secondary schools to be brought into effective connexion; on what grounds were children to be passed from one class of school to the other class; and what provision was to be made for the children who were so unfortunate as not to secure transfer? After eleven years the system has not secured the desired results. The machinery of scholarships and bursaries has failed. Competent authorities declare that there ought to be 270,000 children in the secondary schools: there are only 151,000. There ought to be nearly 200,000 transfers: there are in fact less than 50,000; while the continuation education supplied in evening schools has proved not only ineffective but harmful.

When we come to regard a national system of education from outside, it is important to consider first the minimum results that it must aim at, and, secondly, the maximum achievement which must be its ideal. Perhaps the failure of English education has been due to the fact that while it has toyed with the desire for an ideal, it has grievously neglected the essential minimum. What is that minimum? Surely it is that the girls should become fit for motherhood and mentally and technically fit for managing a household; that the boys should become fit for fatherhood and mentally and technically fit to earn a living wage in some department of labour.

Now if one thing is more certain than another it is that an educational system which casts the child adrift at the age of twelve, thirteen, or fourteen years cannot give this minimum. The educational system that ends with the end of school classes has not justified its existence. That existence will not be justified till the minimum outfit for life is made the birthright of every child that enters the schools. Somehow or another the period from fourteen to seventeen in the case of every child must receive the most watchful care; for these are the all-important years, and the growth of body and mind in these years has a significance in national life that it would be impossible to over-rate. Schools to the age of seventeen no one need ask for; but secondary education in the true sense must be continued to that age. It may be given in association with the workshop, domestic service, the factory, the farm, apprenticeship shops, and numerous open-air industries and forms of employment; but given it must be if the minimum outfit for life—and secondary education is the process that gives an outfit for life—is to be secured.

The amazing ignorance of those who talk and write of the economic difficulties of such a system of national education chills the heart. The gain, the mere monetary gain, apart from the moral and spiritual gain involved in the individualisation of the individual, would be enormous. Unskilled child-labour robs posterity of its entailed estates and fixes for ever the dull uniformity of hopelessness that our present educational system has done so little to dispel—the dull uniformity of uncorrelated, imperfect knowledge that it has done so much to create. The child enters the school an individual and comes out a unit. He has no secondary education to bring forth and develop his individuality. Mechanical and unskilled labour for ever ends the long, long thoughts of youth.

Some figures will shadow forth the present position. Unfortunately the census results for 1911 are not yet available, but there is reason to believe that the figures for the previous decade are still substantially correct. The census of 1901 shows us in regular employment 138,130 boys, and 70,262 girls between the ages of ten and fourteen years, or rather more than one-tenth of all the boys, and one-twentieth of all the girls of those ages. The Consultative Committee on Attendance, compulsory or otherwise, at continuation schools in 1909

estimated that at that date there were 211,164 children between twelve and fourteen years totally exempted from day-school attendance. The numbers in regular employment in the country under the age of twelve years probably do not exceed to-day 5000, so that we seem to have a fixed standing army of 200,000 child labourers of ages varying from twelve to fourteen years. These children have left school early because of their somewhat exceptional abilities. The Consultative Committee report that of these 171,000 'are not 'attending any form of week-day classes.' But these figures are the mere fringe of the problem. In 1899 a House of Commons Paper (205) showed that at least 147,000 children of the age of five years and upwards in full attendance were also earning wages in regular employment, and of these 40,000 were employed for over twenty hours a week and at least 3000 for over forty hours. A large percentage of such children (all under fourteen) are too fatigued to obtain any proper benefit from school life. We have to add these to the 200,000 total-exemption children. To these again we have had to add probably not fewer than 100,000 half-time children. The number was rising in 1907–8 and was then 84,298. It is probably not far wrong to say that there are now half a million of children between the ages of twelve and fourteen years who are either receiving no education or an education that is practically worthless. Even if these children were receiving technical training of value out of school they are too young to benefit by it, but in fact almost without exception they are doing *cul-de-sac* work, a complete and perfect preparation for unemployableness at the age of eighteen, and in the case of the girls a complete and perfect preparation for a disastrous married life. At the very age when respectable middle-class parents are watching with special care the physical and moral development of their children, these children are cut off from the necessary minimum outfit for life.

But still we have hardly passed the fringe of the problem. The Consultative Committee in 1909 estimated 'that there are 'rather over 2,000,000 boys and girls in England and Wales 'between fourteen and seventeen, and that 75 per cent. of them 'are receiving, on week-days at any rate, no school educa-'tion.' Moreover, those who receive continuation education

are not those who need it most. Altogether, therefore, there are some 2,000,000 children between the ages of twelve and seventeen to whom a national system of education has no meaning. It is indeed an expensive system, for under its upas shadow a generation is existing whose physical, mental, and moral inefficiency threatens not only our industrial life but the very sources of national strength.

The Consultative Committee declared 'that at the most 'critical period in their lives a very large majority of the boys 'and girls in England and Wales are left without any sufficient 'guidance and care. This neglect results in great waste of 'early promise, in injury to character, in the lessening of in-'dustrial efficiency, and in the lowering of ideals of personal 'and civic duty.' The Poor Law reports of 1909 show how rapidly and how disastrously our imperfect system of education is affecting national life. Miss O. J. Dunlop and Mr. R. D. Denman in their very able essay on 'Juvenile Labour of 'To-day'* quote the statement in the Minority Report that 'the registers of Distress Committees all over the country 'not only reveal the startling fact that something like 15 per 'cent. of the men in distress are under thirty-five, and that 'nearly one-third of the whole are under thirty, but also that 'an alarmingly large proportion of these young men are 'already "chronic cases"—in fact are unemployables.' Under the present system, if system it can be called, it is inevitable that many thousands of youths of seventeen or eighteen years are annually cast upon the market for unskilled labour, untrained in body and mind, stamped with the dull uniformity of inefficiency. It is hard after a century and a half of progress to echo Rousseau's cry: 'Man is born free 'and everywhere he is in chains.'

Cheap labour is an expensive thing. Those hungry half-million of children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen who are on sale for a mess of pottage, year in year out, in the labour markets of England are not only losing their souls as well as their bodies, but are instruments of national destruction. Very many of the local education authorities have no heart for better things. They too often leave the Employment of Children Act unenforced. They appear

* English Apprenticeship and Child Labour (1912).

to be afraid that a longer period of education will dislocate local industry, will throw parents, who now live on their young children, upon the rates, will give advantages to less public-spirited neighbours. The reluctance of local education authorities to use permissive powers seems to show, as the above-named writers say, 'the natural lines upon which reform should 'progress. If effective action is desired the State will in-'creasingly have to lay down definite obligations and at the 'same time bear a larger proportion of the financial burden 'these obligations impose.' It is impossible to tolerate any longer a heterogeneity of policy when national life is at stake.

But before we turn to the question of reform it is necessary to consider the second question referred to at the beginning of this paper—the maximum purpose which must be the ideal of a great system of education. In education idealism counts for much, and perhaps the greatest hope for to-morrow is the idealism that exists to-day among a multitude of educational thinkers. It will be of use to examine these ideals.

So many educational principles are such obvious truisms that it is only because they are universally disregarded by the masses of the population in the interests of cheapness and payment by results that we venture to restate them. Our present discontent can largely be traced to the vulgar error that there are two classes of children in the country predestined to receive, the one a secondary education, the other an elementary education; although in fact the type of education they receive depends less on personality than on the caprices of fortune and of the local education authority. This error has given rise to the wholly wrong notion of the educational ladder; it is responsible for the existence of higher elementary schools—the cheap substitute for secondary education which every educationalist has condemned for years, and which the Government now proposes to revive; it has created two different grades of teachers between whom a great and purely artificial gulf has been fixed; it has emphasised unreal class distinctions in the very period of history when such distinctions are giving place to a nobler conception of the relations of the various sections of society. If there are such things as educational principles, if there is a psychology of education that is of any practical value, if educational theory has any meaning at all in the upbringing

of youth, then these things are of universal application, and the withholding of them from any section of childhood is economic waste: the children are the chief potential asset of the nation and the nation dare not risk the loss involved in the degradation and de-individualisation of any one of them. Moreover, the need for what may for the moment be called intensive education—and by that is not meant intensive teaching of book-learning—becomes greater the closer we come to the poorest sections of society. To those who murmur about the expense, the reply is swift enough. It is the 'slum' mind that is so costly. Social reform, with all its elaborate machinery, must be both increasingly costly and largely ineffectual while it is struggling against the *vis inertiae* of a pariah class. The 'slum' cannot be eliminated till the 'slum' mind is eliminated, and to this end the utmost resources of educational theory and educational practice must be strained before it is too late. The problem is not merely a question of the minimum outfit for life, but of an idealism which realises that a saviour of society may be a slum-dweller and must himself be saved for the highest work.

The elementary school then at once takes on a new importance, not as the pittance of education grudgingly thrown by the ratepayer and the State to the poor child, to be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment, but as a preparatory school in which the individuality of each child is drawn out as the sun draws out the flower from the plant. It is wonderful what is done in this way already. Despite all difficulties, all disadvantages; despite very large classes, endless waste of time with the filling up and answering of unnecessary official papers; despite the disappointments involved in dealing with ill-nurtured, ill-nourished, ill-clothed, ill-booted little ones, those who have the education of the infants and quite young children achieve almost amazing results. In so far as the elementary schools are even now preparatory schools, the devoted teachers in the poorest districts produce results that are among the happiest aspects of English education. Were these teachers less tormented by officials and by the inspectors of the Board and the Councils with their conflicting standards; were their classes reduced to reasonable proportions (the small country voluntary schools are ideal

in this respect) ; were the children introduced to school life at seven (following the best continental precedents) instead of five, we should have an almost perfect basis for a great system of education. The teachers as time goes on, and they themselves have had the advantage of a true secondary education followed by a training in which educational theory and psychology play a leading part, will become more technically fit for their work ; but the tenderness and love which are showered on the infant and lower classes will never be exceeded. These teachers indeed fulfil John Locke's first principle of education. It is tenderness that unfolds personality. The mothers, moreover, are led to take an interest in school life, and perhaps one of the most potent effects of preparatory education at present is the reactive influence that it has upon parents. More and more the parents of the industrial classes are entering into the school life, and this must tend towards some restoration of that sense of responsibility which was so sadly sapped by the introduction of free education. It may become possible as time goes on to deepen that sense of responsibility. If the beginning of compulsory school life is raised to the age of seven, parents will be willing to pay for earlier attendance, while throughout school life contributions may be, indeed are already, often asked towards supplemental but invaluable work, such as school journeys. Preparatory education is necessarily an organic link between the home and the school, and that is a matter of the greatest importance in an educational system if it is not to be merely a mechanical State device.

But the uses of the elementary school as a preparatory school practically end when the child is ten. From ten to fourteen the scholar only receives a substitute for a secondary education.

It is important to consider here the fundamental distinction between primary and secondary education. There is a popular notion that secondary education is a species of advanced book-learning, to a large extent associated with the Greek and Latin classics, reserved by the necessity of things for the children of parents possessing some certainty of income, though by means of scholarships it can be extended to the more intellectual among the children of the poor. Such a conception is responsible for a system of education that deliberately seeks

to deprive the industrial classes of their thinking power by transferring the thinkers to another class, and is likewise responsible for the inferior higher elementary education offered before 1899 as a substitute for a secondary education, and apparently now again to be offered to them. It has long been responsible for the exclusion of a vast class of devoted teachers from the advantages of a secondary and university training. This conception of secondary education is a base half-truth. The distinction between primary and secondary education is a distinction that is inherent in human personality and its growth. The function of primary teaching is preparatory; its object is to familiarise the infant and child mind with facts, and with symbols (such as reading and writing) necessary for the acquisition and appreciation of facts. The function of secondary teaching is to produce mental development; its business is to teach the child to reason about facts, to deduce inferences from the association of facts, to acquire special knowledge in functional relation to all knowledge. In a word, the work of secondary education is to teach a child how to realise his or her personality in its relation to the world. It is the object of a national system of education to provide teaching of this sort for every child in the country. In so far as it fails to do so the system fails. At the present moment it fails to the extent of two million working children who are destroying the economic balance of industry. Behind these myriads are more than four million children pressing towards the same disastrous goal.

The only solution is secondary teaching for all, beginning at the completion of the tenth year. The difficulty that stands in the way is the supply of teachers. The elementary school teachers, while incomparable for their work in the lower-school classes, are admittedly not trained to give secondary education in the higher classes. The fault is not theirs, but that of a system that has deliberately trained a vast army of teachers not to give secondary teaching, while it has allowed the secondary schools to be supplied with teachers not trained at all. But this difficulty will rapidly disappear. The secondary training of all teachers is at last well recognised as a condition precedent to the establishment of any effective system, and it cannot be long before the secondary teaching of all children—the teaching how to think—will be as obvious a necessity.

At present we have the almost ludicrous position that, while the children in the secondary schools between the ages of ten and fourteen are given (despite untrained teachers) true secondary education, the children in the elementary schools between the same ages are given another and an entirely inferior and unproductive class of education. On grounds of educational theory this is, as we have seen, an indefensible position, while in practice the existence of two million untrained children at work, and on the road to become unemployable, shows that it is a disastrous position.

What then are the possibilities of reform? Lugubrious as the actual position is and threatening as are some of the clouds on the horizon—clouds such as the inconceivable proposal to repeal by statute the decision in the *Cockerton Case* in the interests of a few rural schools; or, the scarcely less disastrous suggestion that the pupil-teachership system, long since condemned root and branch by the Board of Education, should be revived; or, the attitude of so many local authorities towards child labour; or, the fear lest the Government should be lured from educational reform by attempting to deal once more with the real but apparently not very urgent Nonconformist grievances as to religious teaching—despite these clouds the outlook is not without promise. Thanks to the lifelong efforts of men like the late Mr. H. B. Garrod, the teaching profession has at last secured the status of a learned profession, and the Council for the Registration of Teachers is proving that there is no unbridgeable gulf between the primary and the secondary teacher, and that educational theory has a meaning in practice. The only real distinction between teachers is distinction of specialisation, not of class, and the present smooth-working Council will quietly relegate to history 'the Higher Elementary 'Teacher,' the pupil teacher, and all other perverters of a high art. Again, our knowledge of educational practice abroad—as brought before us by specialists such as Mr. Cloudesley Brereton, whose volume of 'Studies in Foreign Education' is of peculiar interest and value, and the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, who six years ago by editing his famous volumes on Continuation Schools in England and elsewhere showed his foresight and grasp of the coming problem, and by various official publications, including that recently issued on Education in India—makes it possible for us to

adopt with instructed minds all that is good for us of Imperial, Continental, and American practice. Our new recognition of the intimate relationship of economic and educational problems gives reform an urgency that will scarcely be neglected by any government that relies on a democratic vote.

But perhaps the most hopeful signs to-day are the marvellous re-awakening of voluntary effort and the determination to be rid of educational shams. Even within the bureaucratic confines of State education the human element is asserting itself. Powerless as school managers of provided schools are, hedged in at every turn from administrative action, yet they bring into the schools a non-official element and often win with ready sympathy the hearts of the teachers. From among the managers are formed Care and After-Care Committees (in constant consultation with parents and the school doctors and in touch with the organisers of the too rare but invaluable clinics), while the question of meals for children is still in the main a question of voluntary organisation. The managers of non-provided schools have even larger opportunities, which are well used, of influencing the life of the school. To increase the powers of school managers is a minor reform that is greatly needed. It will accentuate the voluntary side of national education; it will relieve education officers of much unnecessary work and save teachers from some of the cruel burdens of official correspondence. The governors of secondary schools have still greater power to make their influence felt by insisting on the employment of trained teachers, by making every possible administrative effort to secure for the children a longer and calmer period of school life, and by assisting the staff to organise the interior life of the school on the great public school traditions. The voluntary efforts of the teachers themselves, both in elementary and secondary schools, whether in respect to games or to work, supplementing school life, are growing and notable elements in national education. The organisation of clubs for former pupils and of school journeys, whether in the holidays or in term time, involves an immense amount of voluntary work, which is cheerfully undertaken and gives reality and life to the schools. Into this particular work the parents throw themselves both with gifts of money and personal influence.

Against these good influences we have to set the very questionable effects of evening schools. The inefficiency of these continuation schools is notorious. In London thirty per cent. of the pupils are 'ineffective.' Before the work begins the children are tired, the teachers are tired; the discipline is bad; home life is ruled out of existence; the reactions on the day schools are deplorable. The Social Service Committee of the Southwark Diocesan Conference, which has recently investigated with considerable care the conditions of continuation education in South London, deplores the injury to home life that results both from the church club and the evening school: 'The youth who has been 'brought up in a good home makes the most promising 'material for the evening school or church club, and is 'therefore encouraged to neglect his home. On the other 'hand neither evening school nor church club can easily 'control and develop the youth from a bad home, and therefore 'more readily leave him to its evil influences.' The report of the committee insists that 'Continuation education backed 'by the Church should claim the young for half the working 'day, that it may do its work with some hope of good results 'to the community as a whole as well as to the young.' There is no doubt that the solution of the whole question lies in this direction. If continuation education is to be restricted to day classes then there is possible a reasonable division of the evenings; there will be time then both for home life and for club life, and for the wholesome exercise and discipline provided by the great Brigade and Scout movements that are doing so much for the welfare of children to-day. The danger of these movements is that they tend still further to disintegrate home life, and their weakness is that they are not organically related to the schools and contribute little to that continuity of education up to the age of seventeen which is the necessary minimum of a national system of education. If the Scout and Brigade movements could universally be linked up (as is sometimes the case now) to the school by means of school journeys and of evening training in the many subjects that the schoolmaster and the scoutmaster have in common; if some guarantee could be given for the efficiency of scoutmasters; then we believe that the great voluntary movement introduced by Colonel Smith, Mr. W. M. Gee, General Baden-

Powell, and others would have an extraordinary significance in continuation education.

The principle to be dwelt upon with respect to the whole vast problem is this: that all education from the tenth or eleventh year onward to at least the age of seventeen must be, in the sense explained above, secondary education. From the beginning of the eleventh year to at any rate the end of the fourteenth year secondary education must be given in school; from the hour of leaving school to the end of the seventeenth year, the State in conjunction with voluntary agencies must supply secondary education to every child, by the stern application of the half-time principle foreshadowed in the Factory Act of 1802 and introduced with such growing success into the Post Office. Higher elementary teaching is useless for the purpose of giving the child an outfit for life. The child must receive a training that teaches it to think and to develop its individuality. Moreover, the schools will provide facilities, on payment of fees or by means of scholarships, for higher education in the case of those children who are able to stay on and obtain whole-time education for a longer period in preparation for special work or for the university. It is of the greatest importance to make special provision for those children who are able to remain on at school and to take up their life work from the age of sixteen onwards. At present there is almost a fashion to remove a child at fifteen before the secondary training has had time to mould the mind and personality.

What possibility, what hope is there of attaining these things? In truth there ought to be no difficulty in securing them so far as the State itself is concerned, but there is some expense in the extension of school buildings and the provision of more and better paid teachers. The self-denying ordinance that the State has imposed upon itself in the Post Office it can impose upon the great factories of the North. The half-time system for children under fourteen is an evil, because these children are not ready for technical knowledge; the half-time system for children over fifteen years may be admirable since children of that age are fit for technical knowledge if mental development is going on at the same time. But the voluntary half-time system that the Government is apparently prepared to suggest will not be effective: it may

attract the wiser manufacturers, but it certainly will not attract those with shorter vision, and it will have no influence at all with the small employers of child labour, with the shopkeeper, with the innumerable homes where little girls and boys are domestic drudges or supporters of small industries. It must be made compulsory, because at the very highest estimate not one-fourth of the two million children who are now at work will come into a half-time school under a voluntary system. Moreover, some contribution towards the cost of a half-time system must come from the employers and, where the parent is the employer, from the parent. This will not bring down the rate of wages: child labour is cheap, and when the supply is restricted its price will rise. But the solution must be supplemented in another way. The labour of children under fourteen at school must be absolutely forbidden. The momentary dislocation can be met by the employment of elderly labour. Evidence shows that the labour of the child tends to throw the man over fifty-five out of work. Child part-time workers can be replaced by adult part-time workers. Employers will have to adapt themselves to the system; men in want of work will have to do the same. Part-time labour is common among women, and among men in certain trades such as jobbing gardening. It will have to be extended to industries such as the distribution of milk and newspapers. The system has long existed in the Post Office. The real danger at the moment is the want of courage that successive Governments since 1833 have shown in the education question. The day of educational evasions and approximate solutions is over. Four years have passed since the Consultative Committee, the Interdepartmental Committee, and the Poor Law Commissioners revealed our disastrous position. To wait longer is to endanger our national life.

To sum up: The country is face to face with an economic problem of extraordinary difficulty, but one that is soluble by 'generalship and unity of purpose.' Interdepartmental action can deal effectively with the question of labour if the Board of Education can deal with the question of education. Miss Dunlop and Mr. Denman advocate the raising of the school age, the creation of compulsory half-time education, the further regulation of employment out of school hours,

and the appointment of Juvenile Advisory Committees. Certainly this minimum will be resented neither by the public, the parents, nor the employers; and it must come very soon if England is to maintain her historic position. We have said nothing in this paper on the subject of religious teaching, and have indeed assumed throughout that the immemorial and necessary alliance between education and religion will continue. It is noticeable that that section of our system which is entirely divorced from religion—the evening schools—is ineffective, undisciplined and without a friend. State education without religion has served the nation ill in the United States and in France and not better in India. 'The 'most thoughtful minds in India'—says Sir Harcourt Butler in the recent Resolution of the Government of India on Education—'lament the tendency of existing systems of 'education to develop the intellectual at the expense of 'the moral and religious faculties.' From this evil, at any rate, we have been partly spared, and the fact reveals the soul of goodness in our educational system.

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

NATIONAL INSURANCE AND NATIONAL CHARACTER.

1. **Unerwünschte Folgen der Deutschen Sozialpolitik.** By Professor LUDWIG BERNHARD. Berlin: Julius Springer. 1912.
2. **Malingering and Feigned Sickness.** By Sir JOHN COLLIE, assisted by ARTHUR H. SPICER. Arnold. 1913.
3. **Die Reichsversicherungsordnung, Aerzte und Publikum.** By Professor H. QUINCKE. Reprinted from the *Schlesische Zeitung*. Breslau: W. G. Korn. 1911.
4. **Über den Einfluss der Sozialen Gesetze auf den Charakter.** By Professor H. QUINCKE. Reprinted from the *Schlesische Zeitung*. Breslau: W. G. Korn. 1905.
5. **Geisteskrankheit und Kultur.** By Professor A. HOCHE. Freiburg: Speyer and Kaerner. 1910.
6. **Notwendige Reformen der Unfallversicherungsgesetze.** By Professor A. HOCHE. Halle: Carl Marhold. 1907.
7. **Official Reports of the German Imperial Insurance Office.**

'It is good also not to try experiments in States except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident: and well to beware that it be the reformation which draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation; and lastly that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect.'—*Bacon.*

'The State can be compared with a living organism on which one must experiment with care.'—*Bismarck.*

'"The tragedy of all great reform movements" lies in this,—that the unintended results are more powerful than the intended results.'—*Professor Bernhard.*

THE purpose of this article is to set forth some of the unintended and unforeseen results to which Professor Bernhard above refers, and to show how the State in its efforts to regulate and to assist has set up influences which have wrought harm, moral and material, to so many of the persons concerned that the direct and intended benefits have in some cases been bought at too high a cost.* The authors of German insurance legislation and their English imitators equally forgot

* Part of that purpose is to show that our recent English experiments in social reform involve some of the worst of these evils, but that it is still possible with forethought and due regard for experience gained to counteract or even to reverse the influences which are inexorably drawing on these evils.

that each novelty should 'be held for a suspect' until foresight has freed it from influences which tend to sap the vital elements of character, or to check the growth of qualities which are of the greatest value in national development. We cannot afford to neglect these considerations, because the material well-being of a nation depends far more on its character than upon the regulations which its laws impose or the assistance which they give.

It is probably safe to assume that, whenever a government has stepped in to regulate matters which concern the life of the individual, the primary motive has been entirely admirable and that in most cases the need has been a pressing one. In any case this will be freely conceded in regard to all the enactments to which this article refers. They may be roughly classified as they affect respectively:

(1) *The conditions of family life.*

Here the recent experiments which concern us relate to the provision of old age pensions and the feeding of necessitous school-children; but no great distance of time parts us from the introduction of free and compulsory education and other modern departures of the greatest importance but too numerous to touch upon here.

(2) *The relations between employer and employed.*

Up to a comparatively recent date it was a principle of our legislation to avoid interference between employer and employed. Now, in addition to regulations to protect workers from exposure to undue risks, we have recently revised and greatly extended the law as to accidents and industrial disease, and have embarked upon new experiments in regard to the limitation of hours of employment, the provision of employment, and even the regulation of wages.

(3) *The mutual organisations of wage earners.*

This is probably the most complex and difficult sphere into which the State can enter with its regulations and its assistance. It includes the whole field of insurance and of mutual help such as friendly societies, workmen's clubs, trade unions, and co-operative societies have been wont to provide. Until last year this domain was in England free from State control, but now our legislation has made what is financially, and in many other ways, the largest experiment in social reform which has ever been made here or elsewhere.

If we bring together under the head of insurance some cognate matters referred to above, the position now is that here, as in Germany, the State provides or assists in providing the insurances relating to accident, sickness, prolonged invalidity, old age, childbirth, medical treatment, and (within certain limits) unemployment, and wherever assistance is given there is practically complete State control accompanied by compulsion and rigid uniformity. On the other hand, life insurance and the support of widows, orphans, and other dependants are not yet under State control in this country excepting to a limited extent in cases of death by accident. In order to form some idea of how this branch of social reform legislation is likely to affect national life and character, it is highly important to study the results already produced in Germany; for whereas our own experience in nearly all these branches of State activity is quite recent, Germany has had about thirty years' experience of compulsion and State regulation in connexion with national insurance as applied to sickness and to accident.

Before the German laws in question had been long in force the results of their influences began to excite strong comment from the medical profession. As each year has passed the volume and intensity of the warnings have increased. To-day German medical literature and medical discussion are engrossed by efforts to devise means of stemming the oncoming tide of unforeseen influences which are not only perverting the public opinion of a great part of the community and debasing its moral standards, but also actually attacking the physical stamina of the people.

The first indication of trouble was the appearance of a new form of nervous disease which began to attract attention even before the year 1890. This disease showed itself as a mental obsession on the part of insured persons that they were entitled to the benefits allowed by the Act. It was not long before this new form of hysteria became the theme of paper after paper by medical writers. The views expressed were at first divergent, but they ceased to be so as more experience was gained and fresh material accumulated. Up to 1899 doctors concentrated their researches almost entirely on the disease itself. They then began to turn to the cause of the trouble, with the result that social reform legislation quickly

became the centre of medical criticism. Publication followed publication in demanding reform from the medical standpoint.

Seeing that a mental disease was spreading like an epidemic through the land, Professor H. Quincke, who never enters lightly into controversy, joined in making this demand for reform. In 1905 he wrote:

'If the chief purpose and ultimate aim in introducing conscription was the defence of the country, it nevertheless has an educative effect on the individual, principally because it teaches him not to notice discomforts, to put self in the background, and to strive to attain the common goal as a member of a greater entity. It suppresses egotism; our accident insurance breeds it, in the care of the beloved "Ego." General conscription lays a stress on duty; our accident insurance on the rights of the individual. It has taken many decades to bring the educative influence of the former to its fullest result on the character of the nation; the depraving influence of the accident insurance law is already noticeable, in the course of years it will appear even plainer.'

In the same spirit in 1910 the great psychologist Hoche, in his first address as Rector of the University of Freiburg, speaking on mental disease and culture, said:

'Thirty years ago an unknown conception, to-day a disease which as a veritable cancer in the organism of our entire working population, is rightly the subject of deep anxiety. This national epidemic has not only begun contemporaneously with the coming into force of the accident legislation, but also as the direct result and dependence of it. Indubitably the law has engendered the disease.'

There is no reason to believe that these views are exaggerated. The elementary notions of right and wrong and the general vision have become so distorted in Germany that drawing a statutory allowance is looked upon by certain classes as a positive honour. At the Congress of south-western German neurologists and doctors in lunacy in 1907, Weygandt stated that many people actually have 'Rentenempfänger' (receiver of insurance pay) printed on their cards. At the same congress Dr. Cramer declared that 'the idea of exploiting an accident 'to the benefit of one's purse was so human and so easy to 'understand that it was quite a normal psychical proceeding.'

But although the existence of fraud is so notorious, the difficulty of penalising fraudulent claims has been found to be very great. Cases of pure simulation appear to be rare; for there is nearly always some ground for making a claim. The

serious fact is that even when cases of gross abuse are discovered the laugh is frequently on the side of the man who has successfully hoodwinked the authorities—as, for instance, when a workman who drew a 50 per cent. pension in Berlin on account of 'pains when he moved' was accidentally discovered appearing as an acrobat in Alsace; or when another who was pensioned for inability to move his elbow, defeated a celebrity of the ring in open combat! A widespread difference of feeling appears to exist, in Germany as elsewhere, on the question of robbing an individual as opposed to robbing the State or a company. A person who would not think of stealing a sixpence would be quite capable of evading some tax or overstating a claim upon an insurance company, and even of boasting of his deed. Consequently the fear of being detected when making a false or an exaggerated claim for compensation is very small, as it carries with it practically no social degradation.

Indeed a considerable feeling of *esprit de corps* has been found to exist among those who practise deception in their applications for sick or accident pay. Advice is given as to the best way of attaining the goal, which not infrequently entails deceiving the doctor; the applicant is cautioned as to where he is likely to give his case away, warned as to the peculiarities of each doctor, and instructed as to where and how he can best succeed in getting his claim certified. Professor Bernhard tells us that in Silesia there are experienced pensioners who positively give instruction in neurasthenia; and everywhere in Germany the workman has ample opportunities for 'informing himself' and learning up any symptoms he wishes to assume. The waiting-rooms of general hospitals appear to be centres of corrupting influence. Old hands initiate novices into all the dodges and devices and put them up to every subterfuge. We are told that these waiting-rooms are called the 'high schools of simulation.' The advice there given is probably far more subtle than the naïve 'When yer 'get 'urt say it 's yer back; the doctors can't never get round 'yer back.' *

As the result of these experiences the former views as to the duration of invalidity after an accident have had to be

* Sir J. Collie on 'Malingering,' p. 133.

entirely revised where insured persons are concerned, and this in spite of the enormous advance in the methods of treatment, of surgical science, and of hygienic and sanitary conditions generally. The most striking contrast has been observed between the short period required for recovery from accidents received in the riding-school or in sports, and the much longer period of incapacity when a man who is entitled to accident pay suffers similar injury. It has been found that the collaboration of the patient is frequently absent; and where moving a stiff limb or muscle is concerned, it is practically necessary for the patient to assist before a complete cure can be made. It is also obvious that the condition of muscular debility of a patient who has been some weeks in bed can easily be prolonged if he makes no effort and desires a long convalescence.

Statistics in regard to injuries which admit of comparison show that not only has the period of incapacity become much longer in Germany than it formerly was, but also that it is longer in Germany than in countries where the workmen are not permeated with the consciousness of their power to claim support by the State. For example, the average period of invalidity connected with a broken collar-bone among insured persons in Germany had grown, as far back as 1896, to eight months.* Formerly the time was, with the young, fifteen to twenty days; with older persons, twenty to forty days. This example is very suggestive, for a broken collar-bone is a very common accident which seldom produces complications. It would be hard to imagine a hunting man being kept out of the field for many weeks, to say nothing of months, by such a thing as a broken collar-bone. Quite serious injuries are treated lightly when there is an urgent desire to be restored to health.

In the same way German experience shows what an enormous bearing the mental condition following on accidents has on the probable time of healing. Whereas in cases where no allowance is attached the patient welcomes any suggestion that his condition is improving, and faithfully carries out his doctor's instructions in the hope of hastening his recovery, the mental attitude alters entirely when restored health means

* Archiv für Unfallheilkunde, etc., 1896, p. 177.

the stopping of an allowance. The doctor who reports cheerfully and hopefully is now regarded with suspicion and is considered more or less as an enemy. Is he not detracting from the commercial value of a good accident? Naturally the doctor's suggestions and treatment are not carried out with much alacrity, and every symptom is enumerated, pondered and made much of, for it may have a money value. This mental condition, even if not positively hostile, is certainly not favourable to recovery, and the little efforts which assist so materially in hastening restoration to health are not made.

German medical literature provides a powerful warning as to the danger of legislating in a way that leaves wide openings for human frailties to enter in, and of forcing many millions of people into a form of insurance that positively challenges abuse. When millions are insured in a uniform way countless eyes are focussed on the money-dispensing arrangements. Any weak points in the defences are soon spied out and systematically exploited: every method is employed in the attempt to secure benefits.

It must not be imagined for a moment that only the public exchequer suffers from these abuses. It is the working classes themselves who suffer most seriously from the long duration of incapacity after simple accidents and from the increase of cases of nerve trouble. Workmen's Insurance in Germany has been cruel to the working classes in the most dangerous, because the most insidious, way. It has begun to sap the energy and the self-respect of working people. It hits them when they are down. When a man's vitality and love of activity are low, and he is forced by the conditions surrounding him to worry and fret over himself, the tempting possibilities held out by the law come into his mind and suggest that if only he did not make a complete recovery the State would see to it that he was cared for.

And so it comes about that the paradoxical suggestion that Workmen's Insurance is a positive danger to the public health no longer makes any student of the subject smile. The evil is fully recognised by the officials whose duty it is to administer the law. If we turn to the official reports of the National Insurance Bureau in Germany we read:

'In the urgent interests of the working classes as well as of the entire nation, it is the pressing duty of the administrators of justice

to use every possible means of checking the evil influences of covetousness for insurance pay. The neglect of this duty would necessarily lead to a diminution of the pleasure in work and of the decent feeling of responsibility among those insured persons who are no longer full-wage earners, and it would tend at the same time to damage the power of the nation.' *

Dr. L. Laquer says 'The opinion that every accident carries 'with it a right to the highest compensation has become a 'dogma in the soul of the people, the common property of 'the masses.'† Ernest Schultze writes to the same effect: 'The 'mania for insurance pay, which has been created by the law, 'has taken deep root in the working classes.'‡

Professor Bernhard goes so far as to say that to-day many experts doubt if it is any longer possible to check this influence which is so injurious to the strength of the nation. Again and again sociologists and other experts on the Continent have urged amendment in the interests of the working classes, and have denounced the wickedness of using an effective bit of rhetoric or sentimental pleading as a political lever when such weighty issues are at stake. How can money compensate for taking away or undermining a man's love of work, and his interest in it, and what compensation can be offered for destroying the feeling of individual responsibility?

We have said enough to prove that the troubles arising from the German insurance laws are very serious; yet we know that these laws were introduced in all good faith and with high hopes. Let us turn to the experience of England. Long before Germany began to gain this disastrous experience, equal or greater support had been claimable under voluntary arrangements by English working people in respect of much the greater part of the sickness, accident, or invalidity occurring in this country. This voluntary system included arrangements made with employers, friendly societies, trade unions, and sick-clubs; and yet it is only during the last few years that our medical literature has sounded such warnings as those long heard on all sides in Germany. It is difficult to avoid the inference.

Our first experiment with State-regulated allowances dates from the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897. This Act

* Official Reports, vol. xxiii.
† Die Heilbarkeit nervöser Unfallfolgen, p. 99.
‡ Kampf um die Rente, p. 36.

was, however, confined to accidents arising out of employment; it applied only to certain specified industries, and was limited in many other ways. It was only in 1906 that 'the allowance 'of the Act' became generally claimable in all cases of industrial accident or disease, and it was only in the present year that we entered upon our first experience of compulsory and State-regulated insurance as applied to ordinary sickness and accidents other than industrial. The same series of troubles are now being discovered here, and with us as in Germany it is within a very few years after the provision of a statutory claim to support that these troubles begin to attract attention. Experience with the National Insurance Act is, of course, too recent for any inferences to be drawn. It is solely in connexion with cases coming under the Workmen's Compensation Act that we have been warned that something is seriously wrong.

Sir John Collie, who has probably the widest experience of such matters in this country, states that since the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act cases of accident neurosis have multiplied with great rapidity, and that the period of recovery from accident tends to be unduly prolonged. Yet medical science and surgical skill are improving continually, hygiene and sanitation are daily becoming better and more widely understood, the prospects of recovery from accident should be brighter, and the length of invalidity materially lessened. The reverse is the case.

In his able work designed to assist the doctors who have to deal with claims under the Workmen's Compensation Act Sir John Collie illustrates by a host of instances drawn from actual experience how State regulation and claim to 'the 'allowance of the Act' are bringing upon us the same troubles as exist in Germany. He shows the inevitable tendency engendered by the law and says: 'For some years the accident 'laws have revealed to the unscrupulous the infinite possibilities 'of fraud, and I feel confident that, unless the fact is recog-'nised by those who will have the responsibility of working 'the Insurance Act, the "moral currency" of the working 'classes will be much debased.' And again: 'Under the 'National Insurance Act not only accidents but illnesses are 'included, and it is obvious that disabilities arising from illness 'are far more easily simulated and will, I fear, cause more 'difficulty than those resulting from accidents.'

He draws an impressive picture of the great difficulties with which the medical profession has to contend, and points out that the lay mind cannot imagine the troubles which beset doctors when they have hard cases to investigate. It is by no means enough for the doctor to be convinced that a part is being played by the applicant for a certificate: he must be able to uphold his opinion in a court of law, where there is frequently a doctor on the other side trying to sweep aside his arguments; and he must be able to convince the judge (a layman) that he is right. Should there be the least shadow of doubt in the mind of a doctor as to the genuineness of a case every motive will make him lean towards the kinder side. He would not risk being haunted by the fear of having turned away a case of real distress, nor would he care to have such a case stand against his professional record.

It is by no means suggested that malingering has not been a problem and a difficulty for friendly society administration in the past, but it is claimed that the experience of many years proves that the sick-pay of the club has not been exposed to abuse in the same way as the accident pay 'of the Act,' and that under the voluntary system a public opinion favourable to false claims is not engendered. Experience also teaches us that real abuse of friendly society funds has been mostly confined to cases in which accident pay has been obtainable in addition to the club pay, and that in many cases the irresistible temptation of higher pay when off work than when at work has been the chief cause of trouble. The great advance in the 'sickness experience' of the friendly societies during the last twenty years is probably attributable to various causes, but there can be little doubt that one of the more important has been the introduction of a statutory claim to accident pay in addition to the allowances from the society. Mr. Watson, the great friendly society actuary, has suggested that the societies which have suffered most in this way should cancel their allowances when accident compensation is claimable. This advice has been wisely applied to all sick-pay under the National Insurance Act; but this does not remove the trouble, for in many cases the funds which are freed by this Act and the voluntary insurances which supplement it are being used to continue sick-pay during the period of accident claim.

A similar correspondence of date between the introduction

of a statutory claim to support and the rapid extension of nervous disease and prolonged invalidity is to be found in other countries. The Dutch found that before 1901, that is before their insurance law, sprains and fractures were healed more quickly than in Germany; but the recoveries are becoming slower and slower. Dutch doctors now specifically differentiate between 'accident neurasthenia' and 'accident law neurasthenia.'* This form of illness, a morbid or hysterical desire to remain an invalid (in receipt of sick pay or pension, *sous-entendu*), is called on the Continent 'pension 'hysteria.'

A very similar experience has arisen in France. A. Brissaud, in the French 'Journal of Neurology,' mentions a condition which he states is one of the unexpected effects of the French Accident Law of 1898. It is referred to as a new disease which he names 'sinistrosis.' He describes it as a 'psychical accident' caused by the fixed idea which takes possession of the injured workman that every accident occurring in the course of work constitutes a damage admitting of indemnity.† In Denmark and in Switzerland the laws do not provide continuing allowances, and in those countries nervous disease following accidents has been very nearly eliminated. Whereas in Denmark 93·6 per cent. of observed cases of accident neurosis are cured,‡ in Germany 9·3 per cent. was the result published for the same year,§ an almost incredible difference. Writing of Swiss experience, Dr. Nägeli says he considers that this absence of continuing allowances removes the disturbing factor which prevented the people concerned from regaining their health.‖

The facts are like so many fingers all pointing one way. Whether we look at them or not, there they are pointing out that there is some new agency at work, some new factor with which we have not reckoned before. The destructive influences upon character begin to operate when compulsion

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* See for example the Nederland Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde, August 20, 1910.

† 'Malingering.' Sir J. Collie, p. 107.

‡ Wimmer, Copenhagen, 1910. § Schaller, Stuttgart.

‖ Korrespondenzblatt für Schweizer Ärzte, 1910, No. 2.

and State regulation step in. The evil results in the form of new nervous diseases, far slower recoveries, insurance hysteria, unnecessary or fraudulent claims, and open pride in successful dependence on the public purse, begin to show themselves soon after this change. If these influences are to be successfully combated it is necessary in the first place to realise fully how they operate and to appreciate how the voluntary system has been, for the most part, free from their results.

The friendly societies of the past made a strong appeal to the honour, to the sense of justice, and to the public spirit of their members. They in fact invoked the powerful assistance of the public opinion of the classes they served. This public opinion made dishonesty of claim, idleness won by deception, weak yielding to nervous or hysterical disorder, or slothful dependence on club-money or on the labour of a wife, things of shame, not things to laugh at or to flaunt. Those who have worked alongside of or been amongst the members of these societies have often heard words such as these spoken with just pride: 'I have paid my contributions regular to 'the Oddfellows for these thirty years now and I have never 'drawn [or only drawn] . . .' The man who can say this is entitled to be proud. Has he not out of his little done a man's part in helping his less fortunate comrades? Men never boasted among their fellows of the sums they had managed to draw from their lodge or their club—the mere suggestion that they could descend to claim more than was due would be resented.

Contrast with this the pride in idleness won at the cost of the public purse or in the length of the holiday pay which has been gained by deception, the 'Rentenempfänger' printed on the card, and the brazen flaunting of successful frauds, which are laughed at or applauded by public opinion where it is 'the allowance of the Act' which stands to be shot at. Let us give honour where honour is due and realise fully how the qualities of character fostered in the people by the noble system of voluntary mutual help protected them and preserved the nation from the evils which we now have reason to dread. We can ill afford to destroy these national bulwarks.

Once coercion and statutory regulation take the place of voluntary initiative, entirely different influences are set up

and the tendencies of public opinion are reversed. It matters not whether the State, an employer, an approved society, or an insurance company disburses the allowance, so long as it is 'the Act' which limits and regulates the claim. The friendly society of the past said to its members 'Join our 'lodge; if you are strong and fortunate you will help your 'fellows, if you become weak or unfortunate they will help 'you; you will join with them in regulating how the common 'fund shall be applied.' The Act which deals with compulsory insurance, whether for sickness or accident, says 'You and 'your employers shall pay what Parliament bids you pay, and 'you may get what you can in return; we pit our regulations 'and inquisitions against your ingenuity and your efforts 'to finger the contents of this public purse.'

To the popular mind 'the allowance of the Act' or the sum granted 'by the State' is fair prey. Some few may appreciate that in the long run their approved society or their industry may be injured by false claims, but the possibility of harming fellow members has been made too remote and too complicated both in the case of sick pay and of accident pay to affect public opinion, especially when the sick pay is announced to be the 'minimum,' and an impression is thus created that the State will make good if the society cannot pay.

Two important and definite conclusions in connexion with this part of the subject appear to be established:

First that the State may in some matters legitimately subsidise voluntary effort, but it must not coerce, nor can it with advantage prescribe the form which the assisted insurance of each individual shall take. That is work for which each particular organisation, which knows the needs of its members, must be responsible. No greater mistake could be made than that of asking Parliament to settle a specific and a uniform list of 'benefits.' The egregious folly and the untold waste involved in this are already being learnt. In time we shall be more concerned with results which are as yet less apparent; it is this mistake which has converted 'club pay' into 'the allowance of the Act.' Where the State assists it must to a certain extent control, but this control should be chiefly confined to securing the solvency of the societies and the due fulfilment of their promises. In this direction the

system of audit and actuarial control set up by the National Insurance Act probably provides in the best possible way the requisite securities.

The second conclusion—one of great practical importance—is that accident pay and sick pay should be brought under single control. The taxation of the employer and the State subsidy to the society should be so arranged as to enable the latter to deal in the same way with accidents of employment and with other accidents. There is no virtue in the costly distinction between the two classes of accident, and there is every reason why the same public opinion should be invoked to assist in the administration of both. It is also desirable that the insuring society should be in a position so to limit the aggregate allowance that undue temptation to prolong the dependence on its funds is not set up. A system of accident insurance, which allows more than half its premium income to be devoted to administration and litigation expenses, is a system to be condemned, not only as an economic failure but also as an influence opposed to the best development of character and of the feelings which should govern the relations between employer and employed.

Another and quite separate influence on character which insurance legislation has produced, or threatened to produce, is clearly brought out in Sir John Collie's book. We refer to the debasement of the moral standards of the legal and medical professions.

Just as the German insurance law has produced a parasitic growth of touting experts in the art of claim-making, so has our own Workmen's Compensation Act produced from the lowest stratum of the legal profession a class of touting lawyers, or outcasts of the profession, whose pernicious activities are frequently masked by a name suggestive of charitable intent, e.g. 'The ——— Legal Aid Society.' The diligently disseminated circulars of these touts explain how the case will be fought without cost to the claimant—nothing beyond a commission of 5 or 10 per cent. on the compensation obtained.

As to the effect on the medical profession, Sir John Collie says: 'Against the advantage of free choice of doctor must 'be set the danger that one member of the medical panel may 'be induced to give certificates too easily, and to put men

'on sick pay too readily, in the hope of thereby winning 'popularity and increasing his *clientèle*.' Apparently the temptation which beset the club doctor in the past will be greatly accentuated, when in place of the appointed medical officer we have the panel doctor, who, instead of holding his appointment from a society, holds it from each insured person individually. That the same influence has operated elsewhere has been amply testified. For instance, Professor Quincke says: 'It now not infrequently happens that doctors damage 'their practices substantially by refusing to support with their 'certificates unfounded allegations of incapacity. Yielding 'to the wishes of the patient and favouring slackness and 'idleness can thus become means of enlarging the *clientèle* of 'a doctor.'

At best it is hard to place upon the doctor, who is in close touch with his patient, the onus of certifying him fit to return to work, and when personal popularity, entailing material advantage, is the result of deferring this unpleasant duty it is plain that the system is liable to gross abuse. The conclusion arrived at by Sir John Collie is that approved societies in this country will probably be forced, within a short time, to appoint special medical men to examine members in receipt of sickness benefit in order to prevent abuse of their funds. This is already the practice in Germany, where it has been found to pay.

It is in a different way that our Old Age Pension Act threatens moral and material harm to the nation. Age is a basis of claim which will soon be proof against abuse, and we need not regard a statutory grant, dependent upon it alone, as any incentive to imposture. But, when indigence as well as age is a necessary part of the qualification, altogether different influences are set up. The official reports tell us that many persons who are really well-to-do are learning how to evade the income restriction of the Act, e.g. farmers who transfer or assign their holdings to sons or other persons for the purpose.

This temptation is, however, a trifling matter compared with another and far more detrimental influence which has been set up: a veritable premium has been placed on improvidence —an actual tax has been imposed upon thrift. The monetary assistance of the Insurance Act is cut short at the age of seventy,

and the pensions which are supposed to take its place are not for those who have laid by something for their dependants or have provided more than the merest pittance for their own old age. Time has yet to show the material as well as moral damage which will result from imposing this direct fine upon thrift. A dole which only comes to those who can prove that they have reached the age of seventy in a state of poverty does not deserve the name of 'pension.'

The financial waste involved in a removal of the income disqualification would be insignificant in comparison with the moral and material waste which that disqualification entails. The total number excluded by it is comparatively small, and undoubtedly a large proportion of this number would not claim in any case. It is quite possible that with abstention dependent upon voluntary election, and upon the public opinion which such a system would engender, the number of persons claiming the allowance would be no greater than at present.

To pass to another point: There is probably no sphere in which State regulation has operated with greater success than that which relates to the protection of workers from exposure to undue risk. Our own laws with their Plimsoll marks and their combination of expert assistance, inspection, and control as applied to railways, sea transport, etc., are probably as good an example as could be found of State regulation wisely limited and tempered by common sense. But even where, as in this case, State interference is necessary, experience has shown that it depends upon the extent of that interference whether the good or the evil results preponderate. When, as in Germany, an army of inspectors is employed and rules are framed against 'falling asleep while driving,' 'using 'unsafe ladders' or 'swinging a hammer without looking round,' it is small wonder if precaution is neglected when the rules are silent, or if wooden-headed dependence upon formula takes the place of intelligence and is used to excuse any careless disregard for the safety of others.

The results which have recently been achieved by the 'Safety Committee' movement in America show that the voluntary co-operation of workmen and employers, when scientifically organised, is really a far more important

safeguard than legislative control. It is upon the assistance of the workmen that this movement chiefly relies; they all have their turn on the committee and in the work of inspecting and reporting; the responsibility for condemning negligence is upon them, and by their action the man who is careless of the safety of others is suspended. The walls are not plastered with statutory rules but with short precepts and words of warning from the committee. It is easy to realise how this tends to raise the standard of intelligence and responsibility and how the conservation of life, skill, and experience and the reduction of accident claim and dispute economically outweigh the cost of the precautionary measures recommended. The statistics of deaths and injuries in those industries where the system has been adopted are already greatly improved.

It is almost needless to dwell on the dangers of a very obvious character which attend on State intervention in such things as prescribing a minimum scale of wage or the feeding of necessitous school-children, and much might be written on the more subtle ways in which our recent experiments in these spheres threaten moral and material harm. Before we go further in regulating hours of employment and cognate matters it is to be hoped that a careful study of the experience gained in other countries will be undertaken. If the law be too solicitous to limit the amount of work which men are willing to do, an impression may be fostered that work itself is an accursed burden to be cast aside whenever possible.

On the whole—in spite of the progress of socialist teaching—we find evidence that public opinion is now awake to the fact that it is wiser for the State to encourage voluntary effort, and if need be to subsidise it, than to intervene with coercion, rigid regulation, and elaborate systems of inspection. It is in connexion with reforms which concern the relations between employer and employed, or which attempt to control mutual insurance, that the wisdom of this great principle has been most conspicuously established.

In this connexion the results achieved by the agricultural syndicates in France are well worth study. One of the chief aims of these syndicates is that of raising the moral dignity

of work by making each man feel that work is not only the means of earning a living but also the chief begetter of health, happiness, and self-respect. France has just given us another very marked illustration of the tendency of public opinion in regard to State interference in the reception accorded to the compulsory pension law and the far greater success of that measure when the law courts had practically made it voluntary. The Safety Committee movement in America, to which reference has just been made, shows how the greater value of voluntary initiative is being appreciated. Even in Germany there is a marked spirit of reaction against superabundant regulation and inspection.

These movements of thought are all the more interesting because of the contrast they present with the attitude taken up in the earlier days of social reform legislation. Then the material injury to competitive industry likely to be wrought by unnecessary central regulation was the danger on which stress was laid. It was an obvious risk. The less obvious but much greater evils are now gradually becoming apparent. It is dawning on many minds that overmuch regulation may impair the sense of personal responsibility, the individual initiative, and even the intelligence of those who are engaged in the industries concerned, and may blunt the worker's interest and pride in good work well done and in the perfection of the machinery he handles.

What then are the conclusions of practical utility to be drawn from a study of the unforeseen results of social reform legislation?

First of all we want a stronger belief in the good sense of the people and a fuller appreciation of the fact that it is only those reforms which are in tune with the people's higher moral feelings which can succeed.

We want greater readiness to see and to preserve the good in things that are. At this moment, as the direct result of the neglect of this principle our friendly societies, strangled and enmeshed in the great net of State regulation, are struggling in vain to continue the beneficent work they did so well in the past.

We want more willingness to encourage and to assist voluntary effort and less eagerness to compel and to control. The

pride of our people resents coercion; all the world over the lesson is being taught that organised voluntary effort can succeed where State intervention may simply retard.

We want freedom, elasticity, and practical common sense in all our efforts to reform. The visionary reformer is apt to make a fetish of uniformity and completeness, and to forget that conditions of life, conditions of employment, and the calls for help, assume as many and as varied forms among the classes for which he tries to legislate as in that to which he happens to belong.

We want a wise discrimination as to the limits of intervention and a recognition of the fact that there are spheres in which the State must fail though private initiative may succeed. The more intimate the duties to be taken over, the more searching and personal must the official inquiries be, till State intervention may come to mean that reticence and decent pride must give way to brazen demands for public assistance.

We want above all more careful study of the influences set up and of the lessons which experience has taught. These things must be weighed and studied deeply and the experience of other States compared with our own. Eagerness to produce an immediate and material improvement, or to gain popularity, must not blind the reformer to the hidden dangers, moral and material, which his proposals involve.

Social reform is a task for statesmen, not for party politicians. It must cease to be a pawn in the game of catching votes. Its lines should not be fashioned in the heat of Parliamentary debate, or robbed of proper consideration by the exigencies of parliamentary procedure. Like all complex and difficult matters, it needs the calmer and the wiser work of expert commissions. Unless the common sense of the people will demand the observance of these conditions, it is useless to hope for social improvement out of 'social reform' legislation.

Above all, we have to be careful not to ignore the traditions of our race. England has been wont to boast of keeping State regulation within narrow limits, and it has been no empty boast. Like a wise parent she has trusted her full-grown children and they have justified her trust. The widest possible sphere has been given to energy and individual initiative, and an extraordinary power of invention and spirit of enterprise have been

shown by the race. Love of fair play and straightforwardness, respect for justice and truth, and reasonable consideration and care for the rights of others, have become national characteristics; for, though individuals may be swayed by selfish instincts, honest appeals to the higher moral sense or to the patriotism of this people have seldom if ever failed. The spirit of independence and of self-reliance which abhors the taint of pauperism or even of charity and impels men and women to struggle through times of difficulty, the kindness of the poor to each other and their extraordinary readiness to help their friends and neighbours, are not the least of our national treasures: they are moral blossoms not to be ruthlessly cut down. They have given us a sound public opinion permeating the great body of that self-respecting and industrious community which constitutes the English nation.

It is just because there is so much that may be marred in the effort to improve, and because such splendid material is at stake, that every experiment affecting the nation must be put to this test—How will this influence our national character? To lower the standard of public opinion is to strike at the life of the nation. If (to take our chief example) men find that in the opinion of their fellows successful fraud upon a common purse is no longer a thing to be despised as of old, but a thing to laugh at and applaud, as it is in Germany, and as our accident compensation and insurance laws are making it here; if pride in dependence takes the place of pride in independence; and if a popular opinion is engendered that the State is merely discharging a debt in attending to the needs of the population, it is not too much to say that a national calamity will have befallen us.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR AND RURAL HOUSING

1. **Common Land and Enclosure.** By E. C. K. GONNER. Macmillan and Co. 1912.
2. **The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century.** By R. TAWNEY. Longmans, Green and Co. 1912.
3. **English Farming, Past and Present.** By ROWLAND E. PROTHERO. Longmans, Green and Co. 1912.
4. **The Village Labourer, 1760–1832 : a Study in the Government of England before the Reform Bill.** By J. L. HAMMOND and BARBARA HAMMOND. Longmans, Green and Co. 1911.
5. **Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into the Earnings and Hours of Labour of Workpeople of the United Kingdom. V.—Agriculture in 1907.** Cd. 5460. Wyman and Sons. 1910.
6. **The Disappearance of the Small Landowner.** By A. H. JOHNSON. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1909.
7. **The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields.** By GILBERT SLATER. Constable and Co. 1907.

FOR various reasons, economic, social and political, the state of our agricultural population is again beginning to attract attention. Economically, after thirty years of acute depression, agricultural industry is slowly emerging into a more healthy condition. Side by side with an improvement in the price of the staple products of the large farm, a growing demand for vegetables and fruit has created a new system of intensive cultivation. Hence the tendency to consolidate the land into large areas of permanent grass has been reversed. Some poor grass land has been again put under the plough, the number of very large farms is diminishing, and, in certain favourable districts, small holdings have developed without legislative pressure, merely by the play of economic forces.

Socially, the change is marked by an increase in the number of efficient tenant farmers, some of whom are alive to the bearing of scientific knowledge on agriculture ; by the growth, in specific areas, of the prosperous small holder ; and by an arrest in the long-continued process of rural depopulation. Partly in consequence of this arrest, the problem of housing the agricultural labourer is becoming urgent. Over a large part of England men cannot obtain cottages. New families

cannot start for want of a roof. Labourers cannot move to districts where work is plentiful. Overcrowding is rampant to an extent which makes health, decency, and comfort difficult or impossible. Meanwhile, the forgotten story of the effects on agriculture of the industrial revolution of a century ago is being written, and throws a flood of light on the present position of the rural population. Stripped of the exaggeration indulged in by some polemical writers, the history of the great change, represented in the Midlands by the process called 'enclosure,' shows clearly that a very real social injury was inflicted on the nation by the rapid consummation of the age-long process by which the medieval peasant, with a definite hold on the soil, was converted into the modern landless labourer.

Politically, underlying the dominant desire of all parties to secure votes, many forces are now at work. On every side there is a genuine desire to improve the lot of the agricultural labourer. The Labour Party, representing the organised workmen of the towns, wish to stop the perennial flow of labour from the country districts, a flow which prevents trade unions from establishing that monopoly at which organised labour no less than organised capital aims. The Liberals, with insufficient attention to local conditions, have attempted to plant small holders as irremovable tenants of County Councils all over the country. They desire the liberation of the labourer from the extreme pressure of present economic forces, and declare their intention to emancipate him from what—with a ludicrous ignorance of the meaning of the word—some of them are pleased to call 'the relics of feudalism.' Their actual proposal for mending his situation is the application of such typical feudal conceptions as a legal standard wage and Land Courts to determine fair rents. The Unionists see that greater stability would be gained by increasing the number of freeholders; and aim at developing the small owner regardless of his own desires and of economic conditions. Meanwhile, they wish to meet the urgent housing needs by an heroic application of State aid, and propose out of national funds to build cottages to be let at charity rents.

That all is not well with rural England most competent observers agree. Wages are probably too low for the work done, and for the wants of a decent life and home. Over large

areas there is a real need of new cottages with a higher standard of comfort. Except in a few districts, the labourer is divorced from the land and has no holding, sometimes not even a garden, of his own. Throughout almost the whole of the Midlands and the south, the gulf between the capitalist farmer and the labourer is practically impassable, and a good labourer has no chance to rise. But it is as foolish to exaggerate the evil as to ignore it. Probably all is never well or can be well with any human society. At all times some parts of every living organism are out of harmony with the rest or with its environment, and need either greater freedom to adjust themselves, or definite guidance into better ways. Evolution is always at work. A stationary state of society has never existed in the past and, it is safe to say, will never exist in the future. We must look for an endless process of change and development. Nevertheless, a consideration of the best direction for our next steps is no less important because we have ceased to believe that they will attain a final goal.

But, in dealing with any problem which involves the social organism, it is not enough to examine the question superficially from the present aspect alone. To understand the existing state of rural society, and to attack the concurrent problem of rural housing, some knowledge of historical development must be assured; and, since politicians are beginning once more to talk about 'remnants of feudalism,' it may be well to begin our survey with an attempt to set forth the historical commonplace of a picture of some aspects of feudalism as it really existed in England.

Like all other social states, the feudal system of the medieval manor was constantly undergoing change and flux. It is impossible to stereotype its structure, and to say that this or that description is a true account of 'the' manor at such and such a date. Nevertheless, a sketch of its essential features is not beyond achievement, and the work of Maitland, Seebohm, Vinogradoff, Slater, the Webbs, Tawney, Gonner, Prothero, and other recent investigators, gives us a clearer idea of its rise, progress, and decay than was obtainable even a few years ago.

Leaving on one side the controversial question of the origin of the manor—whether it arose from a system of greater or less freedom than itself—we are on surer ground when we trace the changes during its period of active existence. And here

great, though intermittent, improvement throughout the centuries is apparent in two of the four main classes of tenants—namely those of the cottars and serfs, who are the economic equivalents of our modern labourers. From a variety of causes, the economic and social status of these classes rose, and, as the feudal system developed, their condition came to wear an aspect very different from the picture of unrelieved tyranny with which feudalism is now often held to be synonymous. On the contrary, the medieval policy presented an elaborate organisation of checks and safeguards on the action of each class, and especially on the lord of the manor himself, whose arbitrary power was controlled in many ways, while his function as a recognised point of contact with the outer world and the central administration was retained. The Manorial Courts, held under the presidency of himself or his steward, were only strictly legal when a certain number of soccage freeholders attended as jurors to secure independence; while the 'custom of the manor,' as interpreted by its tenants, together with the growing right of appeal to the Crown Courts, formed a very real protection against encroachment on the rights of the villeins, the cottars, or the serfs.

Moreover, in sharp distinction from modern conditions, the majority of the labouring classes possessed a definite hold on the land, and occupied, on one of the many different kinds of tenure, plots of ground sufficient to secure a measure of economic independence. The landless labourer, with nothing to look to but his uncertain wages of subsistence, is, for the most part, a product not of feudalism, but of the 'free' financial basis of society which superseded it.

The villeins with their large customary holdings, and the cottars with their smaller 'five-acre' or similar tenures, originally had definite services to perform in cultivating the lord's demesne—services which were gradually commuted for a money payment. But otherwise they enjoyed fair security and independence. Even the serfs, when they gained their liberty, played an essential part in the manorial system, and often had holdings of some few acres created for them on the demesne or on the waste land which surrounded the cultivated settlement. Both for national security and local advantage, the Crown and the lord of the manor alike benefited when the land supported the largest possible number

of healthy men, and, as long as no huge cities cried out for food, the result was a sounder rural system than that which succeeded it, when corn and meat and wool were poured into the industrial areas and the landowner's advantage lay, not in men to till his fields and follow his flag, but in the net surplus rent remaining after a minimum wage bill had been paid. It is probable that the average condition of the peasantry, as compared with that of other classes, was better in some feudal times than in many subsequent periods.

But, in the sixteenth century, the process of decay in the feudal organism became rapid, and the old personal relationships fell before the solvent forces of industrial capitalist individualism. At the dissolution of the monasteries much ecclesiastical property passed into lay hands. It is true that the outcry about plunder by the Reformation families is, for the most part, an ingenuous confession of ignorance of the details of English economic history. The men who acquired Church lands as a rule paid to the Crown the full market price for them, calculated on the basis of the existing customary rents, and the contemporary taxpayer, whose pocket was relieved at the cost of the religious orders, was the principal immediate beneficiary by the change of ownership. Though these investments in land proved profitable, owing to the loosening of the power of custom and the consequent gradual conversion of copyholds into leaseholds and similar changes of tenure, such a development could not have been foreseen with certainty.

But the passing of the ecclesiastical landowners, who for the most part had given easy conditions and security of tenure to their tenants and special privileges to the labouring classes, allowed the new landowners to consolidate their interests, and to pursue, free from unpleasant comparisons, a policy which the Crown endeavoured in vain to check in the interests of the cottagers by the action of the Court of Requests and the Star Chamber—Courts of equity both obnoxious to the new men who wished to get the utmost returns from their investments in land.

The economic effect of the import into Europe of the stores of gold from the New World was great and widespread. In the sixteenth century the value of money was falling fast. The consequence was that all customary rents, fixed charges

on definite holdings—rents which represented historically the commuted value of labour-services, and of rents in kind rather than the agricultural rents of the present day—became much less burdensome to the tenant. A rent of twopence an acre, a heavy drain when twopence meant a large sum, equivalent to a fair day's wage, became a merely nominal charge when the value of twopence sank to a small fraction of its original meaning.

Copyholds and other customary tenures, whose possessors were able to maintain their status against attempts at conversion, thus acquired a large capital value. The condition of the smaller tenants had improved considerably at an earlier period; the chief effect now was on the larger copyholders and long leaseholders, who represented the medieval villeins and are the economic ancestors of our modern tenant farmers. In the sixteenth century such men, as Professor Maitland has pointed out, were enriched by a clear but forgotten case of unearned increment.

The story of the great enclosure movement, for long a scarcely remembered episode of English history, is now being restored to us. The enclosure of waste spaces and common fields by general consent, accelerating with any increase of population, has been going on from early times and under all economic systems. The 'right to enclose' was part of the political need of the new capitalist landowners under our Tudor kings, and the men who stood by Pym and Cromwell for political rights were for the most part equally eager to improve their economic position without the fear of intervention by the Crown Courts on behalf of the smaller commoners. But the movement acquired definite legal sanction and became especially rapid in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is true that much of the country had been enclosed long before that time, particularly in the extreme east and west, where contact with the Continent, great development of the wool trade, or the proximity of large towns or seaports, had introduced a money economy at an early date. But a broad strip of land, running from Hampshire and Dorset to Cambridge and Lincoln, was, for the most part, still unenclosed.

Over this large area, and to a less extent elsewhere, the old system of open fields worked by the tenants in common still

existed. One man's holding lay scattered in strips of an acre or so all over three or more huge arable fields, whereon the crops were settled from year to year by custom, and over which the sheep and cattle of all had the right to roam after the harvest had been gathered.

Such an arrangement usually prevented agricultural progress; it was wasteful and inefficient. In an industrial country it was doomed to extinction as soon as a fast-growing urban population called urgently for new supplies of food. The old subsistence husbandry had to give place to the modern farm, no longer a community of inter-dependent families, but a highly organised factory of corn and meat. But the open field system, with its Manor Courts and picturesque elected officials, enshrined a most valuable measure of communal existence, and, in those parts of the country where it survived, maintained the ancient social framework of village life long after the rest of the manorial system had sunk into decay.

The enclosure of common arable fields became first an economic advantage, and then, under the stress of the Napoleonic wars, a national necessity. But, if the process was inevitable, the extreme pressure of the moment caused it to be carried out by methods which were often unfortunate. Throughout the transformation, the effect on the status of the agricultural population seems to have been overlooked or miscalculated. The finely adjusted balance in the relations of the different social classes involved was upset, and immediate economic advantage was sought in a way which overruled the consideration of slow maturing sociological change. Naturally enough the lords of the manors and the larger freeholders, who had most to gain by enclosure, carried through the necessary Acts of Parliament and Enclosure Awards chiefly in their own interests, while Parliament, which should have taken into account the broader and more permanent social effects of the movement, failed to provide against the consequent dislocation of village life.

It is easy by selecting cases of hardship, as is so skilfully done by Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, to make the action both of the landowners and the legislature seem incomprehensibly selfish and wanton. But such an impression almost carries with it its own refutation, since the vast majority of our fellow countrymen of any period, especially those in responsible

positions, are neither selfish nor wanton. Every economic change bears heavily on individuals. The truth seems to be that considerable and increasing efforts were made to give adequate compensation to small owners of land and possessors of common rights. But the allotment of land in severalty was often too small to pay for the cost of enclosure, and the very gain in economic efficiency which followed the change of system tended to squeeze out the man of small wants, small ideas, and small energy, who had been protected and carried along by the rigidity of custom and fixity of conditions that marked the old open field cultivation. Unless the small owner was able to increase his holding, it was easier and often better for him to sell his allotted acres, migrate towards the mills in the valleys, and invest the proceeds of his patrimony in the swelling tide of urban prosperity. Many of the great manufacturers, sons of yeomen or commoners, thus began to build up their immense fortunes.

Nevertheless, as long as war prices held, the numbers of small owners only decreased in areas near the growing towns. It was not till the fall of prices began in 1814 that those numbers fell rapidly all over the country. Thereafter, the rise of individual small holders did not prevent their decay as a class.

The effect of enclosure was much more disastrous to the small tenant than to the small owner. When his lease ran out, he possessed no legal claim to compensation, while the abolition of the common arable fields made it far easier to consolidate many small farms into a few large ones if the economic forces made it expedient. Thus, in spite of the efforts made to prevent injustice to individuals, the broad result of the change was to hasten the extinction of the free English peasantry, the creation of a thousand years of national development, and to leave in their place a poor remnant of dispossessed labourers, degraded into an agricultural proletariat bereft of almost all property and independence—the result, be it noted again, not of the feudal system which had established a better state of affairs, but of its decay and replacement by the money system of economy.

It is part of the irony of the situation that, owing to a curious combination of circumstances in the intellectual world, those who considered themselves especially the champions of popular rights at the end of the eighteenth and

beginning of the nineteenth centuries, were coming under the sway of the economic doctrine of *laissez faire*, and mistrusted all checks on social freedom and individual action. Hence there was a general reluctance to interfere with the details of a process which, in its broad sense, was rightly seen to be inevitable. The protests and risings of the last of the peasants were ignored and put down, amid the melancholy accompaniments of righteous self-satisfaction and the slow agony of foiled endeavour. The country settled down to estimate, during the course of the succeeding fifty years, the advantages of unrestricted economic competition and the unchecked power of financial and industrial capital. The dispossessed cottagers crowded into the undrained, ill-planned, fever-haunted towns, and supplied that cheap labour which was so much to the advantage of the rising class of industrial capitalists. The degradation of urban labour, the final destruction of craftsmanship, the elimination of human relations between men and masters, completed the first stage of the industrial revolution, until the gloom was at last relieved by the early Factory Acts.

As applied to agriculture the broad result of the industrial revolution was an undoubted and immense economic gain to the nation; while, during the years of prosperity and war prices, it also brought increased wealth to farmer and landowner. But the landless labourer, who had now replaced the feudal peasant, received little share in the increase of rural wealth. Deprived of his customary rights, forced, by the pressure of circumstances he could not understand, to sell his allotted bit of land, the labourer was faced first by the great rise in prices consequent on the Napoleonic wars, and then by the depression and disorganisation of the agricultural world that followed the fall of prices coincident with the peace.

The period from 1814 till the reform of the Poor Law in 1834 was one of the most disastrous ever known in rural England. And yet another consequence of those years of agricultural depression must not be overlooked. Many landowning families of long standing were temporarily crippled or forced to sell their estates owing to the rapid fall of prices and to a series of financial crises. This process recurs at intervals throughout the centuries, and each time a new class of landowners replaces those who are dispossessed. The new men

have usually a less instinctive knowledge of rural life, and a lower standard of public duty, and tend to regard the old acres either as a purely commercial investment or, on the other hand, as a means merely of personal gratification and social display.

On the whole, the years from 1836 to 1870 were prosperous. The reform in the Poor Law gave a sounder basis for improvement in the lot of the labourer, while new agricultural methods and new breeds of stock increased the productivity of the land and the profits of farmers. More slowly, as farms fell in, landowners benefited by an increase in the rents offered, and, more slowly still, agricultural wages began to rise.

But these brighter prospects were eclipsed in the terrible time beginning with the disastrous season of 1879, which coincided with the first rush of the flood of foreign imports of food to supply from outside sources the needs of the cities whose insistent demands had been responsible for the changed economy of the countryside. With one short and slight break, the years of acute depression lasted well into the present century. Once more, farmers' profits fell, often to less than nothing, landowners were straitened or parted with their estates, and wages were perforce lowered and labourers dismissed.

Simultaneously and subsequently a series of Acts of Parliament, directed, partly for political motives, against the landowning class, and designed outwardly to protect the interests of the tenant farmer, who seemed to be the chief sufferer, greatly strengthened a position which, from economic causes, was already becoming over strong. No doubt farmers had passed through bad years, though the majority had received a substantial reduction of rent. But, in other ways, the tenant farmer was yearly becoming more powerful in the social structure of the country. As against his landlord, he held the strong weapon of a notice to quit a farm that it might be difficult or impossible to re-let, and a formidable array of newly enacted compensation clauses gave a sharper edge to his weapon. As against his men, he held the power, not only of discharge into an overstocked labour market, but also of eviction from their homes, which, though for the most part the property of the same landowner, it had become a general custom to regard as part of the farm equipment, and to place with the other buildings in the unrestrained control of the occupying farmer.

Thus, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, while a slow rise in money wages and in their real value was lightening the pressure of want on the labourer, and a reformed judicial system took the place of the menacing administration of savage justice which had beset his father's early years, his position in other respects showed little or no improvement. In fact, it is possible that the labourer was passing more and more into the hands of the farmer, who was also becoming less amenable to the moderating influence of an impoverished landowner, and to the criticism of the fast dwindling class of the smaller rural gentry. The balance of three forces, which is the idea of stability whether in mechanical problems, constitutional government, or social conditions, was grievously upset.

The history of rural housing has yet to be written; it is hardly touched upon by recent writers on other aspects of rural history; only the barest outline of the subject can here be attempted.

As long as the old social structure of the manor lasted, enough cottages seem to have been forthcoming. The solidarity of the group prevailed and the men of the manor were housed somehow within its bounds. Standards were low; building bye-laws were an impediment yet to be devised, and, with the security of copyhold or other customary tenure, a man could even build his own house or make sacrifices to get one built. At that time, society was not organised on a purely financial basis, and custom was stronger than some of the economic tendencies of the day. The passing of the old system was accompanied in parts of the country by an access of prosperity which made it possible to build, and in others by a process of rural depopulation which diminished the need for houses. For many years the existing cottages often proved adequate to shelter the families that remained. Thus the housing problem first declared itself in the urban districts, and, during the years of agricultural depression which followed 1879, the lessened demand for cottages spread over nearly the whole country.

But, with the turn in the tide which followed the close of the nineteenth century, we meet a new state of affairs. The food supplies of the Western world became less superabundant with the growth of American cities, and with rising prices and

the experience gained in difficult times, English agriculture once more showed signs of revival. The demand for labour ceased to fall, in places began even to increase. The plough was again cheerfully at work on the stiffer clay soils and the light chalk lands, which it had not paid to cultivate during the years of depression.

Simultaneously motor-cars began to fill deserted or half-occupied country houses, and a fashion for 'week-end' cottages, with orchard, paddock, and garden—the typical holding of the cottar—spread over the home counties. Thus the demand for cottages, instead of falling with the diminishing supply, began once more to grow. Yet the old buildings that still remained consecrated to their natural uses continued to fall down or become uninhabitable, while new cottages, suitable for the agricultural labourer, were far to seek and hard to find. Schemes of land nationalisation, and wild suggestions for placing all local burdens on the already over-taxed land, produced a feeling of disastrous insecurity, and made land-owners unwilling to sink more capital in building cottages on estates which in some cases for thirty years had hardly paid the cost of their upkeep and management, and were now threatened with practical confiscation. Meanwhile, standards had risen, and many of the remaining cottages were rightly condemned as unfit for human habitation, while some were actually closed, with, perhaps, an insufficient appreciation of the fact that a bad roof over one's head is better than no roof at all.

In considering the present condition of affairs in rural England, its sociological structure in general, and the housing of agricultural labour in particular, with a view of finding directions in which improvement is possible, it is, of course, idle to contemplate a return to the old ways. The wasteful and inefficient methods of open field cultivation and over-stocked common pasture are as dead as military land-tenure, the parochial ducking-stool, or the rest of the feudal system. They were each and all excellent institutions in their day, and may have been abandoned with undue precipitation. But, in order to re-establish the nice balance of forces which requires a sound class of peasantry, with a proper measure of economic and social security and independence, a new system,

suited to modern needs, must be devised. Yet it would be unwise to fall into the old mistake of ignoring the antecedent conditions, and to shut our eyes to the lessons which history can unfold.

When we analyse the advantages shown by the older systems of rural economy in their best days, as regards the condition of the labouring population, we find that the essential features were the large proportion of labourers who possessed a secure and recognised hold on the land, and the strength of custom in maintaining a standard of rights and duties for the different classes in rural life.

The modern equivalent of custom is public opinion, supported and stiffened where necessary and possible by careful legislation commending itself to the good sense of the community, and by the efficient administration of such well-considered laws. To that question we shall return; let us first deal with the problem of the labourer and the land.

With present facilities of transport, local needs are not dependent on local supplies, and thus land only fit for one type of agriculture cannot be forced into use for another as in medieval times. Where the soil is favourable, or where suitable markets are near at hand, the small holding of a few acres or the small farm of thirty to fifty acres may prove an economic success and supply a family with a complete living. But all those with an adequate knowledge of the conditions agree that, over large areas of the country, the small holding, as a sole means of support, is doomed to failure. The large or medium-sized farm is often the only way of cultivating the land with economy and success, and the problem of labour on large or medium farms must remain the predominant consideration.

The modern farm needs almost constant labour, and, in the interest both of the land and the men, it is well that, as far as possible, employment should be steady throughout the year. The present system of a low wage as a kind of retaining fee, with larger earnings at harvest and other seasons of pressure, is a recognition of this need. On well-managed estates, the regular labourers, kept on by the farmer throughout the year, have an adequate garden of fifteen or twenty perches attached to their cottages, and receive from the farmer another twenty perches of prepared and manured potato ground some-

where in the fields. It is possible that this amount of land is as much as a single man can manage in his hours of leisure. Moreover, it is clear that difficulties accumulate on all sides when his holding is increased to a size which needs stock. Men who have the constant handling of the food of their employer's animals have also constant temptation in the thought of a litter of hungry piglings at home. The determined opposition of most farmers to any attempt to provide their regular labourers with stock probably diminishes appreciably the number of charges of pilfering tried before the nearest Petty Sessions.

But improvement may be sought by another road. Most farms need additional help at certain seasons, and, for this purpose, draw on casual labour. In some places a good type of jobbing labourer is found, who, with a small holding of his own which can be managed, if necessary, for a time by his wife and children, is free to earn good wages when the chance offers. Without a holding of some few acres, such a man is in bad case during the slack seasons. But with land in which to sink his surplus time and money, with skill and industry, he is in a safe position, and has a good chance of rising to a small farm in time. Where such men are to be found, and where such holdings are possible, their development gives an opening to those regular labourers, who prefer greater stakes in the game of life, to pass to another sphere, and tends to raise wages and to improve conditions of employment generally. Moreover, the produce of this kind of small holding usually goes to supply the needs of the neighbouring cottagers, who thus obtain milk and other things not always to be got from a large farm, which more easily deals in a wholesale market.

But, to benefit directly the agricultural labourer in regular employment, we must look to a rise in wages and to an increase in the amenities and in the security of his tenure of his cottage home. These two things are connected intimately. It is often said that if wages were raised the labourer would be able to pay an adequate rent and secure a good cottage. The possibility of the converse effect of an adequate supply of cottages in raising the standard of wages seems to have been overlooked. But we are now face to face with the whole problem of rural housing and agricultural wages.

In most other departments of economic history, an unsatisfied

demand has called forth a corresponding supply. Why is it that, while the demand for country cottages is becoming more and more insistent, the supply is lagging farther and farther behind the needs of the time?

Of houses rented below £20 a year, the Inland Revenue Department gives figures which show that over one hundred thousand were built in 1903, about eighty thousand in 1906, and only about ten thousand in 1911. Although the yearly number has risen once more to about eighty thousand, it is still much below what it was ten years ago. What is the cause of this restriction of output in the face of the vehement demand?

The same answers are given by nearly all those cognisant of the facts. In the first place, cottages are not built because they cannot be made to pay for their cost. In the second place, the prevailing feeling of insecurity prevents landowners or indeed anyone else from building without looking for an exact money return. As a commercial investment, no adequate interest can be obtained, it is said, for the capital outlay involved in building, while existing capital is seriously threatened. And, with present standards of rent and possibilities of legislation and taxation, this is undoubtedly true. But an agricultural labourer expects to get a cottage for a shilling, eighteenpence, or, at most, two shillings a week. No cottage can be built under about £150, and for a cottage suitable for a large family, £175 at least must be expended. Now 5 per cent. on £150 is £7 10s. a year, and, allowing £2 18s. for rates, repairs and insurance, and nothing at all for land, fencing, and water supply, we get four shillings a week as the lowest rent which would make the smaller cottage a reasonable investment even for a landowner building on his own estate. It is worthy of note that, at the so-called 'Garden City' at Letchworth, rents of five and six shillings a week are asked and obtained for cottages of about the standard we are now considering. But even the four shillings is much higher than the one shilling or eighteenpence that a labourer looks to disburse. An unbridged gap lies between the one shilling and the four shillings, a gap which in one plane measures the chief difficulty of rural housing.

Now it is easy to say that a proper economic rent is too high for the labourers to pay with the money wages they receive.

From fourteen or fifteen shillings a week four or five shillings is a large deduction. Yet it should not be forgotten that, in the country, money wages are usually supplemented not only by potato-ground and harvest-money, but by many food allowances, such as milk, rabbits, and so forth, which the farmer can supply at less cost than they could be obtained elsewhere in the neighbourhood. These things might too easily be dispensed with in favour of beer and tinned meat did they cease to come within the category of customary perquisites. Real earnings are usually much higher—sometimes by forty or fifty per cent.—than the nominal money wages.

It is easy, too, to say that agricultural wages should be higher. Everyone would agree that, in common with many other deserving people, the rural labourer should be better paid. The problem is to secure the desired rise in real earnings without doing more harm than good by interference. The wide and difficult question of the probable effect of a minimum wage as applied to agriculture is beyond the scope of the present article. It may be that, with careful attention to local standards and local profits of agriculture, some standard wage might be a possible way of securing to the labourer a larger share of the yield of the land, especially as times improve. But it should not be forgotten that, in present conditions, it is not feasible to raise the prices of agricultural produce to meet the cost of such legal enactments. The problem is thus more difficult than that of coal, where the owners themselves raised prices, or of railways, where the Government have allowed a revision of rates to meet the increased cost of labour. Both railways and the home coal trade are naturally protected industries.

Nevertheless, the question of rural wages concerns intimately that of rural housing. If the custom of the country assigns to a labourer a cottage at a nominal rent or at none at all, it is clear that he can accept and will accept a lower wage. Just as, under the old Poor Law before 1834, outdoor relief given as a subsidy towards wages lowered the standard wage throughout the country, so the system of letting cottages at a nominal rent or at none is in effect a similar form of subsidy, and directly tends to that low rate of wages which is usually regarded as the cause rather than the effect of low rents. It is often thought that a rise in wages would solve automatically the cottage

problem. But, unless the standard of cottage rents rose simultaneously, the increase of wages would be absorbed in other ways, and the difficulty of housing would remain acute.

We hold that, instead of pious aspirations for higher wages for the agricultural labourer, a bold attempt to supply his housing needs would be more effective, and might be made together with, if not previously to, any concerted effort to increase his income by more artificial means. A refusal to accept less than the economic rents for country cottages, in spite of its seeming hardship, would stiffen the demands of the men for increased wages, and thus tend to raise them in a natural way. And, as the supply of cottages became more adequate, a man would be able to leave a master who under-paid or under-housed him without the fear of finding no other home. His power of bargaining would be improved very greatly.

The evil of artificially low rents is closely connected with another practice which too often has crept into our rural customs—the habit of letting all the cottages to the farmers with the land and other buildings as part of the equipment of the holding. It is only fair and right that, according to the size of his farm, a farmer should control one or two cottages for his foreman and stockman. But, as far as possible, other cottages, with their plot of garden land, should be kept in the landowner's hands to be let directly to the labourers, thus bringing them into direct relation with the third party in the country economy.

Of the other benefits of making the cottager the direct tenant of his home, two in particular must be considered. First, it gives the labourer a more independent position. He does not necessarily lose his house at a week's notice should he lose his work. Secondly—and this is our more immediate point—it prevents the farmer from giving all the cottages to his men in part payment of wages, either at no charge or for a merely nominal sum, which is subtracted from the weekly earnings. It is this system, we believe, which has established so firmly and so disastrously the present low standard of rents with its depressing influence on wages.

The scheme we suggest is not a mere theory. It can be carried out by any landowner who is prepared to take the trouble—indeed, on a small scale and in a tentative way, it

is already an accomplished fact on one small estate. Let us trace its effect in a definite hypothetical case, since it is an affair of rents and wages. Take a fair-sized mixed pasture and arable farm rented, say, at £300 or £400 a year, and employing, let us suppose, four regular labourers housed on the estate, and needing besides occasional extra help. Assume that, in existing circumstances, the farmer pays to a general labourer an average money wage of thirteen shillings a week, and gives, in addition to various allowances, a cottage worth four shillings but reckoned at two—a money wage, in cash and cottage, of fifteen shillings a week. By these factors, among others, the standard wage is fixed at fifteen shillings, and the standard rent for a good cottage at two shillings, a rent at which it is quite impossible either for landowner or public authority to build other cottages to pay their way.

Now let us suppose that the landowner decides to take these cottages into his own hand, or retain others he has built, and to let them direct to the men at four shillings a week, which may be taken as their economic value. He will have to arrange matters with the farmer, and things will work out thus: An old-established farmer must be persuaded, or an incoming tenant must agree, to pay each man two shillings a week extra in wages—that is, seventeen shillings a week. For his four men this means an increased expenditure of £20 16*s*. per annum, and this sum must be allowed off the rent of the farm. From that rent, too, must be subtracted the two shillings a week at which each cottage was reckoned when let with the land, since the farmer has now to relinquish the cottages. Thus a total deduction of £41 12*s*. must be made from the rent of the farm.

Against this, the landowner receives four shillings a week each for the four cottages—that is, of course, the same sum, £41 12*s*. Thus the change costs the landowner nothing save the rates on the cottages, possibly the repairs, and the trouble of collecting the rents. If a cottage or two is still let with the farm, it will be desirable to covenant with the tenant to sublet at corresponding rents. Thus a uniform standard of rents is maintained on the estate, a standard at which it is possible to build other cottages to pay their way should such cottages be required—a standard which will not unfairly handicap the enterprise of any one who is prepared to add to

the housing accommodation of the district. In the same way it will be seen that the farmer receives in the reduction of his rent the equivalent of what he pays extra in wages; while the labourer gets an increase in wages equal to his rise in rent. Thus the experiment leaves the three parties to the transaction exactly as they were in terms of money, so far as concerns the labourers who are householders on the estate.

But the secondary effects must be analysed a little more closely. The new standard wage is seventeen shillings, and this increase will be found to tend to raise the wages of other men employed on the farm, whether they be housed elsewhere, or be single men lodging in the neighbourhood. Thus, if the farmer employs much outside labour, his wages bill may tend to rise more than the allowance contemplates. At some periods of rural history this possibility might prove a serious obstacle, but, with the present upward trend of prices and keen demand for farms, it will be found that most farmers will be willing to give the system a fair trial. Many of them know that a rise in wages is partially set off by an increase in the efficiency of labour. Moreover, as the supply of cottages rises in response to the increased returns, the farmer will gain much greater freedom of choice in selecting and changing his men.

The labourer gains directly if he be a non-householder, or live elsewhere. But indirectly, wherever he may live, he will benefit greatly by a more plentiful supply of cottages, by an increased facility of movement and an improved power of bargaining for wages. Moreover, if the process of raising rents be carried out at the same time as the change to a direct tenancy under the landowner, it will be found that the man regards his increased security of tenure as a distinct gain, and views the whole scheme with approval.

To the landowner, the new system certainly means a little more trouble. But he gains economic freedom to build new cottages if needful; he has the satisfaction of feeling that the receipts from his estate are more nearly apportioned between farm and cottages at their true value, and that he has stopped a vicious system which was an obstacle to all schemes of rural housing. And again, a general rise in wages will mean an increase in general cottage rents and in the demand for land

for cottages and gardens, an increase which, on a broad view, must benefit the landowning interest. The whole countryside must, in the long run, gain by placing the relative returns from farms and cottages on their true economic footing. A prosperous and contented peasantry cannot be other than a source of strength and satisfaction to all concerned.

But, even when the cottage problem is placed on a sound economic basis, we have still to face the fact that cottages are not a convenient or pleasant form of investment. If confidence could be restored in the stability of land as a form of property, it is probable that we should not look in vain to the oft-tried landowners of England to supply the housing needs of their own estates. But even that action would not now meet the needs of the growing rural population not directly employed in agriculture, while, to secure variety and the independence it brings, different classes of owners, public as well as private, may be desirable. From the point of view we take, all attempts to subsidise building from taxes or rates would tend to maintain the present bad system of low rents, and do more harm than good. Probably indeed the very suggestion of such help has already appreciably checked private enterprise. A large subsidy from national funds to District Councils towards the cost of cottages would stop at once all private building, and a system of housing the working classes by the bureaucratic action of a Government Department would remain the only future possibility. Subsidies from the rates are open to the same criticism, with the added probability of incompetence and corruption among the local authorities, usually composed largely of farmers, builders and contractors—some of them men of limited outlook and small experience—who have too much to gain or lose to make impartial administrators. Provided however the housing schemes are framed on a paying basis, there is less objection to using the security of the rates to borrow money at lower terms than could otherwise be obtained. On these lines of sound finance, the Housing Act of 1909 may safely be put into action. At the same time it is desirable to encourage individual enterprise by extending to private owners, subject to adequate safeguards against abuse, the credit facilities afforded by that Act to local authorities. More than one Bill has been drafted for this

purpose, but all need amendment in that they commonly contain clauses requiring the cottages built with such loans to be let at the small rents which tend to perpetuate an evil and discredited system.

Finally, since a restoration of a feeling of security is a necessary preliminary if we are to expect landowners to embark on large schemes of cottage building, it may be opportune to refer very shortly to the basis of the rents of agricultural land and the allied subject of a reform in the rating system.

Townsmen, in their prevailing ignorance of country matters, usually regard the land of England as a gift of nature, and its fertility as an inherent property. We would refer anyone who holds that the rent of agricultural land is different from other forms of return on capital, to papers by the late Mr. Albert Pell in the 'Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society' for 1887 and 1899, entitled 'The Making of the Land in England'—papers reprinted as an appendix to Mr. Pell's 'Reminiscences.' They will be surprised to find that pastures and tillage fields are as much the product of enterprise, capital, and labour as, let us say, chemical works or a pottery factory. To create from a state of nature—coarse grass, sour marsh, or impenetrable thorn scrub—a typical Midland estate, to fence it, drain it, provide roads and gates, would cost £10 or £12 per acre. The buildings on a modern farm cost on the average some £9 per acre. Hence to make and equip such land for farming has cost about £20 an acre. With the existing average annual rent of perhaps 20 or 25 shillings, of which at least one-third is absorbed in repairs and taxes, it will be seen how small a return even in this case is obtained on the capital sunk in development. The small area of very rich old grass land would show better figures, but on reclaimed moorland or sandy waste the results would be still less favourable. The 'site value' and 'unearned increment,' of which we hear so much, vanish together into less than nothingness.

Under the Finance Act of 1909, the term 'site value,' perhaps fairly applicable to urban property, was extended to rural areas and made to include much of the cost of preparing the land. This method of assessment was designed from the point of view of possible increment duty where agricultural land passes into use for building. But it makes the result an unfair basis for other purposes, and causes the 'site

'values' now being assigned to agricultural estates to give a monstrously false impression to those ignorant of our land and its history.

The needs of rural housing are urgent; all efforts should be made to encourage building. There is room for the private owner, there is room for the local authority, while the success of some of the Public House Trust Companies suggests that, in this direction also, relief might be sought. Trust Associations, with dividends limited to 5 or 6 per cent., might be founded by local people of public spirit and assured position, whose personalities would be the best guarantee for pure administration, while the pressure of shareholders would secure that efficiency which is sometimes found to be incompatible with the expenditure of public money by elected representatives. To such Associations Government loans, on the security of the cottages, might safely be made, and thus another step taken in the direction of adequate housing.

The whole condition of rural life is well worthy of careful, scientific, and impartial examination. History assures us that the different classes in the economy of our country-side have all useful parts to play; that the status of the labourer need not be one of personal enslavement and economic dependence; and that, in attempting to recreate, by methods adapted to the present day, some of the wise co-ordinations of the past centuries, we are not violating any principle of political science or social development. And the problem of rural housing must take the first place in any adequate consideration of the position of agricultural labour in England.

W. C. D. AND C. D. WHETHAM.

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5. **Evils of Collective Bargaining in Trades Unions.** By T. S. CREE. Glasgow: Bell and Bain. 1898.
6. **A Criticism of the Theory of Trades Unions.** By T. S. CREE. 4th edition. Glasgow: Bell and Bain.

IN his presidential address to the Economic Section of the British Association in 1907, Professor Ashley gave as a typical instance of the vital questions which divided economists, the question whether trade unions can or cannot raise the general rate of wages. The works mentioned above represent the varying views that are held. Mr. Cree, who was himself an employer, and, as Professor Smart testifies, a good employer, represents the view of the classical economists. Several of the greatest living authorities, whose own views are very different, have, publicly or privately, borne witness that his presentation of the case is one with which trade union advocates must seriously reckon. Mr. Cree's excellent pamphlets are out of print, but might well be reprinted. Of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's monumental work it is not necessary at this time of day to say much. The impression it makes is at first overwhelming, and even when the reader has recovered his power of criticism, it, and particularly Part III. on Trade Union Theory, remains a formidable statement of the trade union case. As Professor Smart says, it is not necessary to go outside its pages for information of what trade unionism is and what it aims at. Professor Nicholson and Professor Smart, of whose 'Distribution of Income' a second edition has recently appeared, represent a middle view. Professor

Smart examines the claims of trade unions with his usual painstaking fairness, and concludes:—

'As the restriction which Trade Unionism puts on the liberty of the employer is not very serious, the direct effect of Trade Unionism on the distribution of income does not seem very great. At least it does not amount to more than securing, by an artificial "dyke," the share which, with more or less friction, would have gone to labour without it. But, indirectly, its effect on wages seems to be considerable, inasmuch as it tends to maintain the efficiency of the stream of labour by favouring the strong employer and putting a premium on the good worker. This conclusion, however, assumes that we are considering ideal Trade Unionism, apart from its accidents, mistakes, and abuses.'

Whether trade unions do indirectly, as Professor Smart claims, increase the efficiency of labour will be considered presently; but that is certainly not their primary purpose. Unlike such contrivances for increasing the productivity of labour as technical education and improved machinery, trade unions do not aim at increasing the total product but at obtaining a larger share for labour at the expense of other factors of production. For the purpose of this article that is assumed to be a good thing. Our object is to discover if trade unions can fulfil that aim—that is, can cause a larger total amount to be paid in wages than would be paid under a *régime* of free competition.

The scope of the investigation as thus defined rules out as irrelevant all inquiry as to whether labour is in fact getting its fair share of the product according to some ideal standard in the inquirer's mind. It also rules out the question whether labour's share is in fact increasing or diminishing, and it permits us to leave on one side all disputed questions of fact as to particular rises of wages claimed for trade unionism. Rises, the result of strikes, are matters of every-day experience; but a successful strike is a very inadequate measure of the influence of trade unions. Like the racoon in the story, employers often come down from their perch without waiting to be shot at. In many trades the unions are manifestly the dominating factor in fixing the wage; but this statement only amounts to the self-evident proposition that the seller can always fix his price rate. What he cannot do is to determine the number of his sales, and it may very well happen that trade unionism, while it causes particular wages to be

raised, diminishes the total or average wage paid. Indeed, it is conceivable that trade unionism may so prejudicially affect the total demand for labour, that the very wages, which are at the moment raised by trade union action, would have been higher still if there had been no trade unions. Our problem then is to consider whether trade unionism can increase the total wage earned by the working class or, what is the same thing, can increase the average yearly earnings of the individual workman.

On behalf of trade unions it is argued that combination is necessary to put the workman on an equal footing in bargaining. This is like the argument that a free-trade country is at a disadvantage in competing with a protected country. Just as that argument assumes the point in dispute, that protection is a help, so does the trade union argument assume the point in dispute, that combination is a help.

But does this alleged inequality really exist? The workman without savings must no doubt take what he can get; but equally the employer must pay what he must. In a trial of personal endurance the employer may be able to hold out longer by converting his capital into a fund for his own subsistence; but this is to retire from the fight. Capital when fulfilling its function as capital is as dependent on labour as labour is on capital. The dependence in each case being absolute, it seems impossible to describe it as greater in the one case than the other. The employer no doubt is not dependent on any particular workman, but neither is the workman dependent on any particular employer. It suffices that capital in general is absolutely dependent on labour in general. If at any given time and place labour is more abundant than capital, that constitutes a genuine inequality, but the remedy for that is to attract additional capital. The tendency of trade unionism is to do the very opposite.

Assuming, however, that combination *ipso facto* improves the position of one party to the labour contract, that advantage, if it be an advantage, the workman in the nature of the case cannot monopolise. In point of fact combinations of workmen are met by combinations of employers. The advantage is thus neutralised and the two parties both combined are in the same relative positions as if both were uncombined.

Again it is argued that under competition, and without trade unionism or some similar bulwark, there is no downward limit to wages, save the least that will keep the workman and his family in life. This statement, which constitutes part of the stock-in-trade of socialist orators, is completely disproved by facts. Wage rates have differed and do differ enormously in the same country at different times, and in different countries at the same time. No meaning can be attached to the statement that the wages of Indian coolies and American artisans, of British workmen of to-day and British workmen of a hundred years ago, are all subsistence wages. In spite of Marxian predictions to the contrary, money wages and also real wages, so far from tending to a minimum of mere subsistence, have shown a tendency to increase indefinitely. Part of that increase, no doubt, will be claimed as the result of trade unionism, but the increase is often greatest in those occupations where trade unionism is weak or non-existent: for example, among domestic servants throughout the kingdom, and among agricultural labourers in the north of England and in Scotland. Mr. and Mrs. Webb say it is 'discreditable' in economists to cite domestic service in this connexion. But why is the housewife, who is supposed to cheapen everything to starvation point, supposed at the same time to be indifferent to the wage she pays her servant? And why is she supposed to be more vulnerable in respect of what is a pure luxury—and, as Professor Smart shows, often a novel luxury—than the ordinary employer dependent for his livelihood on getting labour? Or why is the domestic servant more independent of her employer than are other workers?

The subsistence theory, so far as derived from Ricardo, is based strictly on Malthusian principles. All that it says is that if any advantage is gained, it will, according to the principles of human nature assumed to exist, be followed by an increase of population and so lost. Suppose trade unionism caused all wages to be doubled. By the time population had doubled—which the law assumes would speedily be the case as the result of the increased wages—the wage would be down to its original level, and therefore Ricardo's law tells as much against as for trade unionism.

Apart from the law as defined by Ricardo, and with his

assumptions about population, the advocates of trade unions may be confidently challenged to show any theoretical reason why wages should tend to a minimum rather than to a maximum or to any other point. It will pay the isolated workman to take a wage however small rather than starve, no doubt; but it will equally pay the isolated employer to give anything, however high, for his labour up to the point that leaves him a margin of profit. The same argument that makes workmen helpless *vis-à-vis* their employer, would make tenants helpless *vis-à-vis* landlords and landlords *vis-à-vis* tenants, lenders *vis-à-vis* borrowers and borrowers *vis-à-vis* lenders, sellers *vis-à-vis* buyers and buyers *vis-à-vis* sellers. The true statement seems to be that the rate of wages depends on the balance of two forces, competition of workmen tending to lower them and competition of employers tending to raise them. Mr. and Mrs. Webb's argument is that the pressure is always from buyer to seller. The recent railway and coal strikes, if nothing else, should have taught us all the absolute dependence of the ultimate buyer for consumption. But in truth, if we think away money and grasp the conception, which Professor Smart makes so familiar, of the economic world as a world where goods and services are exchanged against goods and services, the distinction of buyer and seller, demand and supply disappears. Who then are the squeezers and who the squeezed? If all producers are beaten down to subsistence, who gets the rest?

Further it is argued that, under competition, it is the subsistence level of the lowest workman that fixes the rate for the whole. The exact opposite is the case. It is the strongest workman economically who fixes the rate for his weaker brethren. In big works (as, indeed, Mr. and Mrs. Webb admit, or, rather, contend) there must be a uniform rate, for it is no more possible for the employer of a thousand workmen to fix for each man singly the lowest wage for which that particular man could be got, than it was for the countryman in the story to make a special bargain for his railway ticket. But the uniform rate must be sufficient to attract the economically strongest man who is wanted.

It is sometimes sought to stretch the Ricardian law to cover a purely conventional or arbitrary standard of life having no relation to the actual standard on which the typical workman

will consent to marry and bring up a family. But in this form the law has no scientific character at all. Surely the expectation that wages can be raised by the mere desire in the workman's mind for higher wages is as chimerical as the search for the philosopher's stone. The whole conception is a travesty of Ricardo.

It may be noticed also that this argument that wages tend to accommodate themselves to the wage earner's needs, physical or conventional, is inconsistent with the other plea, that the wage earner is at a disadvantage in bargaining on account of his poverty. If the wage tends to accommodate itself to need or standard of life, then if the wage earner has any independent resource this will reduce his needs and therefore his wage. For instance, we are told that women's wages are low, partly because women are not supposed to have families to support, partly because some women work for pocket-money only. According to this theory it is the wage earner's wealth, not his poverty, which puts him at a disadvantage. It cannot be simultaneously argued that wages are lowered for all men because some men must accept what is offered or starve, and lowered for all women because some women are not dependent on their wages. On this branch of the case it is satisfactory to find that Professor Smart, at the end of an elaborate examination, arrives at the conclusion that wages 'are a demand price, not, as the trade union 'argument assumes, a supply price.'

As opposed to a competitive, or demand-and-supply, wage, we have the ideal of a universal minimum wage, or as it is sometimes called, a living or standard wage—that is, a wage fixed according to an assumed standard of what is required for a healthy life. However attractive that ideal may be, it is hopelessly unscientific. First, wages are a payment for a service rendered, and it is neither just nor practicable to make employers pay, not according to the value of the service, which may be infinitely small, but according to a quite irrelevant standard, the workman's needs. Secondly, if the amount available for wages is in any way limited, then justice itself, as in the case of a shipwrecked crew or a beleaguered garrison, would prescribe not a minimum but an equal distribution. That the amount available for wages, call it wage fund or not, is limited at a given time and place, will we hope appear from

our argument. The report of the Census of Production recently issued shows that the net output per head of persons employed is less than two pounds per week. The net output is the gross output less cost of materials and amount paid to other firms for work done, and thus 'constitutes for any 'industry the fund from which wages, salary, rent, royalties, 'rates, taxes, depreciation, advertisement and sales expenses, 'and all other similar charges have to be defrayed, as well as 'profits.' Two pounds, therefore, is more than the average weekly wage that could be paid on extreme syndicalist principles. Further, while under two pounds per head per week is the average net output over all, the average in industries employing one-third of the working population is, as pointed out by the Director of the Census in a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society, under thirty shillings.

We may then dismiss the idea, on the one hand that wages apart from combination must inevitably sink to some absolute level of lowness, and on the other that they can be raised indefinitely by the simple fact of aspiration and discontent in the worker's mind. The best way probably in which the trade union case can be put is to compare trade unions to combinations of capitalists to keep up prices, price agreements, pools, trusts. But the analogy is very imperfect.

First, is there any reason to suppose that capitalistic combinations benefit the whole capitalist class? Does not that class always assume the contrary? The Steel Trust gains at the expense of the users of steel. Now it is not necessary here to argue how far such sectional gains at the expense of other sections are commendable or legitimate. It is sufficient here to say that trade unionism which benefits only sections of workmen at the expense of other sections has no interest for the philanthropist or the social reformer.

Secondly, the impetus to capitalistic combination seems to arise where there are fixed charges or oncost. In such a case, in the absence of combination, there will be a tendency for each competitor to lower rates to the point where each additional unit produced just more than covers 'prime cost.' Looking to each individual transaction this will be good business, but in the aggregate of transactions nothing will remain to pay fixed charges. Hence the necessity for combination or anti-rate-cutting agreements. Competing

railways are a good instance of this principle. But the whole idea of fixed charges or oncost is inapplicable to labour. The large majority of working men are normally, even under present conditions, fully employed, and a man who is working eight or nine hours a day cannot steal a job, as a railway can steal traffic, from a competitor.

Thirdly, combinations of capitalists either of set purpose restrict output, or at least they are prepared to restrict output, if, and so far as, their enhanced price lessens demand. But, whether or not it is possible or desirable, it is at least no part of the trade union function to restrict the output of men and women. In that respect trade unions are like combinations of makers of chairs and tables, who, having checked demand by raising prices, should go on turning out unsaleable chairs and tables in undiminished quantities.

Fourthly, however large a part of the field combined selling may be alleged to cover, it is not the whole. The method of selling at auctions or exchanges, that is, in a strictly competitive manner, is at least equally widespread. To which of these two methods of selling is the sale of labour analogous? The things sold at auctions or exchanges, namely land and houses, private collections of books or pictures, stocks and shares, and all sorts of staple products such as wheat, wool, pig iron, etc., are not things in the making but things existing or believed to exist in a determinate quantity. They may indeed be the same things that in other stages are dealt in on the combined method, but at the moment the object is to dispose of an existing stock. Now the labour of a country is an existing stock which, for social health, must all be disposed of and must be disposed of at once. As Mr. and Mrs. Webb point out, the loss of a day's employment is irrevocable. To this extent the sale of labour is analogous to the sale of perishable commodities, where obviously it is impossible to improve the market for the seller by holding back part of the supply. It is submitted, therefore, that there is no way in which the sum total of labour can be disposed of for so large a total price as the method which prevails at auctions of perishable goods, that is by lowering the price to what is just sufficient to take off the whole quantity. Any raising of price beyond the point where supply and demand are equal means that some of the supply is unsold.

In the case of those businesses that are only paying their way, even a slight rise in wages at the expense of profits means a stoppage and the loss of so much employment; for it is gratuitous optimism to assume that the business is simply transferred to a more efficient competitor. This is evident when we remember that so far as trade unionism reduces profits it does so all round, and the relative positions of the successful and the struggling firms are not altered. Suppose two works X and Y. X makes a profit *a*. Y, being more efficiently managed or better equipped, makes a profit $a + b$. Trade unionism demands an increase which absorbs or more than absorbs *a*. Work X now closes and work Y is now reduced to a profit equal to *b*. Whether the business of X will be transferred to Y will depend on whether *b* is sufficient to attract the new capital required to double the output of Y. But if that is the case, it is at least probable that Y would have extinguished X without trade unionism. It is always open to Y to tempt away all X's workmen or all X's customers by making over to one or the other, in higher wages or lower prices, the *a* portion of his profits. It may be said that it pays Y better to make $a + b$ on a smaller rather than *b* on a larger turnover. But what Y can do presumably others can do. So that if *b* is a sufficient rate of profit to attract new capital, X will go under, trade unionism or no trade unionism.

In the case of profitable businesses, it might be thought there was more room for an increase, but, in the first place, it seems impossible to confine the effect of trade unionism to profitable businesses. In every industry there are some firms on the margin. But even if it were possible to raise wages only in those firms which are making abnormal profits, it may be questioned if it would be to the ultimate advantage of labour. According to well-recognised psychological principles, it is quite possible that a few conspicuous instances of abnormal profits do more to attract capital than a high average rate of profit. It has been remarked that the few high prizes of the bar and the enormous profits of a few gold mines appeal to the gambling spirit, and cause an unfailing flow of aspirants to what is on the average the worst paid profession, and of capital to what is on the average the least remunerative kind of investment. It might well pay labour to leave a few plums

to tempt the investor. At all events some exceptionally high profits are needed to balance the losses of capital and to produce a moderate average rate of interest and profit. Taking an average of every fifth stock in the 'Commercial and Industrial' section of the Stock List for August 1912 we find that the yield on the selling price is under five per cent. This at a time of low capital values and high dividends.

That a diminution in the rate of interest or profit will be attended—other things being equal—by some diminution in capital, seems hardly to need a laboured proof; but it is worth while to consider some of the arguments used to avoid the conclusion.

It is argued that if we have trade unions, other countries have other disadvantages to investors, or indeed have trade unions also. But to argue as if a cause did not exist, merely because it is liable to be counteracted by other causes, is not very scientific. If trade unionism has a tendency to repel capital, however widespread trade unionism is, that country where there is least trade unionism will—other things being equal—have an advantage in obtaining capital.

We will suppose that this country has normally an advantage over the United States in the terms on which it can get its capital, and that this advantage is represented by a difference of one per cent. in the rate of interest or profit. That means that a British investor will expect six per cent. for an American investment which is similar in character to a five per cent. investment in this country. At these rates the two investments are exactly equal in attractiveness. Now if by trade unionism or otherwise you reduce the British five per cent. to, say, four and a half, *ex hypothesi* the American investment becomes the more attractive.

The immense export of British capital during the last fifteen years shows that the British investor is waking up to the fact that the advantage we have hitherto possessed over other countries is largely one of custom and tradition. Essentially and in the nature of things, looking to the natural resources of different countries, there was never perhaps any reason why British gilt-edged investments should hold the unique place they did fifteen years ago. It is not necessary to attribute to trade unionism the great export of capital of

recent years, but at least this is not the time to handicap the home investment of capital. Those who argue from the fact, if it be a fact, that labour has lost something of late years in comparison with capital, to the need for a more aggressive labour policy, are reading the moral exactly backwards. The need is for inducements to invest capital at home.

It is just on this point that Mr. and Mrs. Webb's argument is least adequate. They argue that safety of capital, not rate of return, is the investor's object. But what investor is indifferent to the return on his capital? Liberator scandals show that investors care too much for return and too little for safety of capital, and, comparing the new with the old unionists, can it be fairly said that trade unionism has in fact led to greater safety of capital or political stability or more pleasant relations between masters and men? Even if it made men better off, it would not necessarily make them more contented. 'The more things improve, the more people complain of their badness,' is especially true of poverty.

But it is argued, granted that trade unionism entails some loss of employment, it still pays labour on the whole to pay out-of-work benefit to those who are thrown out rather than give up the standard wage. In other words, it is cheaper to support your competitor in idleness than to suffer his competition. It seems impossible to justify this paradox. If it were true that the labour of a smaller quantity of men could be made to sell in the market of the world for more than the labour of a larger quantity of men, it would follow that it might pay to burn coals at the pit mouth in order to raise the price of what remained. It would be the same as to say that it would pay you to pension off your foreign competitor rather than admit his goods in competition, which is further than any protectionist has gone. It is true that, according to Adam Smith, the Dutch used to burn spice to keep up the value of what remained, but is there any more recent instance? And in any case we cannot burn the superfluous men. The argument, moreover, ignores modern internationalisation of capital. The policy of paying out-of-work benefit to keep people from breaking the rate could not, at best, do more to raise wages by making labour scarce than a new Black Death, and a new Black Death would probably not so much raise wages where it occurred as transfer

capital and employment to where labour remained abundant. This, it is submitted, is the true limit to Malthusianism.

Other advocates look to other compensations. A new school of economists argues that what you give the workman in increased wages comes back to you in an increased demand for commodities. Surely in all economics there is no such attempt to get something out of nothing. If a cloth manufacturer and a boot manufacturer both have to give higher wages to their workmen, and these workmen in consequence buy more boots and more clothes, who does not see that what has happened is that the two manufacturers have had to give their workmen a larger share of the product, to the gain of the workmen but to their own loss? There is a double fallacy in the argument. First, there is our old friend, the fallacy that spending is good for trade. Secondly, spending power or demand is not increased but only transferred from the employers to the employed. This argument is just of the same logical value as the converse one that the rich cannot retrench their luxuries, even to give to the poor, without reducing employment. If it is necessary to prove that spending is not good for trade, we might point out that the immediate effect in creating a demand for labour is the same whether earnings are spent or saved. A yacht and a commercial vessel are the same to the builders, but the commercial vessel is a lasting wealth-producing instrument while the yacht is an expensive toy. As soon as we realise Professor Smart's conception of a national income of goods and services we are able to see that spending involves a diminution of the national aggregate for our private benefit, and to call this a service is grotesque. But, if spending *were* good for trade, it would be perfectly indifferent whether it was on motor-cars or on working-class boots and clothes.

Hitherto we have assumed that the total product remains the same; but trade unionism claims indirectly to increase the product by promoting the efficiency of both employers and employed. The argument does not seem very consistent, for it is not easy to see why higher remuneration should make the man work better and the master worse. As applied to the employer the argument is just the labour counterpart of the old capitalist argument that low wages and a high price

of food acted as a stimulus to the workman. The sort of pressure that is put on employers through having to pay high wages is not different from that caused by a high cost of plant or raw material. Each will no doubt to some extent promote economies in the use of the dearer factors, but would it be seriously maintained that higher cost all round promoted production?

A branch of the argument is that high wages promote the introduction of machinery; but the only benefit of machinery is that it reduces costs. If machinery is introduced to do for 27*s.* 6*d.* what men individually are willing to do for 25*s.*, but what a trade union demands 30*s.* for, who is the gainer? Not the employer who has to pay 27*s.* 6*d.* instead of 25*s.*, not the trade unionist who does not in fact get his 30*s.* You might as well argue that because mechanical traction ought to supersede horse traction, therefore you ought to hobble the horses.

The most attractive form of the argument is that based on the effect of high wages on the workman. The fact may in general terms be admitted. There is plenty of evidence that well-fed, well-clothed and well-housed workmen are stronger in physique and alerter in mind than ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed workmen. If we could go to the length of assuming that every increase of wages up to a fairly high level immediately resulted in a proportionate increase in efficiency, and therefore in the amount of the product, there would be no problem at all. High wages would be a blessing without any drawback, which no employer would have any interest to refuse. But we find, in fact, that humane and competent employers do not anticipate such an effect. And when we compare the physique and the morale of the differently paid workmen of different countries, or of the workmen of the same country in times of high and of low wages, or of highly paid workmen like riveters and low paid workmen like gardeners, it is difficult to trace any such inevitable and immediate causal connexion as is assumed.

One reason for this is obvious. It is only so far as it is wisely spent that a high wage improves the condition of the workmen, and this is not always the case. The Glasgow Housing Commission found that some of the worst slum dwellers were highly paid workmen. This is one point in which high

wages differ from Factory Act improvements in sanitation or safety, which produce their effect independently of the workmen's action.

Again, the apparent connexion between high wages and efficiency may be mis-read. The causal nexus may be not that work is efficient because wages are high, but that wages are high because work is efficient.

Even in a socialistic community, provision would have to be made for the upkeep and replacement of material capital as a condition of continued production, and, after that was done, the limited product of the year might not suffice to pay a maximum-efficiency wage.

Nor is physical efficiency everything. There is also moral efficiency due largely to the spirit of emulation among the work-people themselves. Levelling up to a minimum—i.e. putting all who are now below the minimum on an equal footing—would weaken this important element in successful production. To double all wages might promote efficiency; to make up all wages to thirty shillings would probably do the reverse.

A word may be said here on the subject of the so-called parasitic trades. In a socialistic, as in a non-socialistic, state there will be workmen of every conceivable degree of efficiency and inefficiency. Let us suppose a man whose contribution to the communal product is worth fifteen shillings a week. It is just when he is paid the equivalent of fifteen shillings that he is not a parasite. In such a case he is strictly self-supporting. He is withdrawing from the common stock the exact equivalent of his contribution. On the other hand, if, from motives of humanity, such a man were paid thirty shillings, then he is in the strictest sense a parasite. This, however, is not what Mr. and Mrs. Webb mean by parasitism. By the parasitism involved in low paid labour they do not even mean the undoubted fact that such labour is apt to become a burden on society in the form of poor or charitable relief or on the wages of other members of the family. They regard as parasitic any industry which uses up factors of production without maintaining and replacing them in a state of equal efficiency. But there is surely no absurdity in supposing a factor to be so abundant as not to be worth maintaining. In new countries settlers move on to new land rather than manure the old. In Mr. and Mrs. Webb's view the industry that is

not parasitic must not only keep the workman himself efficient but enable him to bring up an efficient progeny. This is a view which will not bear examination. Their own analogy of the tramway horses might have taught them better, for the tramway horses are bred not from working tramway horses but from specially selected horses. Indeed their use of the word parasitic involves the absurdity that every childless man is a parasite, however valuable the services he renders to the community, however meagre the remuneration he draws in return.

If these arguments are sound, the main evil of trade unionism is that by bringing down weak businesses and by scaring away capital it lessens employment, without necessarily making the remuneration of those who remain employed any higher than it would have been with more abundant capital.

It is not necessary to assume strikes, though it is inevitable that trade unions should sometimes have to apply their *ultima ratio*. This is an additional evil. Strikes and friction generally are the second evil of trade unionism.

It would be easy, but unfair and unprofitable, to lay stress on the abuses of trade unionism, such as the restriction of apprentices and restriction of output ('ca'canny'). These evils are non-essentials of trade unionism and not necessarily conterminous with it. At the same time restriction of output is to some extent defended by Mr. and Mrs. Webb.

Next to being unemployed altogether, the worst thing is to be sweated. Both spring from the same root, a want of a real demand for labour, i.e. a deficient supply of capital, and whatever else trade unionism may do, it does not encourage the supply of capital.

In addition to its tendency to restrict employment in general, trade unionism seems to have a tendency to increase periodic or cyclical unemployment. In the case of commodities or stocks, a slack demand makes itself felt in an all-round diminution of price rather than in a cessation of transactions, and it should be so with labour. The minority of the Poor Law Commissioners recommend that public authorities should put in hand work of a non-urgent kind at times of scanty employment. But the demand for labour is so elastic, labour is so predominant an element in the cost of many commodities,

that a very trifling fall in the rate of wages might be confidently expected to do automatically the very thing that the Minority Commissioners aim at.

Another evil is that the trade union mind is almost necessarily opposed to all healing measures designed to reconcile the interests of employers and employed on the one hand, or to satisfy the demands and assuage the discontents of the employed on the other. Witness Sir George Livesey's long struggle before he could establish profit-sharing, and Lord Furness' defeat when he attempted to introduce that system of working. Nor is this mere temper or wrongheadedness. It proceeds from the deliberate belief that nothing must be done to make the strike weapon less ready or available for immediate use. The sore must be kept always open. Here again the trade union attitude is explicitly defended by Mr. and Mrs. Webb.

Then again the obsession of the standard wage is fatal to many kinds of charitable and regenerative work. The Salvation Army and the Glasgow Blind Asylum have been attacked for not paying the standard wage. As these institutions are not self-supporting and their sales have to be supplemented by subscriptions from the charitable public, it is obvious that the workers get more than the whole produce of their work. It is also obvious that trade unionism would make it impossible to employ, and by employing to rehabilitate, these unfortunate derelicts.

So with labour in prisons. Common sense teaches that prisoners should be employed so as to lessen as far as possible the cost to the State; and, that with a view to their reinstatement in economic society, they should be employed as far as possible under normal conditions. This is frustrated by the demand of trade unions that prisoners shall not be allowed to produce goods for sale but shall be restricted to producing goods for Government departments. It would be difficult to exhaust the economic fallacies involved in this demand. Here are a few. (*a*) There is the fallacy that prisons would in fact compete at an advantage, contrary to the notorious inefficiency of such labour. (*b*) There is the fallacy of supposing that prisons would in fact undersell outside labour. The prison authorities, like other sellers, would sell for what they could get irrespective of cost. The

objection seems to be based on a complete misunderstanding of the relation between cost of production and price of the product. Cost of production affects price only so far as it widens or contracts the area of production. Cost of production has no meaning in regard to work in prisons, as prisoners are in any event a burden on the State. (*c*) There is the fallacy we have already considered, that is it more profitable to keep your competitor in idleness than to endure his competition. (*d*) There is the protectionist fallacy that it is better for two communities to be each self-contained than to exchange each other's products. In one of H.M. prisons the present writer found the prisoners engaged making mail-bags for Government. If, as was stated, it was for the reason mentioned, where is the gain to outside labour? Had these prisoners been making something for sale, then outside labour would have got the making of mail-bags. There would have been a simple exchange between Government and the outside community, which, at least according to free trade principles, should be a good thing.

Finally, it may be questioned if the very extension of trade unionism is not its undoing. The tendency and the ideal are to get rid of the wage contract between individual employers and individual workmen altogether and to have everything settled between a board of federated employers and a trade union, any failure of negotiations necessarily involving a general strike. As Macaulay said of the French Jacobins: 'Punishment which strikes the guilty and the innocent pro-'miscuously operates merely like a pestilence or a great convul-'sion of nature, and has no more tendency to prevent offences 'than the cholera, or an earthquake like that of Lisbon, would 'have.' This exactly applies to the general strike, in which good and bad employer fare alike. Of what use to recognise trade unions if the North-Eastern is to be included in the railway strike? Of what use to grant a minimum wage, if the English coalowners are equally with the Scotch and the Welsh involved in the coal strike? But in truth when all employers, good and bad, are equally affected, none are affected very much. The real loss falls, and is intended to fall, on the unoffending public which loses the service. A miners' leader boasted that the housewife should not have coal for her bucket, and it was not railway directors but the children of the poor

for whose death the railway strike was responsible. How different from a partial strike in which the public continues to be served, but the recalcitrant employer sees his business diverted to his rival, while the strike can be indefinitely prolonged from the pay of the men who remain at work!

The workman who elects for the general as opposed to the partial strike proclaims in so doing that it is really the public rather than the employer whom he wants to terrorise. But it does not always rest with the workman to say whether a strike shall be general or partial. If the employers combine in their undoubted right of self-defence, every strike necessarily becomes general. That is indeed the logical conclusion of the principle of collective bargaining applied to both sides. A general strike becomes the only way out of an *impasse*, however trivial the occasion. International lawyers have pointed out the advantage of the method of dealing individually, as in contraband and blockade, with offenders against belligerent rights, as compared with the method of seeking satisfaction direct from the offender's State, a method failure in which may at any moment involve war. A similar argument may be applied to our subject. When the trade of the Port of London can be dislocated for weeks, and an incalculable amount of suffering inflicted on thousands of innocent people, because one man is alleged to belong to the wrong union, surely we have reached the *reductio ad absurdum* of the trade union method.

A. A. MITCHELL.

THE COMMON PEOPLE OF THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

1. **Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire.** By LUDWIG FRIEDLAENDER. Translated by L. A. MAGNUS, J. H. FREESE, and A. B. GOUGH. Routledge. 1913.
2. **The Common People of Ancient Rome.** By F. F. ABBOTT, Kennedy Professor of Latin in Princeton University. Routledge. 1912.
3. **Society and Politics in Ancient Rome.** By the same. Routledge. 1912.
4. **Le Travail dans le Monde Romain.** By PAUL LOUIS. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1912.
5. **Petronii Saturae.** Rec. FR. BUECHELER. Fifth edition, edited by W. HERAEUS. Berlin: Weidmann. 1912.
6. **Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae.** Ed. C. ZANGEMEISTER. (Vol. iv. of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.') Berlin. 1871.

THE translation of Friedlaender's masterpiece, now completed, gives to English readers the opportunity of ascertaining how much the modern world knows of the life, public and private, of the early Roman Empire. It must be confessed that Friedlaender has not been wholly happy in his translators, whose errors have been liberally pointed out in the 'Classical Review.' Moreover, some scholars in this country were at first inclined to look askance at the English rendering as it came out in separate volumes, because it was translated from the author's seventh edition, from which, at the insistence of his publisher, he had omitted the valuable footnotes giving the sources of his statements, and a long series of excellent and minute appendices. This latter criticism at any rate is now met by the appearance of a fourth volume, considerably larger than any of the other three, which contains the appendices and notes from the sixth German edition; * and though the purist may regret

* An eighth German edition has now been published, since Friedlaender's death, but with his very considerable corrections and modifications. A future revision of the English translation will have to be based upon this.

that he has not the notes in their proper place at the foot of the page, there is no doubt that the whole forms a work with which no classical or historical library in England can dispense, and one which would have commended itself to the learned author of the original by its generally attractive appearance, if he had lived to see it.

The Roman life and manners pictured in these volumes is that of the State as well as of the individual, of the aristocratic and wealthy classes of the government as well as of the obscure and poor, and it is not unnatural that the doings of these latter fall rather into the shade when set out beside the more glittering and attractive description of affairs and persons of state. It is not at all suggested that Friedlaender neglected the common people in his comprehensive and complete survey; but that in the necessary perspective the lives of the crowd become to some extent dwarfed when drawn on the same canvas as those of the famous men and women of the Latin race. For this reason it is here intended to lay additional stress upon the condition of the slave class and of the classes immediately above it, and to see whether any further evidence can be brought from our painfully scanty sources to throw into higher relief the position of the socially lower classes of the Empire in the first century of our era.

In addition to the inscriptions scribbled upon the walls of Pompei, which are of the greatest value for our purpose (although the conditions there existing were to some extent peculiar, since Pompei was a watering-place of a class something below the highest), there remains to us one of the most remarkable books of antiquity, the 'Satyricon' of Petronius. If Petronius was really picturing the classes and the period now proposed for investigation, it is scarcely possible to overestimate the value of his work for that which we desire to know. It must be at once admitted that more than one competent scholar of the past has claimed the work of Petronius for the middle of the third century. This opinion, however, to-day finds few supporters, and it is usual now to identify the author of the 'Satyricon' with the Petronius whose life and death, characteristic and splendid, are sketched in a few masterly sentences by Tacitus: 'Received amongst Nero's 'familiar friends as a judge and arbitrator of his daintiest

'delights, [Nero] esteeming nothing pleasant or delightful 'unless Petronius had approved it,' * the 'Arbiter Eleganti-'arum' has remained beyond all other characters of history the type of the refined voluptuary. The arguments for and against the identification of Petronius, the imperial courtier, with the author of the 'Satyricon' are too technical to be detailed here; and it must suffice to say that the opinion of most scholars is now very distinctly in favour of the two persons being one and the same. Even if they were not, it would be impossible to place the writing of the 'Satyricon' more than a few years later than the death of the courtier (A.D. 65), so that its evidence would be almost equally valuable for our purpose: and it will here be assumed, by using the name Petronius without modification, that the identity is established, and that we have for the lot of the common people of the early Empire the precious testimony of a man who could both observe and describe.

The book is quite *sui generis* in Roman literature: it is a long novel with a romantic plot written in a mixture of prose and verse, though we unfortunately only possess extracts of some length from three books out of at least sixteen. There has been much debate as to its literary forerunners. Some critics have postulated a lost Greek original, the ancestor of the romances of the fourth and fifth centuries which we still possess, of which the 'Satyricon' would be a parody; others have seen in it, with more probability, an ingenious method of stringing together a collection of Milesian fables, or floating stories, mostly of a broad type of humour, which were current in the literature of Greece and transplanted to that of Rome by the historian Sisenna: one ingenious savant has characterised it as a kind of comic 'Odyssey,' in which the hero is pursued, not like Ulysses of old by the wrath of Neptune, but by Priapus, the tutelary deity of Lampsacus, at once ludicrous and obscene.

It describes, in brief, the life and adventures of three very disreputable young persons as they wander through the half-Greek towns of Southern Italy. Scholars and rascals too, they often do not know whither to turn for their next meal, but are always ready with a quotation from Virgil

* Grenewey's translation.

or with a judgment upon the style of rhetoric fashionable at the moment. They are ready also to pass from the most deplorable adventures, related without mincing of words, to admirable criticisms of art and literature at once just and so perfectly expressed that they have not been bettered to this day. The scholars of the last three centuries debated much Petronius' object in this novel. Some would have it that the work is a *roman à clé*, introducing Nero and his court; but unfortunately these commentators were never agreed which personage was represented by which character. Some thought that his writing was against all morality; others, on the contrary, thought that his purpose was moral and that he desired, like Juvenal, to lash the vices of the age by showing how vile they were and how widely spread. The true explanation is surely much simpler. The 'Satyricon' is but the first work of genuine realism, describing life in particular circles with unfailing accuracy, and making the adventures of its heroes the vehicle for acute criticism of the ideals, literary and social, of the time.

If the earlier scholars, for two centuries after the Renaissance, were mistaken in their estimate of the objects with which the 'Satyricon' was written, there is every excuse for them, for until the middle of the seventeenth century the learned world did not possess that part of the book which furnishes the best proof that the 'Satyricon' is in the first instance a realistic novel, and which also provides the best picture of the life of the common people. About 1663 a manuscript was discovered at Trau in Dalmatia in a fragmentary state, but luckily containing one episode complete and continuous in form. This episode, unlike such of the rest of the book as we now possess, is almost entirely unobjectionable in the matter of propriety. The wandering vagabonds who are the heroes of the 'Satyricon' receive an invitation to be present at a dinner given by one Trimalchio, a freedman who has become the master of enormous riches without losing his vulgarity or acquiring the culture of a class above his own. The parvenu's guests, less wealthy but as vulgar as their host, are present in considerable numbers, and the episode is composed of a description of the ridiculous luxury of the feast and the conversation of the uneducated diners at the table. In the course of the meal there are few topics of the day to which allusion is not made, and the whole

of 1562, which, however, exempted from compulsory work 'a student or scholar in any of the universities, or in any 'schools.'

The educational progress during the half-century that followed was in its nature almost miraculous. The schools and universities were relieved of all the burdens of taxation. The curricula of and attendances at the schools were closely supervised by the diocesan authorities. The parochial schools were deliberately worked as feeders of the grammar schools and the universities. The endowment of new elementary schools and grammar schools progressed with wonderful rapidity. Local authorities began to stir in educational matters and even sent promising scholars to the universities. The legislature devoted itself with special care to securing the efficiency of intermediate and university education. Everything was done that could be done to knit up the grades of education, to purify the administration of educational trusts, to secure good teaching. And beside these schools stood trade schools, and the entirely admirable system of apprenticeship by which the child was grafted into his master's home and sent out into the world a trained man.

Throughout the Elizabethan age education in all its grades and, best of all perhaps, the technical education of the poor had an importance in the public mind that it has never had since. Then it interested both the parent and the State. This was, indeed, the most significant manifestation of the Renaissance spirit. There was a clamour for equal educational opportunities and for the best teaching. The passion for education filled up the Universities to a level scarcely since surpassed. In 1612 there were at Oxford 2920 students. If we assume that the population of England at the opening of the seventeenth century was 5,000,000, that the two hundred or more really efficient grammar schools, as supplemented by private schools and tutors, educated 20,000 boys, and that the universities contained 5000 students, it would follow that one in every 500 of the whole male population was at a university, that one per cent. of the male population of school age (which could not exceed 500,000) and one quarter of the boys in the grammar schools passed to a university. It may well be that more than 20,000 attended the grammar schools—there were, of course, more than 200 grammar schools

—and if so the educational system was more efficient than has been supposed. Such percentages are unknown to-day. We are only now rediscovering the fact that a university is the combined heart and brain of an educational system, regulating the flow of life and the flow of thought. For a Government Department or the Committee of a Local Authority to undertake such work is contrary to national interest, and the practice tends to throw all education into the hands of one or two bureaucrats who are not necessarily interested in either education or culture. Only the dire necessities of a period when university life was practically dead could have committed a nation to such a course. The future must restore the universities to their natural position, with such safeguards for the administration and expenditure of public money as democratic institutions make necessary.

The history of education in England from the breakdown of the Elizabethan system in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century to the present time is a sad, though latterly a heroic, story. With the Restoration the modern problem began to take shape. The parochial schools and grammar schools broke down under the combined stress of new economic conditions, of religious uniformity legislation, of lack of seriousness in public life. The educational need was recognised by earnest sections of churchmen and nonconformists, but so strong were the forces of disintegration that one of the most important school endowment movements England has known, lasting from 1660 to 1730, failed in any way to meet the new needs. Schools without the spirit of education are useless, and the innumerable charity schools that sprang up to deal with the extraordinary multiplication of children for whom no education was available, soon proved the truth of this law. A blight fell alike on the universities and the grammar schools in the very period when the need for an organised system of education capable of providing trained teachers was supremely urgent.

It is needless here to recall the story of the rapid aggregation of population in certain districts towards the end of the eighteenth century as the result of the invention of machinery adapted to localised trades and manufactures. The parochial system collapsed under the pressure of these conditions, and years passed before any attempt, with one exception, was

made to meet what seemed like a temporary emergency, but which was in reality the first manifestation of the educational problems by which we are faced to-day. Cheap labour was needed, and it was available in the shape of children of the age of six or seven years and upwards. The children of the manufacturing districts, reared in heathendom and in slavery, were deliberately dwarfed in body, mind, and spirit. Pauper children under nine years were, until 1819, compulsorily apprenticed under the perverted Act of Elizabeth. Parish apprentices were often sent by contract from London to the Lancashire cotton mills ' in carts like so many negro slaves.' Until 1878 children of the age of nine could be employed in the silk mills. Long after the middle of the nineteenth century the conditions of employment for child labourers were still intolerable.

Nor was it only in the North that children suffered, and education was unknown. The condition of London in 1785 was a scandal to civilisation. Every educational effort seemed to have failed. In this year the Sunday School Society attacked London. It was the opening of the new campaign. The conscience of the nation was in revolt. By 1834 this voluntary effort had produced Sunday schools with 1,500,000 pupils and 160,000 teachers. In Manchester the Sunday schools were thrown open on two week-day evenings for secular instruction, and the ages of the scholars varied from five to twenty-five years. The workers hungered for new life. Post-haste on the heels of the Sunday schools came the monitorial schools, the schools of Mr. Lancaster and Dr. Bell, known later as the schools of the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society. The business of these societies was to overtake the educational deficit, and the effort was an heroic one. A century has left the Herculean task still unaccomplished. This is not the time, though it might well be the place, to re-tell the story of the internecine struggle between the two societies, but that struggle awakened the torpid legislature of England. A Parliamentary contest followed, and after thirty years of abortive efforts the first Parliamentary grant was made on the 17th of August 1833. It is true that the Factory Act of 1802 (which incidentally revealed the condition of the mill children by providing that male and female apprentices should sleep in separate rooms)

had long before imposed a measure of compulsory education on the children. To this Act, which never became operative, some reference will be made directly, since it has an important bearing on our present position.

It is not proposed here to retrace the long and really wonderful story of the voluntary schools between 1833 and 1870. Despite rapid increase of grants, ever-increasing parliamentary interest, and the creation of an Education Department supplemented by a Department of Science and Art, it was found that the growth of population and of educational needs outstript, with ironic ease, all efforts, all enthusiasm. The year 1869 found us with a million of children between the ages of six and ten, and half a million between the ages of ten and twelve, not even on the school registers, while of the million and a half on those registers less than 400,000 exceeded ten years of age. The position was intolerable, and compulsory education was introduced by the Acts of 1870 and 1876. The introduction of school boards and undenominational schools had one remarkable effect. It gave a vast impetus to voluntary effort, and despite the competition of schools entirely supported by rates and taxes, the voluntary system maintained, and maintains, a position of enormous importance in national education. Not even the abolition of fees in 1891 could destroy the voluntary schools, and the relief afforded them in 1902 has preserved in full vigour one of the most important aspects of English National Education.

The new vigour of elementary education was supplemented by the awakening of secondary education. The Endowed Schools Act, 1869, aroused from their long sleep the Elizabethan and later schools, and in thirty years these foundations were in full usefulness once more and at last provided for girls as well as boys.

The year 1899 found education faced by a new difficulty. The greater school boards, realising with a sound instinct the absolute need of higher education for the masses of the people, had developed in their schools a well-meaning but unreal system of education that competed with the revived secondary schools. It was not a good system, it was what Sir Joshua Fitch called a '*cul-de-sac*' system, and being free it competed on unfair terms with the endowed schools, and threatened to destroy secondary education altogether and supplant it by a

smattering of general knowledge. The evil was obvious, and the Courts in the *Cockerton Case* declared that it was illegal for an elementary school to give higher education. The Board of Education Act, 1899, created the present Board, with power over secondary as well as elementary education, and the Education Act, 1902, substituted 328 local education authorities for the 3500 school boards and nearly 800 school attendance committees. These new authorities are authorities for higher as well as elementary education, and the Acts make it possible not only for the teachers to receive the highest training, but for the universities to inspire and set the ever-rising standard of all education. Thus the danger to secondary education was averted while educational administration was brought into union with the local government system once more and machinery was on the ground capable at last apparently of overtaking the educational arrears that for more than two centuries had afflicted the nation.

But the authors of the Act of 1902 had overlooked various considerations: how were the elementary and secondary schools to be brought into effective connexion; on what grounds were children to be passed from one class of school to the other class; and what provision was to be made for the children who were so unfortunate as not to secure transfer? After eleven years the system has not secured the desired results. The machinery of scholarships and bursaries has failed. Competent authorities declare that there ought to be 270,000 children in the secondary schools: there are only 151,000. There ought to be nearly 200,000 transfers: there are in fact less than 50,000; while the continuation education supplied in evening schools has proved not only ineffective but harmful.

When we come to regard a national system of education from outside, it is important to consider first the minimum results that it must aim at, and, secondly, the maximum achievement which must be its ideal. Perhaps the failure of English education has been due to the fact that while it has toyed with the desire for an ideal, it has grievously neglected the essential minimum. What is that minimum? Surely it is that the girls should become fit for motherhood and mentally and technically fit for managing a household; that the boys should become fit for fatherhood and mentally and technically fit to earn a living wage in some department of labour.

Now if one thing is more certain than another it is that an educational system which casts the child adrift at the age of twelve, thirteen, or fourteen years cannot give this minimum. The educational system that ends with the end of school classes has not justified its existence. That existence will not be justified till the minimum outfit for life is made the birthright of every child that enters the schools. Somehow or another the period from fourteen to seventeen in the case of every child must receive the most watchful care; for these are the all-important years, and the growth of body and mind in these years has a significance in national life that it would be impossible to over-rate. Schools to the age of seventeen no one need ask for; but secondary education in the true sense must be continued to that age. It may be given in association with the workshop, domestic service, the factory, the farm, apprenticeship shops, and numerous open-air industries and forms of employment; but given it must be if the minimum outfit for life—and secondary education is the process that gives an outfit for life—is to be secured.

The amazing ignorance of those who talk and write of the economic difficulties of such a system of national education chills the heart. The gain, the mere monetary gain, apart from the moral and spiritual gain involved in the individualisation of the individual, would be enormous. Unskilled child-labour robs posterity of its entailed estates and fixes for ever the dull uniformity of hopelessness that our present educational system has done so little to dispel—the dull uniformity of uncorrelated, imperfect knowledge that it has done so much to create. The child enters the school an individual and comes out a unit. He has no secondary education to bring forth and develop his individuality. Mechanical and unskilled labour for ever ends the long, long thoughts of youth.

Some figures will shadow forth the present position. Unfortunately the census results for 1911 are not yet available, but there is reason to believe that the figures for the previous decade are still substantially correct. The census of 1901 shows us in regular employment 138,130 boys, and 70,262 girls between the ages of ten and fourteen years, or rather more than one-tenth of all the boys, and one-twentieth of all the girls of those ages. The Consultative Committee on Attendance, compulsory or otherwise, at continuation schools in 1909

estimated that at that date there were 211,164 children between twelve and fourteen years totally exempted from day-school attendance. The numbers in regular employment in the country under the age of twelve years probably do not exceed to-day 5000, so that we seem to have a fixed standing army of 200,000 child labourers of ages varying from twelve to fourteen years. These children have left school early because of their somewhat exceptional abilities. The Consultative Committee report that of these 171,000 'are not 'attending any form of week-day classes.' But these figures are the mere fringe of the problem. In 1899 a House of Commons Paper (205) showed that at least 147,000 children of the age of five years and upwards in full attendance were also earning wages in regular employment, and of these 40,000 were employed for over twenty hours a week and at least 3000 for over forty hours. A large percentage of such children (all under fourteen) are too fatigued to obtain any proper benefit from school life. We have to add these to the 200,000 total-exemption children. To these again we have had to add probably not fewer than 100,000 half-time children. The number was rising in 1907–8 and was then 84,298. It is probably not far wrong to say that there are now half a million of children between the ages of twelve and fourteen years who are either receiving no education or an education that is practically worthless. Even if these children were receiving technical training of value out of school they are too young to benefit by it, but in fact almost without exception they are doing *cul-de-sac* work, a complete and perfect preparation for unemployableness at the age of eighteen, and in the case of the girls a complete and perfect preparation for a disastrous married life. At the very age when respectable middle-class parents are watching with special care the physical and moral development of their children, these children are cut off from the necessary minimum outfit for life.

But still we have hardly passed the fringe of the problem. The Consultative Committee in 1909 estimated 'that there are 'rather over 2,000,000 boys and girls in England and Wales 'between fourteen and seventeen, and that 75 per cent. of them 'are receiving, on week-days at any rate, no school educa-'tion.' Moreover, those who receive continuation education

are not those who need it most. Altogether, therefore, there are some 2,000,000 children between the ages of twelve and seventeen to whom a national system of education has no meaning. It is indeed an expensive system, for under its upas shadow a generation is existing whose physical, mental, and moral inefficiency threatens not only our industrial life but the very sources of national strength.

The Consultative Committee declared 'that at the most 'critical period in their lives a very large majority of the boys 'and girls in England and Wales are left without any sufficient 'guidance and care. This neglect results in great waste of 'early promise, in injury to character, in the lessening of in-'dustrial efficiency, and in the lowering of ideals of personal 'and civic duty.' The Poor Law reports of 1909 show how rapidly and how disastrously our imperfect system of education is affecting national life. Miss O. J. Dunlop and Mr. R. D. Denman in their very able essay on 'Juvenile Labour of 'To-day'* quote the statement in the Minority Report that 'the registers of Distress Committees all over the country 'not only reveal the startling fact that something like 15 per 'cent. of the men in distress are under thirty-five, and that 'nearly one-third of the whole are under thirty, but also that 'an alarmingly large proportion of these young men are 'already "chronic cases"—in fact are unemployables.' Under the present system, if system it can be called, it is inevitable that many thousands of youths of seventeen or eighteen years are annually cast upon the market for unskilled labour, untrained in body and mind, stamped with the dull uniformity of inefficiency. It is hard after a century and a half of progress to echo Rousseau's cry: 'Man is born free 'and everywhere he is in chains.'

Cheap labour is an expensive thing. Those hungry half-million of children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen who are on sale for a mess of pottage, year in year out, in the labour markets of England are not only losing their souls as well as their bodies, but are instruments of national destruction. Very many of the local education authorities have no heart for better things. They too often leave the Employment of Children Act unenforced. They appear

* English Apprenticeship and Child Labour (1912).

to be afraid that a longer period of education will dislocate local industry, will throw parents, who now live on their young children, upon the rates, will give advantages to less public-spirited neighbours. The reluctance of local education authorities to use permissive powers seems to show, as the above-named writers say, 'the natural lines upon which reform should 'progress. If effective action is desired the State will in-'creasingly have to lay down definite obligations and at the 'same time bear a larger proportion of the financial burden 'these obligations impose.' It is impossible to tolerate any longer a heterogeneity of policy when national life is at stake.

But before we turn to the question of reform it is necessary to consider the second question referred to at the beginning of this paper—the maximum purpose which must be the ideal of a great system of education. In education idealism counts for much, and perhaps the greatest hope for to-morrow is the idealism that exists to-day among a multitude of educational thinkers. It will be of use to examine these ideals.

So many educational principles are such obvious truisms that it is only because they are universally disregarded by the masses of the population in the interests of cheapness and payment by results that we venture to restate them. Our present discontent can largely be traced to the vulgar error that there are two classes of children in the country predestined to receive, the one a secondary education, the other an elementary education; although in fact the type of education they receive depends less on personality than on the caprices of fortune and of the local education authority. This error has given rise to the wholly wrong notion of the educational ladder; it is responsible for the existence of higher elementary schools—the cheap substitute for secondary education which every educationalist has condemned for years, and which the Government now proposes to revive; it has created two different grades of teachers between whom a great and purely artificial gulf has been fixed; it has emphasised unreal class distinctions in the very period of history when such distinctions are giving place to a nobler conception of the relations of the various sections of society. If there are such things as educational principles, if there is a psychology of education that is of any practical value, if educational theory has any meaning at all in the upbringing

of youth, then these things are of universal application, and the withholding of them from any section of childhood is economic waste: the children are the chief potential asset of the nation and the nation dare not risk the loss involved in the degradation and de-individualisation of any one of them. Moreover, the need for what may for the moment be called intensive education—and by that is not meant intensive teaching of book-learning—becomes greater the closer we come to the poorest sections of society. To those who murmur about the expense, the reply is swift enough. It is the 'slum' mind that is so costly. Social reform, with all its elaborate machinery, must be both increasingly costly and largely ineffectual while it is struggling against the *vis inertiae* of a pariah class. The 'slum' cannot be eliminated till the 'slum' mind is eliminated, and to this end the utmost resources of educational theory and educational practice must be strained before it is too late. The problem is not merely a question of the minimum outfit for life, but of an idealism which realises that a saviour of society may be a slum-dweller and must himself be saved for the highest work.

The elementary school then at once takes on a new importance, not as the pittance of education grudgingly thrown by the ratepayer and the State to the poor child, to be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment, but as a preparatory school in which the individuality of each child is drawn out as the sun draws out the flower from the plant. It is wonderful what is done in this way already. Despite all difficulties, all disadvantages; despite very large classes, endless waste of time with the filling up and answering of unnecessary official papers; despite the disappointments involved in dealing with ill-nurtured, ill-nourished, ill-clothed, ill-booted little ones, those who have the education of the infants and quite young children achieve almost amazing results. In so far as the elementary schools are even now preparatory schools, the devoted teachers in the poorest districts produce results that are among the happiest aspects of English education. Were these teachers less tormented by officials and by the inspectors of the Board and the Councils with their conflicting standards; were their classes reduced to reasonable proportions (the small country voluntary schools are ideal

in this respect) ; were the children introduced to school life at seven (following the best continental precedents) instead of five, we should have an almost perfect basis for a great system of education. The teachers as time goes on, and they themselves have had the advantage of a true secondary education followed by a training in which educational theory and psychology play a leading part, will become more technically fit for their work ; but the tenderness and love which are showered on the infant and lower classes will never be exceeded. These teachers indeed fulfil John Locke's first principle of education. It is tenderness that unfolds personality. The mothers, moreover, are led to take an interest in school life, and perhaps one of the most potent effects of preparatory education at present is the reactive influence that it has upon parents. More and more the parents of the industrial classes are entering into the school life, and this must tend towards some restoration of that sense of responsibility which was so sadly sapped by the introduction of free education. It may become possible as time goes on to deepen that sense of responsibility. If the beginning of compulsory school life is raised to the age of seven, parents will be willing to pay for earlier attendance, while throughout school life contributions may be, indeed are already, often asked towards supplemental but invaluable work, such as school journeys. Preparatory education is necessarily an organic link between the home and the school, and that is a matter of the greatest importance in an educational system if it is not to be merely a mechanical State device.

But the uses of the elementary school as a preparatory school practically end when the child is ten. From ten to fourteen the scholar only receives a substitute for a secondary education.

It is important to consider here the fundamental distinction between primary and secondary education. There is a popular notion that secondary education is a species of advanced book-learning, to a large extent associated with the Greek and Latin classics, reserved by the necessity of things for the children of parents possessing some certainty of income, though by means of scholarships it can be extended to the more intellectual among the children of the poor. Such a conception is responsible for a system of education that deliberately seeks

to deprive the industrial classes of their thinking power by transferring the thinkers to another class, and is likewise responsible for the inferior higher elementary education offered before 1899 as a substitute for a secondary education, and apparently now again to be offered to them. It has long been responsible for the exclusion of a vast class of devoted teachers from the advantages of a secondary and university training. This conception of secondary education is a base half-truth. The distinction between primary and secondary education is a distinction that is inherent in human personality and its growth. The function of primary teaching is preparatory; its object is to familiarise the infant and child mind with facts, and with symbols (such as reading and writing) necessary for the acquisition and appreciation of facts. The function of secondary teaching is to produce mental development; its business is to teach the child to reason about facts, to deduce inferences from the association of facts, to acquire special knowledge in functional relation to all knowledge. In a word, the work of secondary education is to teach a child how to realise his or her personality in its relation to the world. It is the object of a national system of education to provide teaching of this sort for every child in the country. In so far as it fails to do so the system fails. At the present moment it fails to the extent of two million working children who are destroying the economic balance of industry. Behind these myriads are more than four million children pressing towards the same disastrous goal.

The only solution is secondary teaching for all, beginning at the completion of the tenth year. The difficulty that stands in the way is the supply of teachers. The elementary school teachers, while incomparable for their work in the lower-school classes, are admittedly not trained to give secondary education in the higher classes. The fault is not theirs, but that of a system that has deliberately trained a vast army of teachers not to give secondary teaching, while it has allowed the secondary schools to be supplied with teachers not trained at all. But this difficulty will rapidly disappear. The secondary training of all teachers is at last well recognised as a condition precedent to the establishment of any effective system, and it cannot be long before the secondary teaching of all children—the teaching how to think—will be as obvious a necessity.

At present we have the almost ludicrous position that, while the children in the secondary schools between the ages of ten and fourteen are given (despite untrained teachers) true secondary education, the children in the elementary schools between the same ages are given another and an entirely inferior and unproductive class of education. On grounds of educational theory this is, as we have seen, an indefensible position, while in practice the existence of two million untrained children at work, and on the road to become unemployable, shows that it is a disastrous position.

What then are the possibilities of reform? Lugubrious as the actual position is and threatening as are some of the clouds on the horizon—clouds such as the inconceivable proposal to repeal by statute the decision in the *Cockerton Case* in the interests of a few rural schools; or, the scarcely less disastrous suggestion that the pupil-teachership system, long since condemned root and branch by the Board of Education, should be revived; or, the attitude of so many local authorities towards child labour; or, the fear lest the Government should be lured from educational reform by attempting to deal once more with the real but apparently not very urgent Nonconformist grievances as to religious teaching—despite these clouds the outlook is not without promise. Thanks to the lifelong efforts of men like the late Mr. H. B. Garrod, the teaching profession has at last secured the status of a learned profession, and the Council for the Registration of Teachers is proving that there is no unbridgeable gulf between the primary and the secondary teacher, and that educational theory has a meaning in practice. The only real distinction between teachers is distinction of specialisation, not of class, and the present smooth-working Council will quietly relegate to history 'the Higher Elementary 'Teacher,' the pupil teacher, and all other perverters of a high art. Again, our knowledge of educational practice abroad—as brought before us by specialists such as Mr. Cloudesley Brereton, whose volume of 'Studies in Foreign Education' is of peculiar interest and value, and the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, who six years ago by editing his famous volumes on Continuation Schools in England and elsewhere showed his foresight and grasp of the coming problem, and by various official publications, including that recently issued on Education in India—makes it possible for us to

adopt with instructed minds all that is good for us of Imperial, Continental, and American practice. Our new recognition of the intimate relationship of economic and educational problems gives reform an urgency that will scarcely be neglected by any government that relies on a democratic vote.

But perhaps the most hopeful signs to-day are the marvellous re-awakening of voluntary effort and the determination to be rid of educational shams. Even within the bureaucratic confines of State education the human element is asserting itself. Powerless as school managers of provided schools are, hedged in at every turn from administrative action, yet they bring into the schools a non-official element and often win with ready sympathy the hearts of the teachers. From among the managers are formed Care and After-Care Committees (in constant consultation with parents and the school doctors and in touch with the organisers of the too rare but invaluable clinics), while the question of meals for children is still in the main a question of voluntary organisation. The managers of non-provided schools have even larger opportunities, which are well used, of influencing the life of the school. To increase the powers of school managers is a minor reform that is greatly needed. It will accentuate the voluntary side of national education; it will relieve education officers of much unnecessary work and save teachers from some of the cruel burdens of official correspondence. The governors of secondary schools have still greater power to make their influence felt by insisting on the employment of trained teachers, by making every possible administrative effort to secure for the children a longer and calmer period of school life, and by assisting the staff to organise the interior life of the school on the great public school traditions. The voluntary efforts of the teachers themselves, both in elementary and secondary schools, whether in respect to games or to work, supplementing school life, are growing and notable elements in national education. The organisation of clubs for former pupils and of school journeys, whether in the holidays or in term time, involves an immense amount of voluntary work, which is cheerfully undertaken and gives reality and life to the schools. Into this particular work the parents throw themselves both with gifts of money and personal influence.

Against these good influences we have to set the very questionable effects of evening schools. The inefficiency of these continuation schools is notorious. In London thirty per cent. of the pupils are 'ineffective.' Before the work begins the children are tired, the teachers are tired; the discipline is bad; home life is ruled out of existence; the reactions on the day schools are deplorable. The Social Service Committee of the Southwark Diocesan Conference, which has recently investigated with considerable care the conditions of continuation education in South London, deplores the injury to home life that results both from the church club and the evening school: 'The youth who has been 'brought up in a good home makes the most promising 'material for the evening school or church club, and is 'therefore encouraged to neglect his home. On the other 'hand neither evening school nor church club can easily 'control and develop the youth from a bad home, and therefore 'more readily leave him to its evil influences.' The report of the committee insists that 'Continuation education backed 'by the Church should claim the young for half the working 'day, that it may do its work with some hope of good results 'to the community as a whole as well as to the young.' There is no doubt that the solution of the whole question lies in this direction. If continuation education is to be restricted to day classes then there is possible a reasonable division of the evenings; there will be time then both for home life and for club life, and for the wholesome exercise and discipline provided by the great Brigade and Scout movements that are doing so much for the welfare of children to-day. The danger of these movements is that they tend still further to disintegrate home life, and their weakness is that they are not organically related to the schools and contribute little to that continuity of education up to the age of seventeen which is the necessary minimum of a national system of education. If the Scout and Brigade movements could universally be linked up (as is sometimes the case now) to the school by means of school journeys and of evening training in the many subjects that the schoolmaster and the scoutmaster have in common; if some guarantee could be given for the efficiency of scoutmasters; then we believe that the great voluntary movement introduced by Colonel Smith, Mr. W. M. Gee, General Baden-

Powell, and others would have an extraordinary significance in continuation education.

The principle to be dwelt upon with respect to the whole vast problem is this: that all education from the tenth or eleventh year onward to at least the age of seventeen must be, in the sense explained above, secondary education. From the beginning of the eleventh year to at any rate the end of the fourteenth year secondary education must be given in school; from the hour of leaving school to the end of the seventeenth year, the State in conjunction with voluntary agencies must supply secondary education to every child, by the stern application of the half-time principle foreshadowed in the Factory Act of 1802 and introduced with such growing success into the Post Office. Higher elementary teaching is useless for the purpose of giving the child an outfit for life. The child must receive a training that teaches it to think and to develop its individuality. Moreover, the schools will provide facilities, on payment of fees or by means of scholarships, for higher education in the case of those children who are able to stay on and obtain whole-time education for a longer period in preparation for special work or for the university. It is of the greatest importance to make special provision for those children who are able to remain on at school and to take up their life work from the age of sixteen onwards. At present there is almost a fashion to remove a child at fifteen before the secondary training has had time to mould the mind and personality.

What possibility, what hope is there of attaining these things? In truth there ought to be no difficulty in securing them so far as the State itself is concerned, but there is some expense in the extension of school buildings and the provision of more and better paid teachers. The self-denying ordinance that the State has imposed upon itself in the Post Office it can impose upon the great factories of the North. The half-time system for children under fourteen is an evil, because these children are not ready for technical knowledge; the half-time system for children over fifteen years may be admirable since children of that age are fit for technical knowledge if mental development is going on at the same time. But the voluntary half-time system that the Government is apparently prepared to suggest will not be effective: it may

attract the wiser manufacturers, but it certainly will not attract those with shorter vision, and it will have no influence at all with the small employers of child labour, with the shopkeeper, with the innumerable homes where little girls and boys are domestic drudges or supporters of small industries. It must be made compulsory, because at the very highest estimate not one-fourth of the two million children who are now at work will come into a half-time school under a voluntary system. Moreover, some contribution towards the cost of a half-time system must come from the employers and, where the parent is the employer, from the parent. This will not bring down the rate of wages: child labour is cheap, and when the supply is restricted its price will rise. But the solution must be supplemented in another way. The labour of children under fourteen at school must be absolutely forbidden. The momentary dislocation can be met by the employment of elderly labour. Evidence shows that the labour of the child tends to throw the man over fifty-five out of work. Child part-time workers can be replaced by adult part-time workers. Employers will have to adapt themselves to the system; men in want of work will have to do the same. Part-time labour is common among women, and among men in certain trades such as jobbing gardening. It will have to be extended to industries such as the distribution of milk and newspapers. The system has long existed in the Post Office. The real danger at the moment is the want of courage that successive Governments since 1833 have shown in the education question. The day of educational evasions and approximate solutions is over. Four years have passed since the Consultative Committee, the Interdepartmental Committee, and the Poor Law Commissioners revealed our disastrous position. To wait longer is to endanger our national life.

To sum up: The country is face to face with an economic problem of extraordinary difficulty, but one that is soluble by 'generalship and unity of purpose.' Interdepartmental action can deal effectively with the question of labour if the Board of Education can deal with the question of education. Miss Dunlop and Mr. Denman advocate the raising of the school age, the creation of compulsory half-time education, the further regulation of employment out of school hours,

and the appointment of Juvenile Advisory Committees. Certainly this minimum will be resented neither by the public, the parents, nor the employers; and it must come very soon if England is to maintain her historic position. We have said nothing in this paper on the subject of religious teaching, and have indeed assumed throughout that the immemorial and necessary alliance between education and religion will continue. It is noticeable that that section of our system which is entirely divorced from religion—the evening schools—is ineffective, undisciplined and without a friend. State education without religion has served the nation ill in the United States and in France and not better in India. 'The 'most thoughtful minds in India'—says Sir Harcourt Butler in the recent Resolution of the Government of India on Education—'lament the tendency of existing systems of 'education to develop the intellectual at the expense of 'the moral and religious faculties.' From this evil, at any rate, we have been partly spared, and the fact reveals the soul of goodness in our educational system.

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

NATIONAL INSURANCE AND NATIONAL CHARACTER.

1. **Unerwünschte Folgen der Deutschen Sozialpolitik.** By Professor LUDWIG BERNHARD. Berlin: Julius Springer. 1912.
2. **Malingering and Feigned Sickness.** By Sir JOHN COLLIE, assisted by ARTHUR H. SPICER. Arnold. 1913.
3. **Die Reichsversicherungsordnung, Aerzte und Publikum.** By Professor H. QUINCKE. Reprinted from the *Schlesische Zeitung*. Breslau: W. G. Korn. 1911.
4. **Über den Einfluss der Sozialen Gesetze auf den Charakter.** By Professor H. QUINCKE. Reprinted from the *Schlesische Zeitung*. Breslau: W. G. Korn. 1905.
5. **Geisteskrankheit und Kultur.** By Professor A. HOCHE. Freiburg: Speyer and Kaerner. 1910.
6. **Notwendige Reformen der Unfallversicherungsgesetze.** By Professor A. HOCHE. Halle: Carl Marhold. 1907.
7. **Official Reports of the German Imperial Insurance Office.**

'It is good also not to try experiments in States except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident: and well to beware that it be the reformation which draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation; and lastly that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect.'—*Bacon.*

'The State can be compared with a living organism on which one must experiment with care.'—*Bismarck.*

'"The tragedy of all great reform movements" lies in this,—that the unintended results are more powerful than the intended results.'—*Professor Bernhard.*

THE purpose of this article is to set forth some of the unintended and unforeseen results to which Professor Bernhard above refers, and to show how the State in its efforts to regulate and to assist has set up influences which have wrought harm, moral and material, to so many of the persons concerned that the direct and intended benefits have in some cases been bought at too high a cost.* The authors of German insurance legislation and their English imitators equally forgot

* Part of that purpose is to show that our recent English experiments in social reform involve some of the worst of these evils, but that it is still possible with forethought and due regard for experience gained to counteract or even to reverse the influences which are inexorably drawing on these evils.

that each novelty should 'be held for a suspect' until foresight has freed it from influences which tend to sap the vital elements of character, or to check the growth of qualities which are of the greatest value in national development. We cannot afford to neglect these considerations, because the material well-being of a nation depends far more on its character than upon the regulations which its laws impose or the assistance which they give.

It is probably safe to assume that, whenever a government has stepped in to regulate matters which concern the life of the individual, the primary motive has been entirely admirable and that in most cases the need has been a pressing one. In any case this will be freely conceded in regard to all the enactments to which this article refers. They may be roughly classified as they affect respectively:

(1) *The conditions of family life.*

Here the recent experiments which concern us relate to the provision of old age pensions and the feeding of necessitous school-children; but no great distance of time parts us from the introduction of free and compulsory education and other modern departures of the greatest importance but too numerous to touch upon here.

(2) *The relations between employer and employed.*

Up to a comparatively recent date it was a principle of our legislation to avoid interference between employer and employed. Now, in addition to regulations to protect workers from exposure to undue risks, we have recently revised and greatly extended the law as to accidents and industrial disease, and have embarked upon new experiments in regard to the limitation of hours of employment, the provision of employment, and even the regulation of wages.

(3) *The mutual organisations of wage earners.*

This is probably the most complex and difficult sphere into which the State can enter with its regulations and its assistance. It includes the whole field of insurance and of mutual help such as friendly societies, workmen's clubs, trade unions, and co-operative societies have been wont to provide. Until last year this domain was in England free from State control, but now our legislation has made what is financially, and in many other ways, the largest experiment in social reform which has ever been made here or elsewhere.

If we bring together under the head of insurance some cognate matters referred to above, the position now is that here, as in Germany, the State provides or assists in providing the insurances relating to accident, sickness, prolonged invalidity, old age, childbirth, medical treatment, and (within certain limits) unemployment, and wherever assistance is given there is practically complete State control accompanied by compulsion and rigid uniformity. On the other hand, life insurance and the support of widows, orphans, and other dependants are not yet under State control in this country excepting to a limited extent in cases of death by accident. In order to form some idea of how this branch of social reform legislation is likely to affect national life and character, it is highly important to study the results already produced in Germany; for whereas our own experience in nearly all these branches of State activity is quite recent, Germany has had about thirty years' experience of compulsion and State regulation in connexion with national insurance as applied to sickness and to accident.

Before the German laws in question had been long in force the results of their influences began to excite strong comment from the medical profession. As each year has passed the volume and intensity of the warnings have increased. To-day German medical literature and medical discussion are engrossed by efforts to devise means of stemming the oncoming tide of unforeseen influences which are not only perverting the public opinion of a great part of the community and debasing its moral standards, but also actually attacking the physical stamina of the people.

The first indication of trouble was the appearance of a new form of nervous disease which began to attract attention even before the year 1890. This disease showed itself as a mental obsession on the part of insured persons that they were entitled to the benefits allowed by the Act. It was not long before this new form of hysteria became the theme of paper after paper by medical writers. The views expressed were at first divergent, but they ceased to be so as more experience was gained and fresh material accumulated. Up to 1899 doctors concentrated their researches almost entirely on the disease itself. They then began to turn to the cause of the trouble, with the result that social reform legislation quickly

became the centre of medical criticism. Publication followed publication in demanding reform from the medical standpoint.

Seeing that a mental disease was spreading like an epidemic through the land, Professor H. Quincke, who never enters lightly into controversy, joined in making this demand for reform. In 1905 he wrote:

'If the chief purpose and ultimate aim in introducing conscription was the defence of the country, it nevertheless has an educative effect on the individual, principally because it teaches him not to notice discomforts, to put self in the background, and to strive to attain the common goal as a member of a greater entity. It suppresses egotism; our accident insurance breeds it, in the care of the beloved "Ego." General conscription lays a stress on duty; our accident insurance on the rights of the individual. It has taken many decades to bring the educative influence of the former to its fullest result on the character of the nation; the depraving influence of the accident insurance law is already noticeable, in the course of years it will appear even plainer.'

In the same spirit in 1910 the great psychologist Hoche, in his first address as Rector of the University of Freiburg, speaking on mental disease and culture, said:

'Thirty years ago an unknown conception, to-day a disease which as a veritable cancer in the organism of our entire working population, is rightly the subject of deep anxiety. This national epidemic has not only begun contemporaneously with the coming into force of the accident legislation, but also as the direct result and dependence of it. Indubitably the law has engendered the disease.'

There is no reason to believe that these views are exaggerated. The elementary notions of right and wrong and the general vision have become so distorted in Germany that drawing a statutory allowance is looked upon by certain classes as a positive honour. At the Congress of south-western German neurologists and doctors in lunacy in 1907, Weygandt stated that many people actually have 'Rentenempfänger' (receiver of insurance pay) printed on their cards. At the same congress Dr. Cramer declared that 'the idea of exploiting an accident 'to the benefit of one's purse was so human and so easy to 'understand that it was quite a normal psychical proceeding.'

But although the existence of fraud is so notorious, the difficulty of penalising fraudulent claims has been found to be very great. Cases of pure simulation appear to be rare; for there is nearly always some ground for making a claim. The

serious fact is that even when cases of gross abuse are discovered the laugh is frequently on the side of the man who has successfully hoodwinked the authorities—as, for instance, when a workman who drew a 50 per cent. pension in Berlin on account of 'pains when he moved' was accidentally discovered appearing as an acrobat in Alsace; or when another who was pensioned for inability to move his elbow, defeated a celebrity of the ring in open combat! A widespread difference of feeling appears to exist, in Germany as elsewhere, on the question of robbing an individual as opposed to robbing the State or a company. A person who would not think of stealing a sixpence would be quite capable of evading some tax or overstating a claim upon an insurance company, and even of boasting of his deed. Consequently the fear of being detected when making a false or an exaggerated claim for compensation is very small, as it carries with it practically no social degradation.

Indeed a considerable feeling of *esprit de corps* has been found to exist among those who practise deception in their applications for sick or accident pay. Advice is given as to the best way of attaining the goal, which not infrequently entails deceiving the doctor; the applicant is cautioned as to where he is likely to give his case away, warned as to the peculiarities of each doctor, and instructed as to where and how he can best succeed in getting his claim certified. Professor Bernhard tells us that in Silesia there are experienced pensioners who positively give instruction in neurasthenia; and everywhere in Germany the workman has ample opportunities for 'informing himself' and learning up any symptoms he wishes to assume. The waiting-rooms of general hospitals appear to be centres of corrupting influence. Old hands initiate novices into all the dodges and devices and put them up to every subterfuge. We are told that these waiting-rooms are called the 'high schools of simulation.' The advice there given is probably far more subtle than the naïve 'When yer 'get 'urt say it 's yer back; the doctors can't never get round 'yer back.' *

As the result of these experiences the former views as to the duration of invalidity after an accident have had to be

* Sir J. Collie on 'Malingering,' p. 133.

entirely revised where insured persons are concerned, and this in spite of the enormous advance in the methods of treatment, of surgical science, and of hygienic and sanitary conditions generally. The most striking contrast has been observed between the short period required for recovery from accidents received in the riding-school or in sports, and the much longer period of incapacity when a man who is entitled to accident pay suffers similar injury. It has been found that the collaboration of the patient is frequently absent; and where moving a stiff limb or muscle is concerned, it is practically necessary for the patient to assist before a complete cure can be made. It is also obvious that the condition of muscular debility of a patient who has been some weeks in bed can easily be prolonged if he makes no effort and desires a long convalescence.

Statistics in regard to injuries which admit of comparison show that not only has the period of incapacity become much longer in Germany than it formerly was, but also that it is longer in Germany than in countries where the workmen are not permeated with the consciousness of their power to claim support by the State. For example, the average period of invalidity connected with a broken collar-bone among insured persons in Germany had grown, as far back as 1896, to eight months.* Formerly the time was, with the young, fifteen to twenty days; with older persons, twenty to forty days. This example is very suggestive, for a broken collar-bone is a very common accident which seldom produces complications. It would be hard to imagine a hunting man being kept out of the field for many weeks, to say nothing of months, by such a thing as a broken collar-bone. Quite serious injuries are treated lightly when there is an urgent desire to be restored to health.

In the same way German experience shows what an enormous bearing the mental condition following on accidents has on the probable time of healing. Whereas in cases where no allowance is attached the patient welcomes any suggestion that his condition is improving, and faithfully carries out his doctor's instructions in the hope of hastening his recovery, the mental attitude alters entirely when restored health means

* Archiv für Unfallheilkunde, etc., 1896, p. 177.

the stopping of an allowance. The doctor who reports cheerfully and hopefully is now regarded with suspicion and is considered more or less as an enemy. Is he not detracting from the commercial value of a good accident? Naturally the doctor's suggestions and treatment are not carried out with much alacrity, and every symptom is enumerated, pondered and made much of, for it may have a money value. This mental condition, even if not positively hostile, is certainly not favourable to recovery, and the little efforts which assist so materially in hastening restoration to health are not made.

German medical literature provides a powerful warning as to the danger of legislating in a way that leaves wide openings for human frailties to enter in, and of forcing many millions of people into a form of insurance that positively challenges abuse. When millions are insured in a uniform way countless eyes are focussed on the money-dispensing arrangements. Any weak points in the defences are soon spied out and systematically exploited: every method is employed in the attempt to secure benefits.

It must not be imagined for a moment that only the public exchequer suffers from these abuses. It is the working classes themselves who suffer most seriously from the long duration of incapacity after simple accidents and from the increase of cases of nerve trouble. Workmen's Insurance in Germany has been cruel to the working classes in the most dangerous, because the most insidious, way. It has begun to sap the energy and the self-respect of working people. It hits them when they are down. When a man's vitality and love of activity are low, and he is forced by the conditions surrounding him to worry and fret over himself, the tempting possibilities held out by the law come into his mind and suggest that if only he did not make a complete recovery the State would see to it that he was cared for.

And so it comes about that the paradoxical suggestion that Workmen's Insurance is a positive danger to the public health no longer makes any student of the subject smile. The evil is fully recognised by the officials whose duty it is to administer the law. If we turn to the official reports of the National Insurance Bureau in Germany we read:

'In the urgent interests of the working classes as well as of the entire nation, it is the pressing duty of the administrators of justice

to use every possible means of checking the evil influences of covetousness for insurance pay. The neglect of this duty would necessarily lead to a diminution of the pleasure in work and of the decent feeling of responsibility among those insured persons who are no longer full-wage earners, and it would tend at the same time to damage the power of the nation.' *

Dr. L. Laquer says 'The opinion that every accident carries 'with it a right to the highest compensation has become a 'dogma in the soul of the people, the common property of 'the masses.'† Ernest Schultze writes to the same effect: 'The 'mania for insurance pay, which has been created by the law, 'has taken deep root in the working classes.'‡

Professor Bernhard goes so far as to say that to-day many experts doubt if it is any longer possible to check this influence which is so injurious to the strength of the nation. Again and again sociologists and other experts on the Continent have urged amendment in the interests of the working classes, and have denounced the wickedness of using an effective bit of rhetoric or sentimental pleading as a political lever when such weighty issues are at stake. How can money compensate for taking away or undermining a man's love of work, and his interest in it, and what compensation can be offered for destroying the feeling of individual responsibility?

We have said enough to prove that the troubles arising from the German insurance laws are very serious; yet we know that these laws were introduced in all good faith and with high hopes. Let us turn to the experience of England. Long before Germany began to gain this disastrous experience, equal or greater support had been claimable under voluntary arrangements by English working people in respect of much the greater part of the sickness, accident, or invalidity occurring in this country. This voluntary system included arrangements made with employers, friendly societies, trade unions, and sick-clubs; and yet it is only during the last few years that our medical literature has sounded such warnings as those long heard on all sides in Germany. It is difficult to avoid the inference.

Our first experiment with State-regulated allowances dates from the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897. This Act

* Official Reports, vol. xxiii.
† Die Heilbarkeit nervöser Unfallfolgen, p. 99.
‡ Kampf um die Rente, p. 36.

was, however, confined to accidents arising out of employment; it applied only to certain specified industries, and was limited in many other ways. It was only in 1906 that 'the allowance 'of the Act' became generally claimable in all cases of industrial accident or disease, and it was only in the present year that we entered upon our first experience of compulsory and State-regulated insurance as applied to ordinary sickness and accidents other than industrial. The same series of troubles are now being discovered here, and with us as in Germany it is within a very few years after the provision of a statutory claim to support that these troubles begin to attract attention. Experience with the National Insurance Act is, of course, too recent for any inferences to be drawn. It is solely in connexion with cases coming under the Workmen's Compensation Act that we have been warned that something is seriously wrong.

Sir John Collie, who has probably the widest experience of such matters in this country, states that since the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act cases of accident neurosis have multiplied with great rapidity, and that the period of recovery from accident tends to be unduly prolonged. Yet medical science and surgical skill are improving continually, hygiene and sanitation are daily becoming better and more widely understood, the prospects of recovery from accident should be brighter, and the length of invalidity materially lessened. The reverse is the case.

In his able work designed to assist the doctors who have to deal with claims under the Workmen's Compensation Act Sir John Collie illustrates by a host of instances drawn from actual experience how State regulation and claim to 'the 'allowance of the Act' are bringing upon us the same troubles as exist in Germany. He shows the inevitable tendency engendered by the law and says: 'For some years the accident 'laws have revealed to the unscrupulous the infinite possibilities 'of fraud, and I feel confident that, unless the fact is recog-'nised by those who will have the responsibility of working 'the Insurance Act, the "moral currency" of the working 'classes will be much debased.' And again: 'Under the 'National Insurance Act not only accidents but illnesses are 'included, and it is obvious that disabilities arising from illness 'are far more easily simulated and will, I fear, cause more 'difficulty than those resulting from accidents.'

He draws an impressive picture of the great difficulties with which the medical profession has to contend, and points out that the lay mind cannot imagine the troubles which beset doctors when they have hard cases to investigate. It is by no means enough for the doctor to be convinced that a part is being played by the applicant for a certificate: he must be able to uphold his opinion in a court of law, where there is frequently a doctor on the other side trying to sweep aside his arguments; and he must be able to convince the judge (a layman) that he is right. Should there be the least shadow of doubt in the mind of a doctor as to the genuineness of a case every motive will make him lean towards the kinder side. He would not risk being haunted by the fear of having turned away a case of real distress, nor would he care to have such a case stand against his professional record.

It is by no means suggested that malingering has not been a problem and a difficulty for friendly society administration in the past, but it is claimed that the experience of many years proves that the sick-pay of the club has not been exposed to abuse in the same way as the accident pay 'of the Act,' and that under the voluntary system a public opinion favourable to false claims is not engendered. Experience also teaches us that real abuse of friendly society funds has been mostly confined to cases in which accident pay has been obtainable in addition to the club pay, and that in many cases the irresistible temptation of higher pay when off work than when at work has been the chief cause of trouble. The great advance in the 'sickness experience' of the friendly societies during the last twenty years is probably attributable to various causes, but there can be little doubt that one of the more important has been the introduction of a statutory claim to accident pay in addition to the allowances from the society. Mr. Watson, the great friendly society actuary, has suggested that the societies which have suffered most in this way should cancel their allowances when accident compensation is claimable. This advice has been wisely applied to all sick-pay under the National Insurance Act; but this does not remove the trouble, for in many cases the funds which are freed by this Act and the voluntary insurances which supplement it are being used to continue sick-pay during the period of accident claim.

A similar correspondence of date between the introduction

of a statutory claim to support and the rapid extension of nervous disease and prolonged invalidity is to be found in other countries. The Dutch found that before 1901, that is before their insurance law, sprains and fractures were healed more quickly than in Germany; but the recoveries are becoming slower and slower. Dutch doctors now specifically differentiate between 'accident neurasthenia' and 'accident law neurasthenia.'* This form of illness, a morbid or hysterical desire to remain an invalid (in receipt of sick pay or pension, *sous-entendu*), is called on the Continent 'pension 'hysteria.'

A very similar experience has arisen in France. A. Brissaud, in the French 'Journal of Neurology,' mentions a condition which he states is one of the unexpected effects of the French Accident Law of 1898. It is referred to as a new disease which he names 'sinistrosis.' He describes it as a 'psychical accident' caused by the fixed idea which takes possession of the injured workman that every accident occurring in the course of work constitutes a damage admitting of indemnity.† In Denmark and in Switzerland the laws do not provide continuing allowances, and in those countries nervous disease following accidents has been very nearly eliminated. Whereas in Denmark 93·6 per cent. of observed cases of accident neurosis are cured,‡ in Germany 9·3 per cent. was the result published for the same year,§ an almost incredible difference. Writing of Swiss experience, Dr. Nägeli says he considers that this absence of continuing allowances removes the disturbing factor which prevented the people concerned from regaining their health.‖

The facts are like so many fingers all pointing one way. Whether we look at them or not, there they are pointing out that there is some new agency at work, some new factor with which we have not reckoned before. The destructive influences upon character begin to operate when compulsion

* See for example the Nederland Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde, August 20, 1910.

† 'Malingering.' Sir J. Collie, p. 107.

‡ Wimmer, Copenhagen, 1910. § Schaller, Stuttgart.

‖ Korrespondenzblatt für Schweizer Ärzte, 1910, No. 2.

and State regulation step in. The evil results in the form of new nervous diseases, far slower recoveries, insurance hysteria, unnecessary or fraudulent claims, and open pride in successful dependence on the public purse, begin to show themselves soon after this change. If these influences are to be successfully combated it is necessary in the first place to realise fully how they operate and to appreciate how the voluntary system has been, for the most part, free from their results.

The friendly societies of the past made a strong appeal to the honour, to the sense of justice, and to the public spirit of their members. They in fact invoked the powerful assistance of the public opinion of the classes they served. This public opinion made dishonesty of claim, idleness won by deception, weak yielding to nervous or hysterical disorder, or slothful dependence on club-money or on the labour of a wife, things of shame, not things to laugh at or to flaunt. Those who have worked alongside of or been amongst the members of these societies have often heard words such as these spoken with just pride: 'I have paid my contributions regular to 'the Oddfellows for these thirty years now and I have never 'drawn [or only drawn] . . .' The man who can say this is entitled to be proud. Has he not out of his little done a man's part in helping his less fortunate comrades? Men never boasted among their fellows of the sums they had managed to draw from their lodge or their club—the mere suggestion that they could descend to claim more than was due would be resented.

Contrast with this the pride in idleness won at the cost of the public purse or in the length of the holiday pay which has been gained by deception, the 'Rentenempfänger' printed on the card, and the brazen flaunting of successful frauds, which are laughed at or applauded by public opinion where it is 'the allowance of the Act' which stands to be shot at. Let us give honour where honour is due and realise fully how the qualities of character fostered in the people by the noble system of voluntary mutual help protected them and preserved the nation from the evils which we now have reason to dread. We can ill afford to destroy these national bulwarks.

Once coercion and statutory regulation take the place of voluntary initiative, entirely different influences are set up

and the tendencies of public opinion are reversed. It matters not whether the State, an employer, an approved society, or an insurance company disburses the allowance, so long as it is 'the Act' which limits and regulates the claim. The friendly society of the past said to its members 'Join our 'lodge; if you are strong and fortunate you will help your 'fellows, if you become weak or unfortunate they will help 'you; you will join with them in regulating how the common 'fund shall be applied.' The Act which deals with compulsory insurance, whether for sickness or accident, says 'You and 'your employers shall pay what Parliament bids you pay, and 'you may get what you can in return; we pit our regulations 'and inquisitions against your ingenuity and your efforts 'to finger the contents of this public purse.'

To the popular mind 'the allowance of the Act' or the sum granted 'by the State' is fair prey. Some few may appreciate that in the long run their approved society or their industry may be injured by false claims, but the possibility of harming fellow members has been made too remote and too complicated both in the case of sick pay and of accident pay to affect public opinion, especially when the sick pay is announced to be the 'minimum,' and an impression is thus created that the State will make good if the society cannot pay.

Two important and definite conclusions in connexion with this part of the subject appear to be established:

First that the State may in some matters legitimately subsidise voluntary effort, but it must not coerce, nor can it with advantage prescribe the form which the assisted insurance of each individual shall take. That is work for which each particular organisation, which knows the needs of its members, must be responsible. No greater mistake could be made than that of asking Parliament to settle a specific and a uniform list of 'benefits.' The egregious folly and the untold waste involved in this are already being learnt. In time we shall be more concerned with results which are as yet less apparent; it is this mistake which has converted 'club pay' into 'the allowance of the Act.' Where the State assists it must to a certain extent control, but this control should be chiefly confined to securing the solvency of the societies and the due fulfilment of their promises. In this direction the

system of audit and actuarial control set up by the National Insurance Act probably provides in the best possible way the requisite securities.

The second conclusion—one of great practical importance—is that accident pay and sick pay should be brought under single control. The taxation of the employer and the State subsidy to the society should be so arranged as to enable the latter to deal in the same way with accidents of employment and with other accidents. There is no virtue in the costly distinction between the two classes of accident, and there is every reason why the same public opinion should be invoked to assist in the administration of both. It is also desirable that the insuring society should be in a position so to limit the aggregate allowance that undue temptation to prolong the dependence on its funds is not set up. A system of accident insurance, which allows more than half its premium income to be devoted to administration and litigation expenses, is a system to be condemned, not only as an economic failure but also as an influence opposed to the best development of character and of the feelings which should govern the relations between employer and employed.

Another and quite separate influence on character which insurance legislation has produced, or threatened to produce, is clearly brought out in Sir John Collie's book. We refer to the debasement of the moral standards of the legal and medical professions.

Just as the German insurance law has produced a parasitic growth of touting experts in the art of claim-making, so has our own Workmen's Compensation Act produced from the lowest stratum of the legal profession a class of touting lawyers, or outcasts of the profession, whose pernicious activities are frequently masked by a name suggestive of charitable intent, e.g. 'The ——— Legal Aid Society.' The diligently disseminated circulars of these touts explain how the case will be fought without cost to the claimant—nothing beyond a commission of 5 or 10 per cent. on the compensation obtained.

As to the effect on the medical profession, Sir John Collie says: 'Against the advantage of free choice of doctor must 'be set the danger that one member of the medical panel may 'be induced to give certificates too easily, and to put men

'on sick pay too readily, in the hope of thereby winning 'popularity and increasing his *clientèle.*' Apparently the temptation which beset the club doctor in the past will be greatly accentuated, when in place of the appointed medical officer we have the panel doctor, who, instead of holding his appointment from a society, holds it from each insured person individually. That the same influence has operated elsewhere has been amply testified. For instance, Professor Quincke says: 'It now not infrequently happens that doctors damage 'their practices substantially by refusing to support with their 'certificates unfounded allegations of incapacity. Yielding 'to the wishes of the patient and favouring slackness and 'idleness can thus become means of enlarging the *clientèle* of 'a doctor.'

At best it is hard to place upon the doctor, who is in close touch with his patient, the onus of certifying him fit to return to work, and when personal popularity, entailing material advantage, is the result of deferring this unpleasant duty it is plain that the system is liable to gross abuse. The conclusion arrived at by Sir John Collie is that approved societies in this country will probably be forced, within a short time, to appoint special medical men to examine members in receipt of sickness benefit in order to prevent abuse of their funds. This is already the practice in Germany, where it has been found to pay.

It is in a different way that our Old Age Pension Act threatens moral and material harm to the nation. Age is a basis of claim which will soon be proof against abuse, and we need not regard a statutory grant, dependent upon it alone, as any incentive to imposture. But, when indigence as well as age is a necessary part of the qualification, altogether different influences are set up. The official reports tell us that many persons who are really well-to-do are learning how to evade the income restriction of the Act, e.g. farmers who transfer or assign their holdings to sons or other persons for the purpose.

This temptation is, however, a trifling matter compared with another and far more detrimental influence which has been set up: a veritable premium has been placed on improvidence —an actual tax has been imposed upon thrift. The monetary assistance of the Insurance Act is cut short at the age of seventy,

and the pensions which are supposed to take its place are not for those who have laid by something for their dependants or have provided more than the merest pittance for their own old age. Time has yet to show the material as well as moral damage which will result from imposing this direct fine upon thrift. A dole which only comes to those who can prove that they have reached the age of seventy in a state of poverty does not deserve the name of 'pension.'

The financial waste involved in a removal of the income disqualification would be insignificant in comparison with the moral and material waste which that disqualification entails. The total number excluded by it is comparatively small, and undoubtedly a large proportion of this number would not claim in any case. It is quite possible that with abstention dependent upon voluntary election, and upon the public opinion which such a system would engender, the number of persons claiming the allowance would be no greater than at present.

To pass to another point: There is probably no sphere in which State regulation has operated with greater success than that which relates to the protection of workers from exposure to undue risk. Our own laws with their Plimsoll marks and their combination of expert assistance, inspection, and control as applied to railways, sea transport, etc., are probably as good an example as could be found of State regulation wisely limited and tempered by common sense. But even where, as in this case, State interference is necessary, experience has shown that it depends upon the extent of that interference whether the good or the evil results preponderate. When, as in Germany, an army of inspectors is employed and rules are framed against 'falling asleep while driving,' 'using 'unsafe ladders' or 'swinging a hammer without looking round,' it is small wonder if precaution is neglected when the rules are silent, or if wooden-headed dependence upon formula takes the place of intelligence and is used to excuse any careless disregard for the safety of others.

The results which have recently been achieved by the 'Safety Committee' movement in America show that the voluntary co-operation of workmen and employers, when scientifically organised, is really a far more important

safeguard than legislative control. It is upon the assistance of the workmen that this movement chiefly relies; they all have their turn on the committee and in the work of inspecting and reporting; the responsibility for condemning negligence is upon them, and by their action the man who is careless of the safety of others is suspended. The walls are not plastered with statutory rules but with short precepts and words of warning from the committee. It is easy to realise how this tends to raise the standard of intelligence and responsibility and how the conservation of life, skill, and experience and the reduction of accident claim and dispute economically outweigh the cost of the precautionary measures recommended. The statistics of deaths and injuries in those industries where the system has been adopted are already greatly improved.

It is almost needless to dwell on the dangers of a very obvious character which attend on State intervention in such things as prescribing a minimum scale of wage or the feeding of necessitous school-children, and much might be written on the more subtle ways in which our recent experiments in these spheres threaten moral and material harm. Before we go further in regulating hours of employment and cognate matters it is to be hoped that a careful study of the experience gained in other countries will be undertaken. If the law be too solicitous to limit the amount of work which men are willing to do, an impression may be fostered that work itself is an accursed burden to be cast aside whenever possible.

On the whole—in spite of the progress of socialist teaching—we find evidence that public opinion is now awake to the fact that it is wiser for the State to encourage voluntary effort, and if need be to subsidise it, than to intervene with coercion, rigid regulation, and elaborate systems of inspection. It is in connexion with reforms which concern the relations between employer and employed, or which attempt to control mutual insurance, that the wisdom of this great principle has been most conspicuously established.

In this connexion the results achieved by the agricultural syndicates in France are well worth study. One of the chief aims of these syndicates is that of raising the moral dignity

of work by making each man feel that work is not only the means of earning a living but also the chief begetter of health, happiness, and self-respect. France has just given us another very marked illustration of the tendency of public opinion in regard to State interference in the reception accorded to the compulsory pension law and the far greater success of that measure when the law courts had practically made it voluntary. The Safety Committee movement in America, to which reference has just been made, shows how the greater value of voluntary initiative is being appreciated. Even in Germany there is a marked spirit of reaction against superabundant regulation and inspection.

These movements of thought are all the more interesting because of the contrast they present with the attitude taken up in the earlier days of social reform legislation. Then the material injury to competitive industry likely to be wrought by unnecessary central regulation was the danger on which stress was laid. It was an obvious risk. The less obvious but much greater evils are now gradually becoming apparent. It is dawning on many minds that overmuch regulation may impair the sense of personal responsibility, the individual initiative, and even the intelligence of those who are engaged in the industries concerned, and may blunt the worker's interest and pride in good work well done and in the perfection of the machinery he handles.

What then are the conclusions of practical utility to be drawn from a study of the unforeseen results of social reform legislation ?

First of all we want a stronger belief in the good sense of the people and a fuller appreciation of the fact that it is only those reforms which are in tune with the people's higher moral feelings which can succeed.

We want greater readiness to see and to preserve the good in things that are. At this moment, as the direct result of the neglect of this principle our friendly societies, strangled and enmeshed in the great net of State regulation, are struggling in vain to continue the beneficent work they did so well in the past.

We want more willingness to encourage and to assist voluntary effort and less eagerness to compel and to control. The

pride of our people resents coercion; all the world over the lesson is being taught that organised voluntary effort can succeed where State intervention may simply retard.

We want freedom, elasticity, and practical common sense in all our efforts to reform. The visionary reformer is apt to make a fetish of uniformity and completeness, and to forget that conditions of life, conditions of employment, and the calls for help, assume as many and as varied forms among the classes for which he tries to legislate as in that to which he happens to belong.

We want a wise discrimination as to the limits of intervention and a recognition of the fact that there are spheres in which the State must fail though private initiative may succeed. The more intimate the duties to be taken over, the more searching and personal must the official inquiries be, till State intervention may come to mean that reticence and decent pride must give way to brazen demands for public assistance.

We want above all more careful study of the influences set up and of the lessons which experience has taught. These things must be weighed and studied deeply and the experience of other States compared with our own. Eagerness to produce an immediate and material improvement, or to gain popularity, must not blind the reformer to the hidden dangers, moral and material, which his proposals involve.

Social reform is a task for statesmen, not for party politicians. It must cease to be a pawn in the game of catching votes. Its lines should not be fashioned in the heat of Parliamentary debate, or robbed of proper consideration by the exigencies of parliamentary procedure. Like all complex and difficult matters, it needs the calmer and the wiser work of expert commissions. Unless the common sense of the people will demand the observance of these conditions, it is useless to hope for social improvement out of 'social reform' legislation.

Above all, we have to be careful not to ignore the traditions of our race. England has been wont to boast of keeping State regulation within narrow limits, and it has been no empty boast. Like a wise parent she has trusted her full-grown children and they have justified her trust. The widest possible sphere has been given to energy and individual initiative, and an extraordinary power of invention and spirit of enterprise have been

shown by the race. Love of fair play and straightforwardness, respect for justice and truth, and reasonable consideration and care for the rights of others, have become national characteristics; for, though individuals may be swayed by selfish instincts, honest appeals to the higher moral sense or to the patriotism of this people have seldom if ever failed. The spirit of independence and of self-reliance which abhors the taint of pauperism or even of charity and impels men and women to struggle through times of difficulty, the kindness of the poor to each other and their extraordinary readiness to help their friends and neighbours, are not the least of our national treasures: they are moral blossoms not to be ruthlessly cut down. They have given us a sound public opinion permeating the great body of that self-respecting and industrious community which constitutes the English nation.

It is just because there is so much that may be marred in the effort to improve, and because such splendid material is at stake, that every experiment affecting the nation must be put to this test—How will this influence our national character? To lower the standard of public opinion is to strike at the life of the nation. If (to take our chief example) men find that in the opinion of their fellows successful fraud upon a common purse is no longer a thing to be despised as of old, but a thing to laugh at and applaud, as it is in Germany, and as our accident compensation and insurance laws are making it here; if pride in dependence takes the place of pride in independence; and if a popular opinion is engendered that the State is merely discharging a debt in attending to the needs of the population, it is not too much to say that a national calamity will have befallen us.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR AND RURAL HOUSING

1. **Common Land and Enclosure.** By E. C. K. GONNER. Macmillan and Co. 1912.
2. **The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century.** By R. TAWNEY. Longmans, Green and Co. 1912.
3. **English Farming, Past and Present.** By ROWLAND E. PROTHERO. Longmans, Green and Co. 1912.
4. **The Village Labourer, 1760–1832 : a Study in the Government of England before the Reform Bill.** By J. L. HAMMOND and BARBARA HAMMOND. Longmans, Green and Co. 1911.
5. **Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into the Earnings and Hours of Labour of Workpeople of the United Kingdom. V.—Agriculture in 1907.** Cd. 5460. Wyman and Sons. 1910.
6. **The Disappearance of the Small Landowner.** By A. H. JOHNSON. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1909.
7. **The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields.** By GILBERT SLATER. Constable and Co. 1907.

FOR various reasons, economic, social and political, the state of our agricultural population is again beginning to attract attention. Economically, after thirty years of acute depression, agricultural industry is slowly emerging into a more healthy condition. Side by side with an improvement in the price of the staple products of the large farm, a growing demand for vegetables and fruit has created a new system of intensive cultivation. Hence the tendency to consolidate the land into large areas of permanent grass has been reversed. Some poor grass land has been again put under the plough, the number of very large farms is diminishing, and, in certain favourable districts, small holdings have developed without legislative pressure, merely by the play of economic forces.

Socially, the change is marked by an increase in the number of efficient tenant farmers, some of whom are alive to the bearing of scientific knowledge on agriculture ; by the growth, in specific areas, of the prosperous small holder ; and by an arrest in the long-continued process of rural depopulation. Partly in consequence of this arrest, the problem of housing the agricultural labourer is becoming urgent. Over a large part of England men cannot obtain cottages. New families

cannot start for want of a roof. Labourers cannot move to districts where work is plentiful. Overcrowding is rampant to an extent which makes health, decency, and comfort difficult or impossible. Meanwhile, the forgotten story of the effects on agriculture of the industrial revolution of a century ago is being written, and throws a flood of light on the present position of the rural population. Stripped of the exaggeration indulged in by some polemical writers, the history of the great change, represented in the Midlands by the process called 'enclosure,' shows clearly that a very real social injury was inflicted on the nation by the rapid consummation of the age-long process by which the medieval peasant, with a definite hold on the soil, was converted into the modern landless labourer.

Politically, underlying the dominant desire of all parties to secure votes, many forces are now at work. On every side there is a genuine desire to improve the lot of the agricultural labourer. The Labour Party, representing the organised workmen of the towns, wish to stop the perennial flow of labour from the country districts, a flow which prevents trade unions from establishing that monopoly at which organised labour no less than organised capital aims. The Liberals, with insufficient attention to local conditions, have attempted to plant small holders as irremovable tenants of County Councils all over the country. They desire the liberation of the labourer from the extreme pressure of present economic forces, and declare their intention to emancipate him from what—with a ludicrous ignorance of the meaning of the word—some of them are pleased to call 'the relics of feudalism.' Their actual proposal for mending his situation is the application of such typical feudal conceptions as a legal standard wage and Land Courts to determine fair rents. The Unionists see that greater stability would be gained by increasing the number of freeholders; and aim at developing the small owner regardless of his own desires and of economic conditions. Meanwhile, they wish to meet the urgent housing needs by an heroic application of State aid, and propose out of national funds to build cottages to be let at charity rents.

That all is not well with rural England most competent observers agree. Wages are probably too low for the work done, and for the wants of a decent life and home. Over large

areas there is a real need of new cottages with a higher standard of comfort. Except in a few districts, the labourer is divorced from the land and has no holding, sometimes not even a garden, of his own. Throughout almost the whole of the Midlands and the south, the gulf between the capitalist farmer and the labourer is practically impassable, and a good labourer has no chance to rise. But it is as foolish to exaggerate the evil as to ignore it. Probably all is never well or can be well with any human society. At all times some parts of every living organism are out of harmony with the rest or with its environment, and need either greater freedom to adjust themselves, or definite guidance into better ways. Evolution is always at work. A stationary state of society has never existed in the past and, it is safe to say, will never exist in the future. We must look for an endless process of change and development. Nevertheless, a consideration of the best direction for our next steps is no less important because we have ceased to believe that they will attain a final goal.

But, in dealing with any problem which involves the social organism, it is not enough to examine the question superficially from the present aspect alone. To understand the existing state of rural society, and to attack the concurrent problem of rural housing, some knowledge of historical development must be assured; and, since politicians are beginning once more to talk about 'remnants of feudalism,' it may be well to begin our survey with an attempt to set forth the historical commonplace of a picture of some aspects of feudalism as it really existed in England.

Like all other social states, the feudal system of the medieval manor was constantly undergoing change and flux. It is impossible to stereotype its structure, and to say that this or that description is a true account of 'the' manor at such and such a date. Nevertheless, a sketch of its essential features is not beyond achievement, and the work of Maitland, Seebohm, Vinogradoff, Slater, the Webbs, Tawney, Gonner, Prothero, and other recent investigators, gives us a clearer idea of its rise, progress, and decay than was obtainable even a few years ago.

Leaving on one side the controversial question of the origin of the manor—whether it arose from a system of greater or less freedom than itself—we are on surer ground when we trace the changes during its period of active existence. And here

great, though intermittent, improvement throughout the centuries is apparent in two of the four main classes of tenants—namely those of the cottars and serfs, who are the economic equivalents of our modern labourers. From a variety of causes, the economic and social status of these classes rose, and, as the feudal system developed, their condition came to wear an aspect very different from the picture of unrelieved tyranny with which feudalism is now often held to be synonymous. On the contrary, the medieval policy presented an elaborate organisation of checks and safeguards on the action of each class, and especially on the lord of the manor himself, whose arbitrary power was controlled in many ways, while his function as a recognised point of contact with the outer world and the central administration was retained. The Manorial Courts, held under the presidency of himself or his steward, were only strictly legal when a certain number of soccage freeholders attended as jurors to secure independence; while the 'custom of the manor,' as interpreted by its tenants, together with the growing right of appeal to the Crown Courts, formed a very real protection against encroachment on the rights of the villeins, the cottars, or the serfs.

Moreover, in sharp distinction from modern conditions, the majority of the labouring classes possessed a definite hold on the land, and occupied, on one of the many different kinds of tenure, plots of ground sufficient to secure a measure of economic independence. The landless labourer, with nothing to look to but his uncertain wages of subsistence, is, for the most part, a product not of feudalism, but of the 'free' financial basis of society which superseded it.

The villeins with their large customary holdings, and the cottars with their smaller 'five-acre' or similar tenures, originally had definite services to perform in cultivating the lord's demesne—services which were gradually commuted for a money payment. But otherwise they enjoyed fair security and independence. Even the serfs, when they gained their liberty, played an essential part in the manorial system, and often had holdings of some few acres created for them on the demesne or on the waste land which surrounded the cultivated settlement. Both for national security and local advantage, the Crown and the lord of the manor alike benefited when the land supported the largest possible number

of healthy men, and, as long as no huge cities cried out for food, the result was a sounder rural system than that which succeeded it, when corn and meat and wool were poured into the industrial areas and the landowner's advantage lay, not in men to till his fields and follow his flag, but in the net surplus rent remaining after a minimum wage bill had been paid. It is probable that the average condition of the peasantry, as compared with that of other classes, was better in some feudal times than in many subsequent periods.

But, in the sixteenth century, the process of decay in the feudal organism became rapid, and the old personal relationships fell before the solvent forces of industrial capitalist individualism. At the dissolution of the monasteries much ecclesiastical property passed into lay hands. It is true that the outcry about plunder by the Reformation families is, for the most part, an ingenuous confession of ignorance of the details of English economic history. The men who acquired Church lands as a rule paid to the Crown the full market price for them, calculated on the basis of the existing customary rents, and the contemporary taxpayer, whose pocket was relieved at the cost of the religious orders, was the principal immediate beneficiary by the change of ownership. Though these investments in land proved profitable, owing to the loosening of the power of custom and the consequent gradual conversion of copyholds into leaseholds and similar changes of tenure, such a development could not have been foreseen with certainty.

But the passing of the ecclesiastical landowners, who for the most part had given easy conditions and security of tenure to their tenants and special privileges to the labouring classes, allowed the new landowners to consolidate their interests, and to pursue, free from unpleasant comparisons, a policy which the Crown endeavoured in vain to check in the interests of the cottagers by the action of the Court of Requests and the Star Chamber—Courts of equity both obnoxious to the new men who wished to get the utmost returns from their investments in land.

The economic effect of the import into Europe of the stores of gold from the New World was great and widespread. In the sixteenth century the value of money was falling fast. The consequence was that all customary rents, fixed charges

on definite holdings—rents which represented historically the commuted value of labour-services, and of rents in kind rather than the agricultural rents of the present day—became much less burdensome to the tenant. A rent of twopence an acre, a heavy drain when twopence meant a large sum, equivalent to a fair day's wage, became a merely nominal charge when the value of twopence sank to a small fraction of its original meaning.

Copyholds and other customary tenures, whose possessors were able to maintain their status against attempts at conversion, thus acquired a large capital value. The condition of the smaller tenants had improved considerably at an earlier period; the chief effect now was on the larger copyholders and long leaseholders, who represented the medieval villeins and are the economic ancestors of our modern tenant farmers. In the sixteenth century such men, as Professor Maitland has pointed out, were enriched by a clear but forgotten case of unearned increment.

The story of the great enclosure movement, for long a scarcely remembered episode of English history, is now being restored to us. The enclosure of waste spaces and common fields by general consent, accelerating with any increase of population, has been going on from early times and under all economic systems. The 'right to enclose' was part of the political need of the new capitalist landowners under our Tudor kings, and the men who stood by Pym and Cromwell for political rights were for the most part equally eager to improve their economic position without the fear of intervention by the Crown Courts on behalf of the smaller commoners. But the movement acquired definite legal sanction and became especially rapid in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is true that much of the country had been enclosed long before that time, particularly in the extreme east and west, where contact with the Continent, great development of the wool trade, or the proximity of large towns or seaports, had introduced a money economy at an early date. But a broad strip of land, running from Hampshire and Dorset to Cambridge and Lincoln, was, for the most part, still unenclosed.

Over this large area, and to a less extent elsewhere, the old system of open fields worked by the tenants in common still

existed. One man's holding lay scattered in strips of an acre or so all over three or more huge arable fields, whereon the crops were settled from year to year by custom, and over which the sheep and cattle of all had the right to roam after the harvest had been gathered.

Such an arrangement usually prevented agricultural progress; it was wasteful and inefficient. In an industrial country it was doomed to extinction as soon as a fast-growing urban population called urgently for new supplies of food. The old subsistence husbandry had to give place to the modern farm, no longer a community of inter-dependent families, but a highly organised factory of corn and meat. But the open field system, with its Manor Courts and picturesque elected officials, enshrined a most valuable measure of communal existence, and, in those parts of the country where it survived, maintained the ancient social framework of village life long after the rest of the manorial system had sunk into decay.

The enclosure of common arable fields became first an economic advantage, and then, under the stress of the Napoleonic wars, a national necessity. But, if the process was inevitable, the extreme pressure of the moment caused it to be carried out by methods which were often unfortunate. Throughout the transformation, the effect on the status of the agricultural population seems to have been overlooked or miscalculated. The finely adjusted balance in the relations of the different social classes involved was upset, and immediate economic advantage was sought in a way which overruled the consideration of slow maturing sociological change. Naturally enough the lords of the manors and the larger freeholders, who had most to gain by enclosure, carried through the necessary Acts of Parliament and Enclosure Awards chiefly in their own interests, while Parliament, which should have taken into account the broader and more permanent social effects of the movement, failed to provide against the consequent dislocation of village life.

It is easy by selecting cases of hardship, as is so skilfully done by Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, to make the action both of the landowners and the legislature seem incomprehensibly selfish and wanton. But such an impression almost carries with it its own refutation, since the vast majority of our fellow countrymen of any period, especially those in responsible

positions, are neither selfish nor wanton. Every economic change bears heavily on individuals. The truth seems to be that considerable and increasing efforts were made to give adequate compensation to small owners of land and possessors of common rights. But the allotment of land in severalty was often too small to pay for the cost of enclosure, and the very gain in economic efficiency which followed the change of system tended to squeeze out the man of small wants, small ideas, and small energy, who had been protected and carried along by the rigidity of custom and fixity of conditions that marked the old open field cultivation. Unless the small owner was able to increase his holding, it was easier and often better for him to sell his allotted acres, migrate towards the mills in the valleys, and invest the proceeds of his patrimony in the swelling tide of urban prosperity. Many of the great manufacturers, sons of yeomen or commoners, thus began to build up their immense fortunes.

Nevertheless, as long as war prices held, the numbers of small owners only decreased in areas near the growing towns. It was not till the fall of prices began in 1814 that those numbers fell rapidly all over the country. Thereafter, the rise of individual small holders did not prevent their decay as a class.

The effect of enclosure was much more disastrous to the small tenant than to the small owner. When his lease ran out, he possessed no legal claim to compensation, while the abolition of the common arable fields made it far easier to consolidate many small farms into a few large ones if the economic forces made it expedient. Thus, in spite of the efforts made to prevent injustice to individuals, the broad result of the change was to hasten the extinction of the free English peasantry, the creation of a thousand years of national development, and to leave in their place a poor remnant of dispossessed labourers, degraded into an agricultural proletariat bereft of almost all property and independence—the result, be it noted again, not of the feudal system which had established a better state of affairs, but of its decay and replacement by the money system of economy.

It is part of the irony of the situation that, owing to a curious combination of circumstances in the intellectual world, those who considered themselves especially the champions of popular rights at the end of the eighteenth and

beginning of the nineteenth centuries, were coming under the sway of the economic doctrine of *laissez faire*, and mistrusted all checks on social freedom and individual action. Hence there was a general reluctance to interfere with the details of a process which, in its broad sense, was rightly seen to be inevitable. The protests and risings of the last of the peasants were ignored and put down, amid the melancholy accompaniments of righteous self-satisfaction and the slow agony of foiled endeavour. The country settled down to estimate, during the course of the succeeding fifty years, the advantages of unrestricted economic competition and the unchecked power of financial and industrial capital. The dispossessed cottagers crowded into the undrained, ill-planned, fever-haunted towns, and supplied that cheap labour which was so much to the advantage of the rising class of industrial capitalists. The degradation of urban labour, the final destruction of craftsmanship, the elimination of human relations between men and masters, completed the first stage of the industrial revolution, until the gloom was at last relieved by the early Factory Acts.

As applied to agriculture the broad result of the industrial revolution was an undoubted and immense economic gain to the nation; while, during the years of prosperity and war prices, it also brought increased wealth to farmer and landowner. But the landless labourer, who had now replaced the feudal peasant, received little share in the increase of rural wealth. Deprived of his customary rights, forced, by the pressure of circumstances he could not understand, to sell his allotted bit of land, the labourer was faced first by the great rise in prices consequent on the Napoleonic wars, and then by the depression and disorganisation of the agricultural world that followed the fall of prices coincident with the peace.

The period from 1814 till the reform of the Poor Law in 1834 was one of the most disastrous ever known in rural England. And yet another consequence of those years of agricultural depression must not be overlooked. Many landowning families of long standing were temporarily crippled or forced to sell their estates owing to the rapid fall of prices and to a series of financial crises. This process recurs at intervals throughout the centuries, and each time a new class of landowners replaces those who are dispossessed. The new men

have usually a less instinctive knowledge of rural life, and a lower standard of public duty, and tend to regard the old acres either as a purely commercial investment or, on the other hand, as a means merely of personal gratification and social display.

On the whole, the years from 1836 to 1870 were prosperous. The reform in the Poor Law gave a sounder basis for improvement in the lot of the labourer, while new agricultural methods and new breeds of stock increased the productivity of the land and the profits of farmers. More slowly, as farms fell in, landowners benefited by an increase in the rents offered, and, more slowly still, agricultural wages began to rise.

But these brighter prospects were eclipsed in the terrible time beginning with the disastrous season of 1879, which coincided with the first rush of the flood of foreign imports of food to supply from outside sources the needs of the cities whose insistent demands had been responsible for the changed economy of the countryside. With one short and slight break, the years of acute depression lasted well into the present century. Once more, farmers' profits fell, often to less than nothing, landowners were straitened or parted with their estates, and wages were perforce lowered and labourers dismissed.

Simultaneously and subsequently a series of Acts of Parliament, directed, partly for political motives, against the landowning class, and designed outwardly to protect the interests of the tenant farmer, who seemed to be the chief sufferer, greatly strengthened a position which, from economic causes, was already becoming over strong. No doubt farmers had passed through bad years, though the majority had received a substantial reduction of rent. But, in other ways, the tenant farmer was yearly becoming more powerful in the social structure of the country. As against his landlord, he held the strong weapon of a notice to quit a farm that it might be difficult or impossible to re-let, and a formidable array of newly enacted compensation clauses gave a sharper edge to his weapon. As against his men, he held the power, not only of discharge into an overstocked labour market, but also of eviction from their homes, which, though for the most part the property of the same landowner, it had become a general custom to regard as part of the farm equipment, and to place with the other buildings in the unrestrained control of the occupying farmer.

Thus, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, while a slow rise in money wages and in their real value was lightening the pressure of want on the labourer, and a reformed judicial system took the place of the menacing administration of savage justice which had beset his father's early years, his position in other respects showed little or no improvement. In fact, it is possible that the labourer was passing more and more into the hands of the farmer, who was also becoming less amenable to the moderating influence of an impoverished landowner, and to the criticism of the fast dwindling class of the smaller rural gentry. The balance of three forces, which is the idea of stability whether in mechanical problems, constitutional government, or social conditions, was grievously upset.

The history of rural housing has yet to be written; it is hardly touched upon by recent writers on other aspects of rural history; only the barest outline of the subject can here be attempted.

As long as the old social structure of the manor lasted, enough cottages seem to have been forthcoming. The solidarity of the group prevailed and the men of the manor were housed somehow within its bounds. Standards were low; building bye-laws were an impediment yet to be devised, and, with the security of copyhold or other customary tenure, a man could even build his own house or make sacrifices to get one built. At that time, society was not organised on a purely financial basis, and custom was stronger than some of the economic tendencies of the day. The passing of the old system was accompanied in parts of the country by an access of prosperity which made it possible to build, and in others by a process of rural depopulation which diminished the need for houses. For many years the existing cottages often proved adequate to shelter the families that remained. Thus the housing problem first declared itself in the urban districts, and, during the years of agricultural depression which followed 1879, the lessened demand for cottages spread over nearly the whole country.

But, with the turn in the tide which followed the close of the nineteenth century, we meet a new state of affairs. The food supplies of the Western world became less superabundant with the growth of American cities, and with rising prices and

the experience gained in difficult times, English agriculture once more showed signs of revival. The demand for labour ceased to fall, in places began even to increase. The plough was again cheerfully at work on the stiffer clay soils and the light chalk lands, which it had not paid to cultivate during the years of depression.

Simultaneously motor-cars began to fill deserted or half-occupied country houses, and a fashion for 'week-end' cottages, with orchard, paddock, and garden—the typical holding of the cottar—spread over the home counties. Thus the demand for cottages, instead of falling with the diminishing supply, began once more to grow. Yet the old buildings that still remained consecrated to their natural uses continued to fall down or become uninhabitable, while new cottages, suitable for the agricultural labourer, were far to seek and hard to find. Schemes of land nationalisation, and wild suggestions for placing all local burdens on the already over-taxed land, produced a feeling of disastrous insecurity, and made land-owners unwilling to sink more capital in building cottages on estates which in some cases for thirty years had hardly paid the cost of their upkeep and management, and were now threatened with practical confiscation. Meanwhile, standards had risen, and many of the remaining cottages were rightly condemned as unfit for human habitation, while some were actually closed, with, perhaps, an insufficient appreciation of the fact that a bad roof over one's head is better than no roof at all.

In considering the present condition of affairs in rural England, its sociological structure in general, and the housing of agricultural labour in particular, with a view of finding directions in which improvement is possible, it is, of course, idle to contemplate a return to the old ways. The wasteful and inefficient methods of open field cultivation and over-stocked common pasture are as dead as military land-tenure, the parochial ducking-stool, or the rest of the feudal system. They were each and all excellent institutions in their day, and may have been abandoned with undue precipitation. But, in order to re-establish the nice balance of forces which requires a sound class of peasantry, with a proper measure of economic and social security and independence, a new system,

suited to modern needs, must be devised. Yet it would be unwise to fall into the old mistake of ignoring the antecedent conditions, and to shut our eyes to the lessons which history can unfold.

When we analyse the advantages shown by the older systems of rural economy in their best days, as regards the condition of the labouring population, we find that the essential features were the large proportion of labourers who possessed a secure and recognised hold on the land, and the strength of custom in maintaining a standard of rights and duties for the different classes in rural life.

The modern equivalent of custom is public opinion, supported and stiffened where necessary and possible by careful legislation commending itself to the good sense of the community, and by the efficient administration of such well-considered laws. To that question we shall return; let us first deal with the problem of the labourer and the land.

With present facilities of transport, local needs are not dependent on local supplies, and thus land only fit for one type of agriculture cannot be forced into use for another as in medieval times. Where the soil is favourable, or where suitable markets are near at hand, the small holding of a few acres or the small farm of thirty to fifty acres may prove an economic success and supply a family with a complete living. But all those with an adequate knowledge of the conditions agree that, over large areas of the country, the small holding, as a sole means of support, is doomed to failure. The large or medium-sized farm is often the only way of cultivating the land with economy and success, and the problem of labour on large or medium farms must remain the predominant consideration.

The modern farm needs almost constant labour, and, in the interest both of the land and the men, it is well that, as far as possible, employment should be steady throughout the year. The present system of a low wage as a kind of retaining fee, with larger earnings at harvest and other seasons of pressure, is a recognition of this need. On well-managed estates, the regular labourers, kept on by the farmer throughout the year, have an adequate garden of fifteen or twenty perches attached to their cottages, and receive from the farmer another twenty perches of prepared and manured potato ground some-

where in the fields. It is possible that this amount of land is as much as a single man can manage in his hours of leisure. Moreover, it is clear that difficulties accumulate on all sides when his holding is increased to a size which needs stock. Men who have the constant handling of the food of their employer's animals have also constant temptation in the thought of a litter of hungry piglings at home. The determined opposition of most farmers to any attempt to provide their regular labourers with stock probably diminishes appreciably the number of charges of pilfering tried before the nearest Petty Sessions.

But improvement may be sought by another road. Most farms need additional help at certain seasons, and, for this purpose, draw on casual labour. In some places a good type of jobbing labourer is found, who, with a small holding of his own which can be managed, if necessary, for a time by his wife and children, is free to earn good wages when the chance offers. Without a holding of some few acres, such a man is in bad case during the slack seasons. But with land in which to sink his surplus time and money, with skill and industry, he is in a safe position, and has a good chance of rising to a small farm in time. Where such men are to be found, and where such holdings are possible, their development gives an opening to those regular labourers, who prefer greater stakes in the game of life, to pass to another sphere, and tends to raise wages and to improve conditions of employment generally. Moreover, the produce of this kind of small holding usually goes to supply the needs of the neighbouring cottagers, who thus obtain milk and other things not always to be got from a large farm, which more easily deals in a wholesale market.

But, to benefit directly the agricultural labourer in regular employment, we must look to a rise in wages and to an increase in the amenities and in the security of his tenure of his cottage home. These two things are connected intimately. It is often said that if wages were raised the labourer would be able to pay an adequate rent and secure a good cottage. The possibility of the converse effect of an adequate supply of cottages in raising the standard of wages seems to have been overlooked. But we are now face to face with the whole problem of rural housing and agricultural wages.

In most other departments of economic history, an unsatisfied

demand has called forth a corresponding supply. Why is it that, while the demand for country cottages is becoming more and more insistent, the supply is lagging farther and farther behind the needs of the time?

Of houses rented below £20 a year, the Inland Revenue Department gives figures which show that over one hundred thousand were built in 1903, about eighty thousand in 1906, and only about ten thousand in 1911. Although the yearly number has risen once more to about eighty thousand, it is still much below what it was ten years ago. What is the cause of this restriction of output in the face of the vehement demand?

The same answers are given by nearly all those cognisant of the facts. In the first place, cottages are not built because they cannot be made to pay for their cost. In the second place, the prevailing feeling of insecurity prevents landowners or indeed anyone else from building without looking for an exact money return. As a commercial investment, no adequate interest can be obtained, it is said, for the capital outlay involved in building, while existing capital is seriously threatened. And, with present standards of rent and possibilities of legislation and taxation, this is undoubtedly true. But an agricultural labourer expects to get a cottage for a shilling, eighteenpence, or, at most, two shillings a week. No cottage can be built under about £150, and for a cottage suitable for a large family, £175 at least must be expended. Now 5 per cent. on £150 is £7 10s. a year, and, allowing £2 18s. for rates, repairs and insurance, and nothing at all for land, fencing, and water supply, we get four shillings a week as the lowest rent which would make the smaller cottage a reasonable investment even for a landowner building on his own estate. It is worthy of note that, at the so-called 'Garden City' at Letchworth, rents of five and six shillings a week are asked and obtained for cottages of about the standard we are now considering. But even the four shillings is much higher than the one shilling or eighteenpence that a labourer looks to disburse. An unbridged gap lies between the one shilling and the four shillings, a gap which in one plane measures the chief difficulty of rural housing.

Now it is easy to say that a proper economic rent is too high for the labourers to pay with the money wages they receive.

From fourteen or fifteen shillings a week four or five shillings is a large deduction. Yet it should not be forgotten that, in the country, money wages are usually supplemented not only by potato-ground and harvest-money, but by many food allowances, such as milk, rabbits, and so forth, which the farmer can supply at less cost than they could be obtained elsewhere in the neighbourhood. These things might too easily be dispensed with in favour of beer and tinned meat did they cease to come within the category of customary perquisites. Real earnings are usually much higher—sometimes by forty or fifty per cent.—than the nominal money wages.

It is easy, too, to say that agricultural wages should be higher. Everyone would agree that, in common with many other deserving people, the rural labourer should be better paid. The problem is to secure the desired rise in real earnings without doing more harm than good by interference. The wide and difficult question of the probable effect of a minimum wage as applied to agriculture is beyond the scope of the present article. It may be that, with careful attention to local standards and local profits of agriculture, some standard wage might be a possible way of securing to the labourer a larger share of the yield of the land, especially as times improve. But it should not be forgotten that, in present conditions, it is not feasible to raise the prices of agricultural produce to meet the cost of such legal enactments. The problem is thus more difficult than that of coal, where the owners themselves raised prices, or of railways, where the Government have allowed a revision of rates to meet the increased cost of labour. Both railways and the home coal trade are naturally protected industries.

Nevertheless, the question of rural wages concerns intimately that of rural housing. If the custom of the country assigns to a labourer a cottage at a nominal rent or at none at all, it is clear that he can accept and will accept a lower wage. Just as, under the old Poor Law before 1834, outdoor relief given as a subsidy towards wages lowered the standard wage throughout the country, so the system of letting cottages at a nominal rent or at none is in effect a similar form of subsidy, and directly tends to that low rate of wages which is usually regarded as the cause rather than the effect of low rents. It is often thought that a rise in wages would solve automatically the cottage

problem. But, unless the standard of cottage rents rose simultaneously, the increase of wages would be absorbed in other ways, and the difficulty of housing would remain acute.

We hold that, instead of pious aspirations for higher wages for the agricultural labourer, a bold attempt to supply his housing needs would be more effective, and might be made together with, if not previously to, any concerted effort to increase his income by more artificial means. A refusal to accept less than the economic rents for country cottages, in spite of its seeming hardship, would stiffen the demands of the men for increased wages, and thus tend to raise them in a natural way. And, as the supply of cottages became more adequate, a man would be able to leave a master who under-paid or under-housed him without the fear of finding no other home. His power of bargaining would be improved very greatly.

The evil of artificially low rents is closely connected with another practice which too often has crept into our rural customs—the habit of letting all the cottages to the farmers with the land and other buildings as part of the equipment of the holding. It is only fair and right that, according to the size of his farm, a farmer should control one or two cottages for his foreman and stockman. But, as far as possible, other cottages, with their plot of garden land, should be kept in the landowner's hands to be let directly to the labourers, thus bringing them into direct relation with the third party in the country economy.

Of the other benefits of making the cottager the direct tenant of his home, two in particular must be considered. First, it gives the labourer a more independent position. He does not necessarily lose his house at a week's notice should he lose his work. Secondly—and this is our more immediate point—it prevents the farmer from giving all the cottages to his men in part payment of wages, either at no charge or for a merely nominal sum, which is subtracted from the weekly earnings. It is this system, we believe, which has established so firmly and so disastrously the present low standard of rents with its depressing influence on wages.

The scheme we suggest is not a mere theory. It can be carried out by any landowner who is prepared to take the trouble—indeed, on a small scale and in a tentative way, it

is already an accomplished fact on one small estate. Let us trace its effect in a definite hypothetical case, since it is an affair of rents and wages. Take a fair-sized mixed pasture and arable farm rented, say, at £300 or £400 a year, and employing, let us suppose, four regular labourers housed on the estate, and needing besides occasional extra help. Assume that, in existing circumstances, the farmer pays to a general labourer an average money wage of thirteen shillings a week, and gives, in addition to various allowances, a cottage worth four shillings but reckoned at two—a money wage, in cash and cottage, of fifteen shillings a week. By these factors, among others, the standard wage is fixed at fifteen shillings, and the standard rent for a good cottage at two shillings, a rent at which it is quite impossible either for landowner or public authority to build other cottages to pay their way.

Now let us suppose that the landowner decides to take these cottages into his own hand, or retain others he has built, and to let them direct to the men at four shillings a week, which may be taken as their economic value. He will have to arrange matters with the farmer, and things will work out thus: An old-established farmer must be persuaded, or an incoming tenant must agree, to pay each man two shillings a week extra in wages—that is, seventeen shillings a week. For his four men this means an increased expenditure of £20 16*s.* per annum, and this sum must be allowed off the rent of the farm. From that rent, too, must be subtracted the two shillings a week at which each cottage was reckoned when let with the land, since the farmer has now to relinquish the cottages. Thus a total deduction of £41 12*s.* must be made from the rent of the farm.

Against this, the landowner receives four shillings a week each for the four cottages—that is, of course, the same sum, £41 12*s.* Thus the change costs the landowner nothing save the rates on the cottages, possibly the repairs, and the trouble of collecting the rents. If a cottage or two is still let with the farm, it will be desirable to covenant with the tenant to sublet at corresponding rents. Thus a uniform standard of rents is maintained on the estate, a standard at which it is possible to build other cottages to pay their way should such cottages be required—a standard which will not unfairly handicap the enterprise of any one who is prepared to add to

the housing accommodation of the district. In the same way it will be seen that the farmer receives in the reduction of his rent the equivalent of what he pays extra in wages; while the labourer gets an increase in wages equal to his rise in rent. Thus the experiment leaves the three parties to the transaction exactly as they were in terms of money, so far as concerns the labourers who are householders on the estate.

But the secondary effects must be analysed a little more closely. The new standard wage is seventeen shillings, and this increase will be found to tend to raise the wages of other men employed on the farm, whether they be housed elsewhere, or be single men lodging in the neighbourhood. Thus, if the farmer employs much outside labour, his wages bill may tend to rise more than the allowance contemplates. At some periods of rural history this possibility might prove a serious obstacle, but, with the present upward trend of prices and keen demand for farms, it will be found that most farmers will be willing to give the system a fair trial. Many of them know that a rise in wages is partially set off by an increase in the efficiency of labour. Moreover, as the supply of cottages rises in response to the increased returns, the farmer will gain much greater freedom of choice in selecting and changing his men.

The labourer gains directly if he be a non-householder, or live elsewhere. But indirectly, wherever he may live, he will benefit greatly by a more plentiful supply of cottages, by an increased facility of movement and an improved power of bargaining for wages. Moreover, if the process of raising rents be carried out at the same time as the change to a direct tenancy under the landowner, it will be found that the man regards his increased security of tenure as a distinct gain, and views the whole scheme with approval.

To the landowner, the new system certainly means a little more trouble. But he gains economic freedom to build new cottages if needful; he has the satisfaction of feeling that the receipts from his estate are more nearly apportioned between farm and cottages at their true value, and that he has stopped a vicious system which was an obstacle to all schemes of rural housing. And again, a general rise in wages will mean an increase in general cottage rents and in the demand for land

for cottages and gardens, an increase which, on a broad view, must benefit the landowning interest. The whole countryside must, in the long run, gain by placing the relative returns from farms and cottages on their true economic footing. A prosperous and contented peasantry cannot be other than a source of strength and satisfaction to all concerned.

But, even when the cottage problem is placed on a sound economic basis, we have still to face the fact that cottages are not a convenient or pleasant form of investment. If confidence could be restored in the stability of land as a form of property, it is probable that we should not look in vain to the oft-tried landowners of England to supply the housing needs of their own estates. But even that action would not now meet the needs of the growing rural population not directly employed in agriculture, while, to secure variety and the independence it brings, different classes of owners, public as well as private, may be desirable. From the point of view we take, all attempts to subsidise building from taxes or rates would tend to maintain the present bad system of low rents, and do more harm than good. Probably indeed the very suggestion of such help has already appreciably checked private enterprise. A large subsidy from national funds to District Councils towards the cost of cottages would stop at once all private building, and a system of housing the working classes by the bureaucratic action of a Government Department would remain the only future possibility. Subsidies from the rates are open to the same criticism, with the added probability of incompetence and corruption among the local authorities, usually composed largely of farmers, builders and contractors—some of them men of limited outlook and small experience—who have too much to gain or lose to make impartial administrators. Provided however the housing schemes are framed on a paying basis, there is less objection to using the security of the rates to borrow money at lower terms than could otherwise be obtained. On these lines of sound finance, the Housing Act of 1909 may safely be put into action. At the same time it is desirable to encourage individual enterprise by extending to private owners, subject to adequate safeguards against abuse, the credit facilities afforded by that Act to local authorities. More than one Bill has been drafted for this

purpose, but all need amendment in that they commonly contain clauses requiring the cottages built with such loans to be let at the small rents which tend to perpetuate an evil and discredited system.

Finally, since a restoration of a feeling of security is a necessary preliminary if we are to expect landowners to embark on large schemes of cottage building, it may be opportune to refer very shortly to the basis of the rents of agricultural land and the allied subject of a reform in the rating system.

Townsmen, in their prevailing ignorance of country matters, usually regard the land of England as a gift of nature, and its fertility as an inherent property. We would refer anyone who holds that the rent of agricultural land is different from other forms of return on capital, to papers by the late Mr. Albert Pell in the 'Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society' for 1887 and 1899, entitled 'The Making of the Land in England'—papers reprinted as an appendix to Mr. Pell's 'Reminiscences.' They will be surprised to find that pastures and tillage fields are as much the product of enterprise, capital, and labour as, let us say, chemical works or a pottery factory. To create from a state of nature—coarse grass, sour marsh, or impenetrable thorn scrub—a typical Midland estate, to fence it, drain it, provide roads and gates, would cost £10 or £12 per acre. The buildings on a modern farm cost on the average some £9 per acre. Hence to make and equip such land for farming has cost about £20 an acre. With the existing average annual rent of perhaps 20 or 25 shillings, of which at least one-third is absorbed in repairs and taxes, it will be seen how small a return even in this case is obtained on the capital sunk in development. The small area of very rich old grass land would show better figures, but on reclaimed moorland or sandy waste the results would be still less favourable. The 'site value' and 'unearned increment,' of which we hear so much, vanish together into less than nothingness.

Under the Finance Act of 1909, the term 'site value,' perhaps fairly applicable to urban property, was extended to rural areas and made to include much of the cost of preparing the land. This method of assessment was designed from the point of view of possible increment duty where agricultural land passes into use for building. But it makes the result an unfair basis for other purposes, and causes the 'site

'values' now being assigned to agricultural estates to give a monstrously false impression to those ignorant of our land and its history.

The needs of rural housing are urgent; all efforts should be made to encourage building. There is room for the private owner, there is room for the local authority, while the success of some of the Public House Trust Companies suggests that, in this direction also, relief might be sought. Trust Associations, with dividends limited to 5 or 6 per cent., might be founded by local people of public spirit and assured position, whose personalities would be the best guarantee for pure administration, while the pressure of shareholders would secure that efficiency which is sometimes found to be incompatible with the expenditure of public money by elected representatives. To such Associations Government loans, on the security of the cottages, might safely be made, and thus another step taken in the direction of adequate housing.

The whole condition of rural life is well worthy of careful, scientific, and impartial examination. History assures us that the different classes in the economy of our country-side have all useful parts to play; that the status of the labourer need not be one of personal enslavement and economic dependence; and that, in attempting to recreate, by methods adapted to the present day, some of the wise co-ordinations of the past centuries, we are not violating any principle of political science or social development. And the problem of rural housing must take the first place in any adequate consideration of the position of agricultural labour in England.

W. C. D. AND C. D. WHETHAM.

THE INFLUENCE OF TRADE UNIONS ON WAGES

1. **The Distribution of Income.** By WILLIAM SMART. 2nd edition. Macmillan and Co. 1912.
2. **Industrial Democracy.** By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. Longmans, Green and Co. 1897.
3. **Strikes and Social Problems.** By J. SHIELD NICHOLSON. A. and C. Black. 1896.
4. **Business Men and Modern Economics.** By T. S. CREE. Glasgow: Bell and Bain. 1903.
5. **Evils of Collective Bargaining in Trades Unions.** By T. S. CREE. Glasgow: Bell and Bain. 1898.
6. **A Criticism of the Theory of Trades Unions.** By T. S. CREE. 4th edition. Glasgow: Bell and Bain.

IN his presidential address to the Economic Section of the British Association in 1907, Professor Ashley gave as a typical instance of the vital questions which divided economists, the question whether trade unions can or cannot raise the general rate of wages. The works mentioned above represent the varying views that are held. Mr. Cree, who was himself an employer, and, as Professor Smart testifies, a good employer, represents the view of the classical economists. Several of the greatest living authorities, whose own views are very different, have, publicly or privately, borne witness that his presentation of the case is one with which trade union advocates must seriously reckon. Mr. Cree's excellent pamphlets are out of print, but might well be reprinted. Of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's monumental work it is not necessary at this time of day to say much. The impression it makes is at first overwhelming, and even when the reader has recovered his power of criticism, it, and particularly Part III. on Trade Union Theory, remains a formidable statement of the trade union case. As Professor Smart says, it is not necessary to go outside its pages for information of what trade unionism is and what it aims at. Professor Nicholson and Professor Smart, of whose 'Distribution of Income' a second edition has recently appeared, represent a middle view. Professor

Smart examines the claims of trade unions with his usual painstaking fairness, and concludes:—

'As the restriction which Trade Unionism puts on the liberty of the employer is not very serious, the direct effect of Trade Unionism on the distribution of income does not seem very great. At least it does not amount to more than securing, by an artificial "dyke," the share which, with more or less friction, would have gone to labour without it. But, indirectly, its effect on wages seems to be considerable, inasmuch as it tends to maintain the efficiency of the stream of labour by favouring the strong employer and putting a premium on the good worker. This conclusion, however, assumes that we are considering ideal Trade Unionism, apart from its accidents, mistakes, and abuses.'

Whether trade unions do indirectly, as Professor Smart claims, increase the efficiency of labour will be considered presently; but that is certainly not their primary purpose. Unlike such contrivances for increasing the productivity of labour as technical education and improved machinery, trade unions do not aim at increasing the total product but at obtaining a larger share for labour at the expense of other factors of production. For the purpose of this article that is assumed to be a good thing. Our object is to discover if trade unions can fulfil that aim—that is, can cause a larger total amount to be paid in wages than would be paid under a *régime* of free competition.

The scope of the investigation as thus defined rules out as irrelevant all inquiry as to whether labour is in fact getting its fair share of the product according to some ideal standard in the inquirer's mind. It also rules out the question whether labour's share is in fact increasing or diminishing, and it permits us to leave on one side all disputed questions of fact as to particular rises of wages claimed for trade unionism. Rises, the result of strikes, are matters of every-day experience; but a successful strike is a very inadequate measure of the influence of trade unions. Like the racoon in the story, employers often come down from their perch without waiting to be shot at. In many trades the unions are manifestly the dominating factor in fixing the wage; but this statement only amounts to the self-evident proposition that the seller can always fix his price rate. What he cannot do is to determine the number of his sales, and it may very well happen that trade unionism, while it causes particular wages to be

raised, diminishes the total or average wage paid. Indeed, it is conceivable that trade unionism may so prejudicially affect the total demand for labour, that the very wages, which are at the moment raised by trade union action, would have been higher still if there had been no trade unions. Our problem then is to consider whether trade unionism can increase the total wage earned by the working class or, what is the same thing, can increase the average yearly earnings of the individual workman.

On behalf of trade unions it is argued that combination is necessary to put the workman on an equal footing in bargaining. This is like the argument that a free-trade country is at a disadvantage in competing with a protected country. Just as that argument assumes the point in dispute, that protection is a help, so does the trade union argument assume the point in dispute, that combination is a help.

But does this alleged inequality really exist? The workman without savings must no doubt take what he can get; but equally the employer must pay what he must. In a trial of personal endurance the employer may be able to hold out longer by converting his capital into a fund for his own subsistence; but this is to retire from the fight. Capital when fulfilling its function as capital is as dependent on labour as labour is on capital. The dependence in each case being absolute, it seems impossible to describe it as greater in the one case than the other. The employer no doubt is not dependent on any particular workman, but neither is the workman dependent on any particular employer. It suffices that capital in general is absolutely dependent on labour in general. If at any given time and place labour is more abundant than capital, that constitutes a genuine inequality, but the remedy for that is to attract additional capital. The tendency of trade unionism is to do the very opposite.

Assuming, however, that combination *ipso facto* improves the position of one party to the labour contract, that advantage, if it be an advantage, the workman in the nature of the case cannot monopolise. In point of fact combinations of workmen are met by combinations of employers. The advantage is thus neutralised and the two parties both combined are in the same relative positions as if both were uncombined.

Again it is argued that under competition, and without trade unionism or some similar bulwark, there is no downward limit to wages, save the least that will keep the workman and his family in life. This statement, which constitutes part of the stock-in-trade of socialist orators, is completely disproved by facts. Wage rates have differed and do differ enormously in the same country at different times, and in different countries at the same time. No meaning can be attached to the statement that the wages of Indian coolies and American artisans, of British workmen of to-day and British workmen of a hundred years ago, are all subsistence wages. In spite of Marxian predictions to the contrary, money wages and also real wages, so far from tending to a minimum of mere subsistence, have shown a tendency to increase indefinitely. Part of that increase, no doubt, will be claimed as the result of trade unionism, but the increase is often greatest in those occupations where trade unionism is weak or non-existent: for example, among domestic servants throughout the kingdom, and among agricultural labourers in the north of England and in Scotland. Mr. and Mrs. Webb say it is 'discreditable' in economists to cite domestic service in this connexion. But why is the housewife, who is supposed to cheapen everything to starvation point, supposed at the same time to be indifferent to the wage she pays her servant? And why is she supposed to be more vulnerable in respect of what is a pure luxury—and, as Professor Smart shows, often a novel luxury—than the ordinary employer dependent for his livelihood on getting labour? Or why is the domestic servant more independent of her employer than are other workers?

The subsistence theory, so far as derived from Ricardo, is based strictly on Malthusian principles. All that it says is that if any advantage is gained, it will, according to the principles of human nature assumed to exist, be followed by an increase of population and so lost. Suppose trade unionism caused all wages to be doubled. By the time population had doubled—which the law assumes would speedily be the case as the result of the increased wages—the wage would be down to its original level, and therefore Ricardo's law tells as much against as for trade unionism.

Apart from the law as defined by Ricardo, and with his

assumptions about population, the advocates of trade unions may be confidently challenged to show any theoretical reason why wages should tend to a minimum rather than to a maximum or to any other point. It will pay the isolated workman to take a wage however small rather than starve, no doubt; but it will equally pay the isolated employer to give anything, however high, for his labour up to the point that leaves him a margin of profit. The same argument that makes workmen helpless *vis-à-vis* their employer, would make tenants helpless *vis-à-vis* landlords and landlords *vis-à-vis* tenants, lenders *vis-à-vis* borrowers and borrowers *vis-à-vis* lenders, sellers *vis-à-vis* buyers and buyers *vis-à-vis* sellers. The true statement seems to be that the rate of wages depends on the balance of two forces, competition of workmen tending to lower them and competition of employers tending to raise them. Mr. and Mrs. Webb's argument is that the pressure is always from buyer to seller. The recent railway and coal strikes, if nothing else, should have taught us all the absolute dependence of the ultimate buyer for consumption. But in truth, if we think away money and grasp the conception, which Professor Smart makes so familiar, of the economic world as a world where goods and services are exchanged against goods and services, the distinction of buyer and seller, demand and supply disappears. Who then are the squeezers and who the squeezed? If all producers are beaten down to subsistence, who gets the rest?

Further it is argued that, under competition, it is the subsistence level of the lowest workman that fixes the rate for the whole. The exact opposite is the case. It is the strongest workman economically who fixes the rate for his weaker brethren. In big works (as, indeed, Mr. and Mrs. Webb admit, or, rather, contend) there must be a uniform rate, for it is no more possible for the employer of a thousand workmen to fix for each man singly the lowest wage for which that particular man could be got, than it was for the countryman in the story to make a special bargain for his railway ticket. But the uniform rate must be sufficient to attract the economically strongest man who is wanted.

It is sometimes sought to stretch the Ricardian law to cover a purely conventional or arbitrary standard of life having no relation to the actual standard on which the typical workman

will consent to marry and bring up a family. But in this form the law has no scientific character at all. Surely the expectation that wages can be raised by the mere desire in the workman's mind for higher wages is as chimerical as the search for the philosopher's stone. The whole conception is a travesty of Ricardo.

It may be noticed also that this argument that wages tend to accommodate themselves to the wage earner's needs, physical or conventional, is inconsistent with the other plea, that the wage earner is at a disadvantage in bargaining on account of his poverty. If the wage tends to accommodate itself to need or standard of life, then if the wage earner has any independent resource this will reduce his needs and therefore his wage. For instance, we are told that women's wages are low, partly because women are not supposed to have families to support, partly because some women work for pocket-money only. According to this theory it is the wage earner's wealth, not his poverty, which puts him at a disadvantage. It cannot be simultaneously argued that wages are lowered for all men because some men must accept what is offered or starve, and lowered for all women because some women are not dependent on their wages. On this branch of the case it is satisfactory to find that Professor Smart, at the end of an elaborate examination, arrives at the conclusion that wages 'are a demand price, not, as the trade union 'argument assumes, a supply price.'

As opposed to a competitive, or demand-and-supply, wage, we have the ideal of a universal minimum wage, or as it is sometimes called, a living or standard wage—that is, a wage fixed according to an assumed standard of what is required for a healthy life. However attractive that ideal may be, it is hopelessly unscientific. First, wages are a payment for a service rendered, and it is neither just nor practicable to make employers pay, not according to the value of the service, which may be infinitely small, but according to a quite irrelevant standard, the workman's needs. Secondly, if the amount available for wages is in any way limited, then justice itself, as in the case of a shipwrecked crew or a beleaguered garrison, would prescribe not a minimum but an equal distribution. That the amount available for wages, call it wage fund or not, is limited at a given time and place, will we hope appear from

our argument. The report of the Census of Production recently issued shows that the net output per head of persons employed is less than two pounds per week. The net output is the gross output less cost of materials and amount paid to other firms for work done, and thus 'constitutes for any 'industry the fund from which wages, salary, rent, royalties, 'rates, taxes, depreciation, advertisement and sales expenses, 'and all other similar charges have to be defrayed, as well as 'profits.' Two pounds, therefore, is more than the average weekly wage that could be paid on extreme syndicalist principles. Further, while under two pounds per head per week is the average net output over all, the average in industries employing one-third of the working population is, as pointed out by the Director of the Census in a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society, under thirty shillings.

We may then dismiss the idea, on the one hand that wages apart from combination must inevitably sink to some absolute level of lowness, and on the other that they can be raised indefinitely by the simple fact of aspiration and discontent in the worker's mind. The best way probably in which the trade union case can be put is to compare trade unions to combinations of capitalists to keep up prices, price agreements, pools, trusts. But the analogy is very imperfect.

First, is there any reason to suppose that capitalistic combinations benefit the whole capitalist class? Does not that class always assume the contrary? The Steel Trust gains at the expense of the users of steel. Now it is not necessary here to argue how far such sectional gains at the expense of other sections are commendable or legitimate. It is sufficient here to say that trade unionism which benefits only sections of workmen at the expense of other sections has no interest for the philanthropist or the social reformer.

Secondly, the impetus to capitalistic combination seems to arise where there are fixed charges or oncost. In such a case, in the absence of combination, there will be a tendency for each competitor to lower rates to the point where each additional unit produced just more than covers 'prime cost.' Looking to each individual transaction this will be good business, but in the aggregate of transactions nothing will remain to pay fixed charges. Hence the necessity for combination or anti-rate-cutting agreements. Competing

railways are a good instance of this principle. But the whole idea of fixed charges or oncost is inapplicable to labour. The large majority of working men are normally, even under present conditions, fully employed, and a man who is working eight or nine hours a day cannot steal a job, as a railway can steal traffic, from a competitor.

Thirdly, combinations of capitalists either of set purpose restrict output, or at least they are prepared to restrict output, if, and so far as, their enhanced price lessens demand. But, whether or not it is possible or desirable, it is at least no part of the trade union function to restrict the output of men and women. In that respect trade unions are like combinations of makers of chairs and tables, who, having checked demand by raising prices, should go on turning out unsaleable chairs and tables in undiminished quantities.

Fourthly, however large a part of the field combined selling may be alleged to cover, it is not the whole. The method of selling at auctions or exchanges, that is, in a strictly competitive manner, is at least equally widespread. To which of these two methods of selling is the sale of labour analogous? The things sold at auctions or exchanges, namely land and houses, private collections of books or pictures, stocks and shares, and all sorts of staple products such as wheat, wool, pig iron, etc., are not things in the making but things existing or believed to exist in a determinate quantity. They may indeed be the same things that in other stages are dealt in on the combined method, but at the moment the object is to dispose of an existing stock. Now the labour of a country is an existing stock which, for social health, must all be disposed of and must be disposed of at once. As Mr. and Mrs. Webb point out, the loss of a day's employment is irrevocable. To this extent the sale of labour is analogous to the sale of perishable commodities, where obviously it is impossible to improve the market for the seller by holding back part of the supply. It is submitted, therefore, that there is no way in which the sum total of labour can be disposed of for so large a total price as the method which prevails at auctions of perishable goods, that is by lowering the price to what is just sufficient to take off the whole quantity. Any raising of price beyond the point where supply and demand are equal means that some of the supply is unsold.

In the case of those businesses that are only paying their way, even a slight rise in wages at the expense of profits means a stoppage and the loss of so much employment; for it is gratuitous optimism to assume that the business is simply transferred to a more efficient competitor. This is evident when we remember that so far as trade unionism reduces profits it does so all round, and the relative positions of the successful and the struggling firms are not altered. Suppose two works X and Y. X makes a profit *a*. Y, being more efficiently managed or better equipped, makes a profit $a + b$. Trade unionism demands an increase which absorbs or more than absorbs *a*. Work X now closes and work Y is now reduced to a profit equal to *b*. Whether the business of X will be transferred to Y will depend on whether *b* is sufficient to attract the new capital required to double the output of Y. But if that is the case, it is at least probable that Y would have extinguished X without trade unionism. It is always open to Y to tempt away all X's workmen or all X's customers by making over to one or the other, in higher wages or lower prices, the *a* portion of his profits. It may be said that it pays Y better to make $a + b$ on a smaller rather than *b* on a larger turnover. But what Y can do presumably others can do. So that if *b* is a sufficient rate of profit to attract new capital, X will go under, trade unionism or no trade unionism.

In the case of profitable businesses, it might be thought there was more room for an increase, but, in the first place, it seems impossible to confine the effect of trade unionism to profitable businesses. In every industry there are some firms on the margin. But even if it were possible to raise wages only in those firms which are making abnormal profits, it may be questioned if it would be to the ultimate advantage of labour. According to well-recognised psychological principles, it is quite possible that a few conspicuous instances of abnormal profits do more to attract capital than a high average rate of profit. It has been remarked that the few high prizes of the bar and the enormous profits of a few gold mines appeal to the gambling spirit, and cause an unfailing flow of aspirants to what is on the average the worst paid profession, and of capital to what is on the average the least remunerative kind of investment. It might well pay labour to leave a few plums

to tempt the investor. At all events some exceptionally high profits are needed to balance the losses of capital and to produce a moderate average rate of interest and profit. Taking an average of every fifth stock in the 'Commercial and Industrial' section of the Stock List for August 1912 we find that the yield on the selling price is under five per cent. This at a time of low capital values and high dividends.

That a diminution in the rate of interest or profit will be attended—other things being equal—by some diminution in capital, seems hardly to need a laboured proof; but it is worth while to consider some of the arguments used to avoid the conclusion.

It is argued that if we have trade unions, other countries have other disadvantages to investors, or indeed have trade unions also. But to argue as if a cause did not exist, merely because it is liable to be counteracted by other causes, is not very scientific. If trade unionism has a tendency to repel capital, however widespread trade unionism is, that country where there is least trade unionism will—other things being equal—have an advantage in obtaining capital.

We will suppose that this country has normally an advantage over the United States in the terms on which it can get its capital, and that this advantage is represented by a difference of one per cent. in the rate of interest or profit. That means that a British investor will expect six per cent. for an American investment which is similar in character to a five per cent. investment in this country. At these rates the two investments are exactly equal in attractiveness. Now if by trade unionism or otherwise you reduce the British five per cent. to, say, four and a half, *ex hypothesi* the American investment becomes the more attractive.

The immense export of British capital during the last fifteen years shows that the British investor is waking up to the fact that the advantage we have hitherto possessed over other countries is largely one of custom and tradition. Essentially and in the nature of things, looking to the natural resources of different countries, there was never perhaps any reason why British gilt-edged investments should hold the unique place they did fifteen years ago. It is not necessary to attribute to trade unionism the great export of capital of

recent years, but at least this is not the time to handicap the home investment of capital. Those who argue from the fact, if it be a fact, that labour has lost something of late years in comparison with capital, to the need for a more aggressive labour policy, are reading the moral exactly backwards. The need is for inducements to invest capital at home.

It is just on this point that Mr. and Mrs. Webb's argument is least adequate. They argue that safety of capital, not rate of return, is the investor's object. But what investor is indifferent to the return on his capital? Liberator scandals show that investors care too much for return and too little for safety of capital, and, comparing the new with the old unionists, can it be fairly said that trade unionism has in fact led to greater safety of capital or political stability or more pleasant relations between masters and men? Even if it made men better off, it would not necessarily make them more contented. 'The more things improve, the more people complain of their badness,' is especially true of poverty.

But it is argued, granted that trade unionism entails some loss of employment, it still pays labour on the whole to pay out-of-work benefit to those who are thrown out rather than give up the standard wage. In other words, it is cheaper to support your competitor in idleness than to suffer his competition. It seems impossible to justify this paradox. If it were true that the labour of a smaller quantity of men could be made to sell in the market of the world for more than the labour of a larger quantity of men, it would follow that it might pay to burn coals at the pit mouth in order to raise the price of what remained. It would be the same as to say that it would pay you to pension off your foreign competitor rather than admit his goods in competition, which is further than any protectionist has gone. It is true that, according to Adam Smith, the Dutch used to burn spice to keep up the value of what remained, but is there any more recent instance? And in any case we cannot burn the superfluous men. The argument, moreover, ignores modern internationalisation of capital. The policy of paying out-of-work benefit to keep people from breaking the rate could not, at best, do more to raise wages by making labour scarce than a new Black Death, and a new Black Death would probably not so much raise wages where it occurred as transfer

capital and employment to where labour remained abundant. This, it is submitted, is the true limit to Malthusianism.

Other advocates look to other compensations. A new school of economists argues that what you give the workman in increased wages comes back to you in an increased demand for commodities. Surely in all economics there is no such attempt to get something out of nothing. If a cloth manufacturer and a boot manufacturer both have to give higher wages to their workmen, and these workmen in consequence buy more boots and more clothes, who does not see that what has happened is that the two manufacturers have had to give their workmen a larger share of the product, to the gain of the workmen but to their own loss? There is a double fallacy in the argument. First, there is our old friend, the fallacy that spending is good for trade. Secondly, spending power or demand is not increased but only transferred from the employers to the employed. This argument is just of the same logical value as the converse one that the rich cannot retrench their luxuries, even to give to the poor, without reducing employment. If it is necessary to prove that spending is not good for trade, we might point out that the immediate effect in creating a demand for labour is the same whether earnings are spent or saved. A yacht and a commercial vessel are the same to the builders, but the commercial vessel is a lasting wealth-producing instrument while the yacht is an expensive toy. As soon as we realise Professor Smart's conception of a national income of goods and services we are able to see that spending involves a diminution of the national aggregate for our private benefit, and to call this a service is grotesque. But, if spending *were* good for trade, it would be perfectly indifferent whether it was on motor-cars or on working-class boots and clothes.

Hitherto we have assumed that the total product remains the same; but trade unionism claims indirectly to increase the product by promoting the efficiency of both employers and employed. The argument does not seem very consistent, for it is not easy to see why higher remuneration should make the man work better and the master worse. As applied to the employer the argument is just the labour counterpart of the old capitalist argument that low wages and a high price

of food acted as a stimulus to the workman. The sort of pressure that is put on employers through having to pay high wages is not different from that caused by a high cost of plant or raw material. Each will no doubt to some extent promote economies in the use of the dearer factors, but would it be seriously maintained that higher cost all round promoted production?

A branch of the argument is that high wages promote the introduction of machinery; but the only benefit of machinery is that it reduces costs. If machinery is introduced to do for 27*s.* 6*d.* what men individually are willing to do for 25*s.*, but what a trade union demands 30*s.* for, who is the gainer? Not the employer who has to pay 27*s.* 6*d.* instead of 25*s.*, not the trade unionist who does not in fact get his 30*s.* You might as well argue that because mechanical traction ought to supersede horse traction, therefore you ought to hobble the horses.

The most attractive form of the argument is that based on the effect of high wages on the workman. The fact may in general terms be admitted. There is plenty of evidence that well-fed, well-clothed and well-housed workmen are stronger in physique and alerter in mind than ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed workmen. If we could go to the length of assuming that every increase of wages up to a fairly high level immediately resulted in a proportionate increase in efficiency, and therefore in the amount of the product, there would be no problem at all. High wages would be a blessing without any drawback, which no employer would have any interest to refuse. But we find, in fact, that humane and competent employers do not anticipate such an effect. And when we compare the physique and the morale of the differently paid workmen of different countries, or of the workmen of the same country in times of high and of low wages, or of highly paid workmen like riveters and low paid workmen like gardeners, it is difficult to trace any such inevitable and immediate causal connexion as is assumed.

One reason for this is obvious. It is only so far as it is wisely spent that a high wage improves the condition of the workmen, and this is not always the case. The Glasgow Housing Commission found that some of the worst slum dwellers were highly paid workmen. This is one point in which high

wages differ from Factory Act improvements in sanitation or safety, which produce their effect independently of the workmen's action.

Again, the apparent connexion between high wages and efficiency may be mis-read. The causal nexus may be not that work is efficient because wages are high, but that wages are high because work is efficient.

Even in a socialistic community, provision would have to be made for the upkeep and replacement of material capital as a condition of continued production, and, after that was done, the limited product of the year might not suffice to pay a maximum-efficiency wage.

Nor is physical efficiency everything. There is also moral efficiency due largely to the spirit of emulation among the work-people themselves. Levelling up to a minimum—i.e. putting all who are now below the minimum on an equal footing—would weaken this important element in successful production. To double all wages might promote efficiency; to make up all wages to thirty shillings would probably do the reverse.

A word may be said here on the subject of the so-called parasitic trades. In a socialistic, as in a non-socialistic, state there will be workmen of every conceivable degree of efficiency and inefficiency. Let us suppose a man whose contribution to the communal product is worth fifteen shillings a week. It is just when he is paid the equivalent of fifteen shillings that he is not a parasite. In such a case he is strictly self-supporting. He is withdrawing from the common stock the exact equivalent of his contribution. On the other hand, if, from motives of humanity, such a man were paid thirty shillings, then he is in the strictest sense a parasite. This, however, is not what Mr. and Mrs. Webb mean by parasitism. By the parasitism involved in low paid labour they do not even mean the undoubted fact that such labour is apt to become a burden on society in the form of poor or charitable relief or on the wages of other members of the family. They regard as parasitic any industry which uses up factors of production without maintaining and replacing them in a state of equal efficiency. But there is surely no absurdity in supposing a factor to be so abundant as not to be worth maintaining. In new countries settlers move on to new land rather than manure the old. In Mr. and Mrs. Webb's view the industry that is

not parasitic must not only keep the workman himself efficient but enable him to bring up an efficient progeny. This is a view which will not bear examination. Their own analogy of the tramway horses might have taught them better, for the tramway horses are bred not from working tramway horses but from specially selected horses. Indeed their use of the word parasitic involves the absurdity that every childless man is a parasite, however valuable the services he renders to the community, however meagre the remuneration he draws in return.

If these arguments are sound, the main evil of trade unionism is that by bringing down weak businesses and by scaring away capital it lessens employment, without necessarily making the remuneration of those who remain employed any higher than it would have been with more abundant capital.

It is not necessary to assume strikes, though it is inevitable that trade unions should sometimes have to apply their *ultima ratio*. This is an additional evil. Strikes and friction generally are the second evil of trade unionism.

It would be easy, but unfair and unprofitable, to lay stress on the abuses of trade unionism, such as the restriction of apprentices and restriction of output ('ca'canny'). These evils are non-essentials of trade unionism and not necessarily conterminous with it. At the same time restriction of output is to some extent defended by Mr. and Mrs. Webb.

Next to being unemployed altogether, the worst thing is to be sweated. Both spring from the same root, a want of a real demand for labour, i.e. a deficient supply of capital, and whatever else trade unionism may do, it does not encourage the supply of capital.

In addition to its tendency to restrict employment in general, trade unionism seems to have a tendency to increase periodic or cyclical unemployment. In the case of commodities or stocks, a slack demand makes itself felt in an all-round diminution of price rather than in a cessation of transactions, and it should be so with labour. The minority of the Poor Law Commissioners recommend that public authorities should put in hand work of a non-urgent kind at times of scanty employment. But the demand for labour is so elastic, labour is so predominant an element in the cost of many commodities,

that a very trifling fall in the rate of wages might be confidently expected to do automatically the very thing that the Minority Commissioners aim at.

Another evil is that the trade union mind is almost necessarily opposed to all healing measures designed to reconcile the interests of employers and employed on the one hand, or to satisfy the demands and assuage the discontents of the employed on the other. Witness Sir George Livesey's long struggle before he could establish profit-sharing, and Lord Furness' defeat when he attempted to introduce that system of working. Nor is this mere temper or wrongheadedness. It proceeds from the deliberate belief that nothing must be done to make the strike weapon less ready or available for immediate use. The sore must be kept always open. Here again the trade union attitude is explicitly defended by Mr. and Mrs. Webb.

Then again the obsession of the standard wage is fatal to many kinds of charitable and regenerative work. The Salvation Army and the Glasgow Blind Asylum have been attacked for not paying the standard wage. As these institutions are not self-supporting and their sales have to be supplemented by subscriptions from the charitable public, it is obvious that the workers get more than the whole produce of their work. It is also obvious that trade unionism would make it impossible to employ, and by employing to rehabilitate, these unfortunate derelicts.

So with labour in prisons. Common sense teaches that prisoners should be employed so as to lessen as far as possible the cost to the State; and, that with a view to their reinstatement in economic society, they should be employed as far as possible under normal conditions. This is frustrated by the demand of trade unions that prisoners shall not be allowed to produce goods for sale but shall be restricted to producing goods for Government departments. It would be difficult to exhaust the economic fallacies involved in this demand. Here are a few. (*a*) There is the fallacy that prisons would in fact compete at an advantage, contrary to the notorious inefficiency of such labour. (*b*) There is the fallacy of supposing that prisons would in fact undersell outside labour. The prison authorities, like other sellers, would sell for what they could get irrespective of cost. The

objection seems to be based on a complete misunderstanding of the relation between cost of production and price of the product. Cost of production affects price only so far as it widens or contracts the area of production. Cost of production has no meaning in regard to work in prisons, as prisoners are in any event a burden on the State. (*c*) There is the fallacy we have already considered, that is it more profitable to keep your competitor in idleness than to endure his competition. (*d*) There is the protectionist fallacy that it is better for two communities to be each self-contained than to exchange each other's products. In one of H.M. prisons the present writer found the prisoners engaged making mail-bags for Government. If, as was stated, it was for the reason mentioned, where is the gain to outside labour? Had these prisoners been making something for sale, then outside labour would have got the making of mail-bags. There would have been a simple exchange between Government and the outside community, which, at least according to free trade principles, should be a good thing.

Finally, it may be questioned if the very extension of trade unionism is not its undoing. The tendency and the ideal are to get rid of the wage contract between individual employers and individual workmen altogether and to have everything settled between a board of federated employers and a trade union, any failure of negotiations necessarily involving a general strike. As Macaulay said of the French Jacobins: 'Punishment which strikes the guilty and the innocent pro-'miscuously operates merely like a pestilence or a great convul-'sion of nature, and has no more tendency to prevent offences 'than the cholera, or an earthquake like that of Lisbon, would 'have.' This exactly applies to the general strike, in which good and bad employer fare alike. Of what use to recognise trade unions if the North-Eastern is to be included in the railway strike? Of what use to grant a minimum wage, if the English coalowners are equally with the Scotch and the Welsh involved in the coal strike? But in truth when all employers, good and bad, are equally affected, none are affected very much. The real loss falls, and is intended to fall, on the unoffending public which loses the service. A miners' leader boasted that the housewife should not have coal for her bucket, and it was not railway directors but the children of the poor

for whose death the railway strike was responsible. How different from a partial strike in which the public continues to be served, but the recalcitrant employer sees his business diverted to his rival, while the strike can be indefinitely prolonged from the pay of the men who remain at work!

The workman who elects for the general as opposed to the partial strike proclaims in so doing that it is really the public rather than the employer whom he wants to terrorise. But it does not always rest with the workman to say whether a strike shall be general or partial. If the employers combine in their undoubted right of self-defence, every strike necessarily becomes general. That is indeed the logical conclusion of the principle of collective bargaining applied to both sides. A general strike becomes the only way out of an *impasse*, however trivial the occasion. International lawyers have pointed out the advantage of the method of dealing individually, as in contraband and blockade, with offenders against belligerent rights, as compared with the method of seeking satisfaction direct from the offender's State, a method failure in which may at any moment involve war. A similar argument may be applied to our subject. When the trade of the Port of London can be dislocated for weeks, and an incalculable amount of suffering inflicted on thousands of innocent people, because one man is alleged to belong to the wrong union, surely we have reached the *reductio ad absurdum* of the trade union method.

A. A. MITCHELL.

THE COMMON PEOPLE OF THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

1. **Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire.** By LUDWIG FRIEDLAENDER. Translated by L. A. MAGNUS, J. H. FREESE, and A. B. GOUGH. Routledge. 1913.
2. **The Common People of Ancient Rome.** By F. F. ABBOTT, Kennedy Professor of Latin in Princeton University. Routledge. 1912.
3. **Society and Politics in Ancient Rome.** By the same. Routledge. 1912.
4. **Le Travail dans le Monde Romain.** By PAUL LOUIS. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1912.
5. **Petronii Saturae.** Rec. FR. BUECHELER. Fifth edition, edited by W. HERAEUS. Berlin: Weidmann. 1912.
6. **Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae.** Ed. C. ZANGEMEISTER. (Vol. iv. of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.') Berlin. 1871.

THE translation of Friedlaender's masterpiece, now completed, gives to English readers the opportunity of ascertaining how much the modern world knows of the life, public and private, of the early Roman Empire. It must be confessed that Friedlaender has not been wholly happy in his translators, whose errors have been liberally pointed out in the 'Classical Review.' Moreover, some scholars in this country were at first inclined to look askance at the English rendering as it came out in separate volumes, because it was translated from the author's seventh edition, from which, at the insistence of his publisher, he had omitted the valuable footnotes giving the sources of his statements, and a long series of excellent and minute appendices. This latter criticism at any rate is now met by the appearance of a fourth volume, considerably larger than any of the other three, which contains the appendices and notes from the sixth German edition;* and though the purist may regret

* An eighth German edition has now been published, since Friedlaender's death, but with his very considerable corrections and modifications. A future revision of the English translation will have to be based upon this.

that he has not the notes in their proper place at the foot of the page, there is no doubt that the whole forms a work with which no classical or historical library in England can dispense, and one which would have commended itself to the learned author of the original by its generally attractive appearance, if he had lived to see it.

The Roman life and manners pictured in these volumes is that of the State as well as of the individual, of the aristocratic and wealthy classes of the government as well as of the obscure and poor, and it is not unnatural that the doings of these latter fall rather into the shade when set out beside the more glittering and attractive description of affairs and persons of state. It is not at all suggested that Friedlaender neglected the common people in his comprehensive and complete survey; but that in the necessary perspective the lives of the crowd become to some extent dwarfed when drawn on the same canvas as those of the famous men and women of the Latin race. For this reason it is here intended to lay additional stress upon the condition of the slave class and of the classes immediately above it, and to see whether any further evidence can be brought from our painfully scanty sources to throw into higher relief the position of the socially lower classes of the Empire in the first century of our era.

In addition to the inscriptions scribbled upon the walls of Pompei, which are of the greatest value for our purpose (although the conditions there existing were to some extent peculiar, since Pompei was a watering-place of a class something below the highest), there remains to us one of the most remarkable books of antiquity, the 'Satyricon' of Petronius. If Petronius was really picturing the classes and the period now proposed for investigation, it is scarcely possible to overestimate the value of his work for that which we desire to know. It must be at once admitted that more than one competent scholar of the past has claimed the work of Petronius for the middle of the third century. This opinion, however, to-day finds few supporters, and it is usual now to identify the author of the 'Satyricon' with the Petronius whose life and death, characteristic and splendid, are sketched in a few masterly sentences by Tacitus: 'Received amongst Nero's 'familiar friends as a judge and arbitrator of his daintiest

'delights, [Nero] esteeming nothing pleasant or delightful 'unless Petronius had approved it,'* the 'Arbiter Eleganti-'arum' has remained beyond all other characters of history the type of the refined voluptuary. The arguments for and against the identification of Petronius, the imperial courtier, with the author of the 'Satyricon' are too technical to be detailed here; and it must suffice to say that the opinion of most scholars is now very distinctly in favour of the two persons being one and the same. Even if they were not, it would be impossible to place the writing of the 'Satyricon' more than a few years later than the death of the courtier (A.D. 65), so that its evidence would be almost equally valuable for our purpose: and it will here be assumed, by using the name Petronius without modification, that the identity is established, and that we have for the lot of the common people of the early Empire the precious testimony of a man who could both observe and describe.

The book is quite *sui generis* in Roman literature: it is a long novel with a romantic plot written in a mixture of prose and verse, though we unfortunately only possess extracts of some length from three books out of at least sixteen. There has been much debate as to its literary forerunners. Some critics have postulated a lost Greek original, the ancestor of the romances of the fourth and fifth centuries which we still possess, of which the 'Satyricon' would be a parody; others have seen in it, with more probability, an ingenious method of stringing together a collection of Milesian fables, or floating stories, mostly of a broad type of humour, which were current in the literature of Greece and transplanted to that of Rome by the historian Sisenna: one ingenious savant has characterised it as a kind of comic 'Odyssey,' in which the hero is pursued, not like Ulysses of old by the wrath of Neptune, but by Priapus, the tutelary deity of Lampsacus, at once ludicrous and obscene.

It describes, in brief, the life and adventures of three very disreputable young persons as they wander through the half-Greek towns of Southern Italy. Scholars and rascals too, they often do not know whither to turn for their next meal, but are always ready with a quotation from Virgil

* Grenewey's translation.

or with a judgment upon the style of rhetoric fashionable at the moment. They are ready also to pass from the most deplorable adventures, related without mincing of words, to admirable criticisms of art and literature at once just and so perfectly expressed that they have not been bettered to this day. The scholars of the last three centuries debated much Petronius' object in this novel. Some would have it that the work is a *roman à clé*, introducing Nero and his court; but unfortunately these commentators were never agreed which personage was represented by which character. Some thought that his writing was against all morality; others, on the contrary, thought that his purpose was moral and that he desired, like Juvenal, to lash the vices of the age by showing how vile they were and how widely spread. The true explanation is surely much simpler. The 'Satyricon' is but the first work of genuine realism, describing life in particular circles with unfailing accuracy, and making the adventures of its heroes the vehicle for acute criticism of the ideals, literary and social, of the time.

If the earlier scholars, for two centuries after the Renaissance, were mistaken in their estimate of the objects with which the 'Satyricon' was written, there is every excuse for them, for until the middle of the seventeenth century the learned world did not possess that part of the book which furnishes the best proof that the 'Satyricon' is in the first instance a realistic novel, and which also provides the best picture of the life of the common people. About 1663 a manuscript was discovered at Trau in Dalmatia in a fragmentary state, but luckily containing one episode complete and continuous in form. This episode, unlike such of the rest of the book as we now possess, is almost entirely unobjectionable in the matter of propriety. The wandering vagabonds who are the heroes of the 'Satyricon' receive an invitation to be present at a dinner given by one Trimalchio, a freedman who has become the master of enormous riches without losing his vulgarity or acquiring the culture of a class above his own. The parvenu's guests, less wealthy but as vulgar as their host, are present in considerable numbers, and the episode is composed of a description of the ridiculous luxury of the feast and the conversation of the uneducated diners at the table. In the course of the meal there are few topics of the day to which allusion is not made, and the whole

life of the vulgar is set forth with photographic reality in the talk of those who are members of the lowest class but one of the early Empire, the freedmen. They are but fresh from slavery, the state of the lowest class of all, and their reminiscences are mostly of their earlier days, coloured only by the greater wealth at which they have now arrived. The whole is thus a document of inestimable value to the student who wishes to penetrate behind the conventional veil of rhetoric which envelops almost all the literature, and therefore the life, as we see it through the literary medium, of the earlier Empire. From it we can obtain indications, unattainable elsewhere, of the real manner in which the lower orders then lived and thought and spoke.

Industrially, the early Empire seemed to have reached a point of temporary equilibrium. The last years of the Republic were a period of rapid transition from a state of soldier-farmers to an organisation of wealthy and capable conquerors and rulers of rich colonies. In that period only the faintest traces could yet be observed of the social and economic developments which were to undermine the foundations of what was all but the rule of the world. The whole institution of slavery had not yet entered upon its period of decay; imperial edicts do not yet begin to forbid the wide-spread practice of general manumission which was to alarm the rulers of the second and third centuries, and indeed the creation of a freedman class seems at this time rather to have been encouraged by the many provisions under which a slave could obtain his freedom. The countryside of Italy may have been spoiled for the sentimentalist and the conservative by the flow of the free rural population into the cities, their places being taken by large slave-gangs working broad estates; but the conditions of life in these gangs were tolerable and there was plenty of occupation and subsistence for the new inhabitants of the towns, into which the arts, the trades, and the wealth of the newly founded empire flowed as rapidly as the number of their inhabitants increased. There is almost no evidence of real misery such as that to be found in every modern city, and although the attitude of dependence on wealthy patrons common to a large percentage of the lower and lower-middle classes at the time was doubtless in the long run demoralising to character, it does not seem in the first

century to have produced any serious or even alarming consequences.

One of the most potent factors which made for this constancy of society was the persistence and success of the trade corporations or guilds.

The history of the guilds during the Republic had not been a happy one. Any private association was suspect in a State where it was almost a fundamental axiom that the life of any citizen must be open to the inspection of any other; nor is there any doubt that they were used by politicians to further their own ends during the period of the civil wars. It is therefore not surprising that the whole system was more than once suppressed by the Senate. At the beginning of the Empire all this was changed. Augustus put the *Collegia* on a legal footing in Rome, and this freedom was extended by Nero and Trajan to Italian and provincial cities respectively. The confidence of the Emperors was well placed, and the imperial rule had no more ardent supporters than the members of the guilds. We may leave on one side the comparatively unimportant military societies (confined to non-commissioned officers) and the burial clubs; but a mere list of the trades unions would show the large place which they held in the whole social and economic organisation of the day. There were clubs for the dealers in the necessaries and luxuries of life—greengrocers, butchers, vintners, fishmongers, and the makers of the requisites for various games; for physicians, sculptors, architects, and school-teachers; and for various miscellaneous occupations, such as actors, jugglers, huntsmen, and muleteers. The purely industrial guilds, such as those of carpenters and weavers, were naturally also numerous and powerful. We know that in Rome alone there were more than a hundred guilds, and the other cities, at any rate in the western part of the Empire, possessed clubs in numbers proportional to their population. The guilds exacted from their members an entrance fee and a regular contribution: in return for this they provided a sick-club and an allowance for the expenses of a funeral; they also provided a common form of worship in the guild chapel; and acted as trustees for the many benefactions and bequests received from members of the guild, which usually took the form of a dinner and a present of money on the anniversary of the benefactor's

birthday. In addition to providing these personal benefits, the guilds acted as ambassadors between the trades and the State; they would, for instance, petition for the abatement of taxation on articles in which they were interested if it seemed to be so heavy that the production of such articles was in danger of discontinuance or of being carried on at a loss. There is not much evidence of pressure being put by the guilds on the individual employer by strikes or other means; but the occasion for strikes can seldom arise in a condition of industry where the single worker turns out the whole article instead of superintending the machinery that produces a small part of it. Nor is a strike likely to be of much use to the free worker when there is a large reserve of slave labour on which to fall back.

A mere statement of the average amount of wages earned by the workman of the early Empire would not be of any value unless we could combine with it some idea of the cost of living, so as to be able to estimate the workman's general position by the amount of necessaries and luxuries with which he was able to provide himself. We have not unfortunately much evidence of these conditions at so early a date. There were grumblers then, as now, to complain that prices were up; that the municipality was in league with the bakers to make bread dear, so that the penny loaf, which used to be a meal in itself, was now down to the size of a bull's-eye; that meat was beyond the reach of any except millionaires. But we have no reason to think that at this period prices were intolerably hard on the poor. At a later date (A.D. 300), when Diocletian fixed a maximum tariff for all the commodities of the Empire, we have very accurate evidence of prices, and although the amount then purchaseable by a day's labour was rather less (at any rate in the matter of meat and flour) than at the present time, the Emperor is careful to state in the preface to his decree that prices had gone up enormously in the very last few years—'hardly from year to year, month to month, or day to day, 'but almost from hour to hour and minute to minute.' It is therefore probable that two hundred years before this time, when the resources of the newly conquered Empire still seemed inexhaustible, and province after province was sending its products into Italy as fast as ships could carry them, much of it to be given away as largess to the lower orders, the current

rates of wages were sufficient to provide adequate food and clothing, and even a certain amount of amusement, for the workmen and their families.

There was no part of the institutions of Republican Rome that was less likely to appeal to the lower classes of Imperial times than the ancient religion. The early identification of the more important Roman deities with the more or less corresponding figures of the Greek Pantheon had engrafted upon Roman literature much of Greek mythology, but little of the spiritual content, both moral and philosophical, which, for the Greek, underlay that mythology. The indigenous Roman religion seems indeed to have been one of the least satisfying forms of belief ever possessed by any nation. It consisted of a large number of ritual observances, closely bound up with the routine of the household and of the State, in combination with a host of gods that can only be described as the palest and most bloodless personifications of ordinary and extraordinary actions. There were not only the tutelary deities, such as Cloacina, the goddess of the Main Drain, who has been a subject of fun for writers of all subsequent ages, but gods of speaking, drinking, marriage, child-birth, and even of various states of mind. The Christian impugners of the old religion, who had to employ philosophical arguments against the religious theories of the Greek thinkers and moral arguments against the Greek mythology, were usually content merely to enumerate some of the objects of Roman worship and leave the refutation to the laughter of their readers:

'I wonder much [says St. Augustine] that the Romans, while appointing particular gods over everything and almost every motion—*Agenoria* that stirred men to action, *Stimula* that forced them forward, *Murcia* that never went out of her pace, and, as Pomponius saith, made men slothful and disabled them from action, *Strenua* that made men resolute (unto all which gods and goddesses they offered public sacrifices and kept solemn feasts)—being to dispose of *Quiet*, the goddess of Rest, her they only vouchsafed a temple without *Porl Collina*, but allowed her no public honours at all in the city.' *

Such a faith, if faith it can be called, had its uses in the training for citizenship of an earlier and sterner time; and it still retained at least the lip-service of the more conservative of

* Healey's translation.

the upper classes, particularly of the small but influential band of Republican opponents of the Emperors, who combined the Stoic system of philosophy with the external observances of the ancient religion. But with the mixed lower orders, now by blood and surroundings hardly Roman at all, this formal and unsatisactory round of ritual had lost the little effect and respect which it once had. The names of the Roman gods are seldom used save in jest or in the conventional language of an oath; their place was being taken with all speed by a host of outlandish cults from the East.

There were not lacking in every order those who regretted the decay of the old religion, and Ganymedes, one of Trimalchio's guests, fills admirably the part of the 'croaker' who deplores that things are not what they were. The town is no longer prosperous, the price of corn is up, the municipal officials are corrupt:

'and, mark my words, all this trouble comes from the gods. Nobody believes in heaven nowadays, nobody keeps the proper fast days, nobody cares twopence for Jupiter; all they do now is to shut their eyes and count their money. In old times, when there was a drought, women used to put on their Sunday dresses, and go up the hill with a clear conscience, bare feet, and their hair down, and ask Jupiter for water; and then—then or never—it used to come down in bucketsfull, and they all came home drenched to the skin. The gods are after us because we are not religious any more. . . .'

Ganymedes was here interrupted by another guest, who exhorted him to look on the more cheerful side of things; and this opportunity may be taken to inquire shortly what had taken the place of this lost old-fashioned piety. Nearly two hundred years before Christ the statesmen of Rome had begun to be alarmed at the orgiastic rites of the worship of Bacchus, imported from Thrace, and the Senate had passed a decree aimed at the excesses of this worship. These religious orgies were, however, quickly succeeded by others, of which many were of an even less desirable kind. Three times in rapid succession during the first century B.C. the Senate stigmatized the cult of the Egyptian divinities as a 'disgraceful superstition,' and on one occasion at least ordered their altars to be destroyed. Both Augustus and Tiberius solemnly banished all foreign gods from Rome and attempted to prosecute their votaries. Nevertheless a crypto-Judaism was practised by

many even in the highest ranks of society, and the first vestiges of Mithraism, which was afterwards to become almost a formidable rival to Christianity, began to appear. Casual mention is also found of many ridiculous and degrading ceremonies derived from minor Asiatic faiths. Threats and prohibitions were unsuccessful; Judaism increased widely and steadily, though not with the rapidity of some of the other religions; and by the time of Minucius Felix it was possible to speak of the cult of Serapis as one 'that had been formerly Egyptian, 'but was now Roman.' Some unifying and controlling effect was exercised by the worship of personified Rome (*Roma Dea*) and of the Emperor; but these were far more political and municipal ceremonials than private religions affecting the individual minds and consciences of the lower classes, and therefore need the less consideration here.

The position indicated above is not that of Friedlaender, who holds that the new cults were superadded to the worship of the old gods, and did not in fact replace it. His argument is not always easy to follow, but he supports it in the first place on the *a priori* ground that ancient polytheism possessed an unlimited power of expansion, adding new to old without derogation from the latter, and in the second by a statement which hardly seems to stand the test of examination. 'Such 'a view,' he says (i.e. the replacement of the old worship by the new), 'would only be justified if it could be proved that the 'belief in the old gods had been abolished, shaken, or essen-'tially changed by the worship of new, foreign deities.' Argument from negative evidence is always dangerous, but it is surely certain that in the first century A.D. there is an almost complete silence as to the old gods, the worship due to them, and their dealings with men. The mythology connected with them was still part of the machinery of the imaginative writer, and their names were used in conventional expressions; but the use of the ejaculations 'Zounds!' or 'Sblood!' or others of the sort did not in the Middle Ages necessarily imply a lively religious faith on the part of one who employed them. On the other hand, the gods are often found mentioned in jests, either frivolous or scurrilous, which would be extremely shocking to those who still retained a real and religious belief in them. 'The part of the country where I live,' says Quartilla in Petronius (herself a priestess!), 'is so choke-full of

'such powerful deities, that it is easier to come across a god 'than a man.'

The transition from religion to morals when considering the ancient world is much more violent than would be the case in an investigation of the conditions of a modern society. Whatever the rules laid down by philosophers, in the majority of ancient religions the connexion of faith and morality was unessential, even when desirable. In the novel of Petronius some of the most superstitious and even most religious characters are those who practise and even openly flaunt the most appalling vices; and yet, as an attempt will soon be made to show, it would be precarious, and even unfair, to try to estimate the moral condition of the time from the evidence of contemporary literature. Unfortunately in the works under review there is singularly little discussion of this most important part of the history of the time. In Friedlaender's book, where a detailed treatment of the morals of the period might have been expected, there are only to be found a few isolated passages in his treatises on religion, on the position of women, and on Roman luxury. The reader who wishes for any general estimate, if confined to English books, is still compelled to turn back to Lecky's great work—a masterpiece still, but capable of correction in points of detail, and on too small a scale, so far as this section of it is concerned, because it forms but one minute part of a vast subject.

The historian of morals who accepted at its face value the evidence of Tacitus and Suetonius, of Petronius, Martial, and Juvenal, would indeed have a gloomy picture to draw. But the historians had their own axes to grind, political or personal, while the others, essentially satirists, naturally gave prominence to that which was bad rather than to better if duller things. It may be objected truly enough that 'satire' for Petronius and Juvenal meant two very different things: Juvenal almost deliberately sought out the horrors and vices of his time, that he might exercise upon them the lash of his tongue, while Petronius was writing a realistic romance. But have the realistic romances of any age shown its bright side? What a picture of French life in the latter part of the nineteenth century would a future historian draw from Zola's novels! It is a distressing fact, but true, that it is easier to draw accurately the bad things of life than the good, and that the resulting picture

will detain and impress the spectator more acutely than the tamer presentation of virtue. Petronius too was a cynical courtier, a voluptuary, and a debauchee, however refined, who could hardly be expected to imagine, or at any rate to describe, virtues and good and noble qualities in the underworld which he watched at once as an observer and a scoffer.

Yet even in Petronius there are hints which betray a better state of things than that which is ordinarily imagined to be characteristic of the early Empire. A parvenu would least of all be suspected of a kindly feeling for servants; and yet Trimalchio, when his cook would insist on taking a seat at the table and trying to lay the odds with his master on the next chariot race, could say 'Slaves are men too, my friends, 'and have drunk of the same mother's milk as we have; it is 'only that their luck is down'; and he goes on with rather a fine specimen of a bull: 'If I do but live, they shall soon taste 'freedom; for I manumit every one of them in my last will 'and testament.' His description of his servants as of the same clay as himself, saving the pranks of fortune, is quite worth the more sententious utterance of Seneca: 'Are they slaves? 'Nay, men first. Are they slaves? Nay, fellow-slaves. Are 'they slaves? Nay, rather lowly friends.' We have a great number of instances of servants kindly and even indulgently treated by their masters, and we know for certain that cases of unusual or bizarre cruelty to slaves were severely punished by the Emperors. The very size of the slave-households made their lot far from severe: a 'family' of twenty slaves meant a comparatively poor man, and we hear of 'families' of four thousand; in almost every case the subdivision of labour was so great that the slaves ran more peril from idleness and lack of occupation than from overwork. An industrious servant could regularly earn enough in no intolerably long period of years to purchase his freedom.

It would be absurd to deny that the institution of slavery itself brought with it grave indulgences and vices; and in no sphere is this more true than in that of sexual morality. These evil consequences, which have been repeated over and over again in the history of the world, are a more conclusive argument against slavery than theoretical considerations founded on such doctrines as the brotherhood or equality of man. In dealing with this particular branch of morals, a

modern writer is on delicate ground, having lost the freedom of more ancient times without any great compensating advantage; but there is no side of the life of the Roman lower orders which has been less satisfactorily treated, or about which vaguer or more erroneous impressions prevail.

Bad as things were, it is fortunately possible to say that to the observer who looks beneath the surface, morals were not so degraded as would appear on a first reading of the contemporary literature. The characters attacked by Juvenal and Martial were almost exclusively members of the cosmopolitan society of the capital city, which was confessedly far more corrupt than the provinces, and in this matter again exaggeration is an almost necessary part of the dealer in furious satire and stinging epigram. Yet, with all allowances, the picture of fashionable life at Rome at the end of the first century is a terrible one: apart from the corrupt condition of the upper ranks of society, which does not here concern us, there was a whole class, apparently of very great size, ready and anxious to sell to debauchees the favours of themselves or others. These were to a large extent, though not entirely, Greeks or other foreigners, and most had risen from the slave class or were at any rate the children of freedmen: their moral condition is comprehensible enough if it be considered what treatment they or their parents had received while still in a condition of slavery. Handsome children were brought from every country in the world by the slave-dealers, and put up to auction in Rome. We are told how only the comparatively inferior specimens were exposed to the public view in the front of the auction-room, while the rich purchaser would be taken privately behind the scenes to examine the pearls of the collection. They were sold for extraordinarily high prices (sometimes between one and two thousand pounds) and taken to become the darlings of their wealthy masters. In the house they had little to do, beyond the nominal obligation to wait, or rather to be present, at table. The sole excuse for their existence, during the years of their youthful bloom and beauty, was to minister to the pleasures of their lords. These years over, the youths would be sent to work on their masters' country estates, the women married off to servants of the household or the farm in order to produce a numerous and strong breed of *vernae*, or home-born slaves. Nothing but

the lowest moral character could be expected in those born of such parents and brought up in such surroundings.

Yet such evidence as we possess of the morality of the lower classes, bond and free, does not compel us to take a wholly despairing view. It is true that many of the wall-inscriptions at Pompei are rankly obscene, and of these only one or two are witty as well; but they could probably be paralleled if anyone had the stomach to take up the suggestion of a learned German of the last generation and compile a modern 'Epigraphia Latrinaria.' We find among the common characters in Petronius one or two instances of a rather touching affection between couples who had little else to their credit: 'I saved up and bought my mistress's freedom,' says a peculiarly foul-mouthed guest at Trimalchio's table, 'so that nobody else should have the right to wipe his hands on her head.' Trimalchio himself, after rather a serious brawl with his wife Fortunata, in which he gave orders that she should not kiss him when he was dead (she had shown herself not unnaturally jealous at one of his indiscretions), makes friends again and relates a story of her constancy and unselfishness. He tells how he had wormed himself into the good graces of his former master and inherited most of his fortune. He had attempted to trade with the money and had lost a great part of his capital by a storm at sea which destroyed the five ships he had fitted out; undismayed, however, at his ill-fortune, he built others, larger and better than the former, and put valuable cargoes aboard them. 'Then Fortunata did a very decent thing: she sold all her gold ornaments and her fine clothes, and handed me over a hundred golden sovereigns to trade with. That was what made my fortune rise: if God wills a thing, it comes quickly enough, and in that single venture I made a nice little pile, more than ten thousand.' Scintilla, too, shows the fine earrings given her by her husband, Habinnas the undertaker, with the words 'Owing to my man's kindness no woman has better jewellery'; and there is even one case of a true friendship between a man and a woman. Niceros, who relates an admirable were-wolf story, begins it by saying that when he was still a slave he lived in a particular narrow street, known to his hearers:

'There, as God would have it, I began to care for the wife of Terence the innkeeper—you all knew her, Melissa from Tarentum,

a pretty, plump little piece. But don't think it was *that* sort of love or for anything fleshly I liked her: no, but because she was a good girl: if ever I asked her anything, she wouldn't deny me—if she made a shilling I had sixpence; and whatever I could get I handed over to her, and she never cheated me of a penny. Her mate died up at the town, and so I was most frightfully anxious to get to her somehow or other, by hook or by crook; they say, you know, that friends in need are friends indeed.'

With this charming picture of a Platonic affection we may put behind us the ugly things of which it was necessary to speak when first considering this subject.

By the beginning of the Empire the language of Rome was no longer in the happy condition in which the language of Greece seems to have remained through the whole of the classical age, when the peasant spoke the same tongue as the prince, and eloquence alone separated the speech of Pericles from that of an Athenian cobbler. There was already apparent among the Romans a tendency which was finally to split off the whole body of Romance languages as we know them to-day from literary Latin. It was beneath the dignity of cultured writers to record or even to notice the existence of the vulgar language, and its words and expressions were naturally excluded as much as possible from inscriptions that were meant to endure, such as tombstones or registers of decrees. Any evidence, therefore, which preserves to us some indication of the real way in which the lower classes spoke, the words they used and the terms of expression which they preferred, is of the greatest value not merely to the historian but to the philologist. He is bound to seek in such a dialect the origin of many words and phrases which have become a part of the literary stock of modern languages, their popular origin forgotten and long left behind. For the later Empire the material is more abundant; the Vulgate itself, though never descending quite to the language of the street, was meant to be easily understanded of the people, and there are a few works actually written in vulgar Latin, such as the story, by a certain Silvia or Aetheria (possibly a Spanish nun), of her visit to the Holy Land and the East at the end of the fourth century. But for the period with which we are here dealing the remains are scanty indeed, and therefore precious in proportion to their small extent. With the exception of an occasional reference to a popular word or expression in the literary writers, or a

lapse on their part, so precious to us, into the language or turn of thought of everyday life, we have nothing left to us except Petronius and the Pompeian wall-inscriptions. From these, however, the general tendency of the language can be inferred without any doubt; constructions were simplified, new words invented by the addition of conventional terminations to common adjectives, and above all that manner of speaking in short proverbs, which still makes colloquial Italian so difficult to an Englishman even after he has thoroughly mastered its accidence and syntax, claimed almost a preponderating share in ordinary conversation. A worthy man, a man of consideration, *dignus*, becomes *dignitosus*; sadness is *tristimonium*, not *tristitia*; and the third, *tertius*, is even called *tertiarius* by one of the more illiterate of Trimalchio's guests. As for the proverbs, even some of those which have no equivalents in our modern English strike us as both funny and appropriate: 'I tell 'you, this town is growing downward, like a cow's tail'; 'Those squint-eyed fellows, who look at the cabbage and steal 'the bacon'; 'Sometimes this way, sometimes that, said the 'farmer: he had lost a speckled pig'; 'You grumble now, but 'if you were anywhere else you would say that pigs were 'running about here ready roast.' They often offer the most curious parallels to proverbial phrases and slang expressions of our own day: 'She measures her money by the bushel'; 'Without why or wherefore'; 'He 's joined the majority'; 'He 's mad on birds'; 'Like master, like man.' There is one so ridiculously modern that the Latin must be given to show that the translation has not been wrested into a modern turn; the narrator of the before-mentioned story of the were-wolf describes the companion of his journey as a soldier 'as strong 'as Hell'—*fortis tanquam Orcus*.

Much may also be learned of the attitude of the common people towards art and literature, though it is natural that the adoption of a veneer of culture by an earlier and more vulgar Sir Gorgius Midas should be broadly caricatured. Trimalchio had frescoes running round his hall which represented the story of the Iliad and the Odyssey; but he alternated the heroic scenes with the picture of his own triumphal entry into Rome, blessed by Minerva, Mercury, Good Luck, and the Fates, and the combats of his favourite gladiator. His

own taste may be judged from the orders he gives to his friend the undertaker, when, like many another drunken man, he becomes maudlin and lachrymose at the end of dinner :

'You know what I want : my little dog at the feet of my statue and garlands and unguents and all my prize gladiator's best fights ; so by your good work I shall go on living after I 'm dead ; and all kinds of fruit round my remains, and stacks of vines—it 's silly to have fine houses when we 're alive and to take no trouble over those where we have to stay much longer. . . . And at the bottom put ships under full sail, and me sitting in the magistrate's chair with my best gown on and wearing five gold rings and pouring out money to the people from a sack : you know I 've left them a dinner and a shilling a head—yes, and you can put in the banquet, if you like, and all the people doing themselves well. On my right put my Fortunata's statue holding a dove, and let her lead her little dog by a string ; and this brat of mine, and jars, well sealed, mind you, so that the wine shan't run out ; and you can engrave a broken urn, and a boy weeping over it ; and a clock in the middle, so that anybody who comes to see the time must read my name whether he likes it or not.'

As for literature, the vulgar rich, like their successors of to-day, were more conscious of the monetary value of a good education than of any particular beauty or attraction in literary study, and, again like the modern parent, wanted their boys to be taught something that would earn their bread-and-butter in preference to acquiring a real training for the mind. Echion, the rag and patchwork dealer, could not refrain from boasting of his son and heir to the old pedant of a professor, of whom it was well known to the whole party that much learning had made him mad :

'He 's growing up, that brat of mine, to be quite one of your pupils, and can say his "four times" ; all his spare time he spends with his head in his book. He knows his Greek well enough, and is getting up his Latin all right. . . . Now I 've bought the boy some law books : I should like him to get up a little of that at home : there 's money in that job, and of book-learning he 's had enough ; if he doesn't care for it after all, I shall make him a barber or an auctioneer, or, better still, a barrister ; nothing can rob you of a good trade except death. Every day I tell him : "My lad, what-"ever you learn, you learn for your own advantage. You see "Phileros who 's at the bar : if he hadn't put his mind into learning "he 'd have nothing to keep the wolf from the door. A year or two "ago he was a market-porter with packages on his neck, and now

"he pleads against the best advocates of the time. Learning's "money, and a trade never dies." '

Trimalchio himself, although he had two libraries, one of Greek books and one of Latin, had not greatly profited by them. He could quote a tag of Virgil, and professed at dinner to estimate the comparative merits of Cicero and Publius Syrus, saying (possibly a true judgment) that Cicero was the better scholar but Publius the finer man. He preferred, however, the mimes and especially the broad Atellane farces, so that he made the company of players whom he had bought devote themselves to this very low branch of dramatic art. The servant of Habinnas (the undertaker mentioned above) also recited Virgil without much pressure, but displeased the fine literary sense of the narrator of the scene, who was sitting near him at table, by interlarding the 'Aeneid' with lines from low farces. His master frankly confessed that he much preferred to hear him imitating with his unaided voice a flute or an organ or, best of all, a muleteer cracking his whip. The host had a finely confused knowledge of mythology. 'Come, 'dear Agamemnon,' he says; 'can't you remember a piece 'about the twelve labours of Hercules, or about Ulysses, how 'he twisted the Cyclops' thumb with a pork-chopper? I used 'to read about him when I was a boy, in Homer, and I remem-'ber how

'I saw the Sibyl at Cumae
(One said) with mine own eye:
She hung in a cage, and read her rune
To all the passers-by.
Said the boys, "What wouldst thou, Sibyl?"
She answered, "I would die." ' *

He also relates the story that Hannibal, after the capture of Troy, made a huge bonfire and melted up in it every kind of metal, the alloy resulting being the origin of the Corinthian compound used for plate. He thinks that Cassandra killed her children, whose corpses were so vividly represented on his silver flagon that you would think them alive; that Daedalus shut up Niobe in the Trojan Horse: and he summarises very neatly the recitation given by his Homerists:

* Translated by D. G. Rossetti.

'You must know that Diomede and Ganymede were two brothers and Helen their sister; Agamemnon ran off with her, and put a stag in her place for Diana; in this part Homer explains how Troy and Tarentum are at war, and how Agamemnon won and gave his daughter to Achilles, and so Ajax went mad, and after that the story very soon winds up.'

It was at least usual and proper to profess some familiarity with literature, even if the result were but a confusion of mind. This general impression is quite borne out by the evidence of Pompei, which is remarkable as pointing to a more general literary culture than would have been expected. Among the three thousand inscriptions that have been recorded (some of them scribbles of a word or two only, and many of them dealing with such unpoetical subjects as the coming municipal elections) there are, excluding all the doubtful instances, at least six quotations from Virgil, four from Ovid, three from Propertius, two allusions to known Greek epigrams, and even the opening words of the poem of Lucretius, which is perhaps a more surprising citation than any of the others, though these may have been borrowed by the Epicurean poet from some older and more popular writer. A moment's comparison of these allusions with the corresponding epigraphy of to-day is enough to show that literature must have percolated much further down in those days than it is now able to do; even a single allusion to a great poem or indeed a verse of any literary merit at all would be a surprise among the scribblings on a modern wall. Of the many other Latin inscriptions in metrical form, some are no doubt derived from writers whose works are now lost to us; but others are either the compositions of those who chalked them up, or else verses which were repeated from lip to lip at the time. The latter is presumably the case when the same rough lines are found several times, written with slight variations, by different hands. A good selection of all these is given, with translations, by Professor Abbott, in his little essay on the poetry of the common people. With the Pompeian inscriptions he has combined evidence from elsewhere, both epitaphs and the few scraps of popular versification preserved in the quotations of literary writers. The general result of his investigations seems to be in accordance with that reached above, that there was a fair amount of acquaintance with poetry to be found in quite

the lowest classes—far more than in the classes analogous to them to-day.

Whether the conditions of life among the lower orders of the Roman Empire in the first century convey any lesson which may be useful to modern society is a question to be discussed by the sociologist, the moralist, and the student of political economy: the classical scholar has received lately a good many sharp reminders that his business, when it is not merely that of developing the mind of youth, is purely investigation, and that the use of his results must be left to others, whether they be historians or of one of the other classes of philanthropic and social reformers just mentioned. It does however seem possible that, considering the large amount of work that has lately been done on this period (for the books mentioned at the head of this article are but a fraction of those produced on the subject of late years), the time may now be approaching when it will be possible to form a judgment on the whole condition of Roman society and perhaps to apply its lessons to our own times. Herculaneum, however rich its yields, is not likely to add much to our knowledge of the common people, as it was essentially a watering-place frequented by the highest classes. But with the evidence we at present possess, it should not be beyond the powers of a real historian to draw a picture of the social life of the ordinary Roman of the lower classes which would, for some at least, surpass in interest the story of the wars and politics of the great.

STEPHEN GASELEE.

TRANSLATION AND PARAPHRASE

1. **Fragments of Empedocles.** By W. E. LEONARD. Kegan Paul. 1908.
2. **A Book of Greek Verse.** By W. HEADLAM. Cambridge. 1907.
3. **Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology.** By J. W. MACKAIL. Longmans. 1894.
4. **Between Whiles.** By B. H. KENNEDY. George Bell and Sons. 1877.

WHEN Emerson said 'We like everything to do its 'office, whether it be a milch-cow or a rattlesnake,' he assumed, perhaps somewhat too hastily in the latter case, that all the world understands the functions which a milch-cow or a rattlesnake is called upon to perform. No one can doubt that the office of a translator is to translate, but a wide difference of opinion may exist, and, in fact, has always existed, as to the latitude which he may allow himself in translating. Is he to adhere rigidly to a literal rendering of the original text, or is paraphrase permissible, and, if permissible, within what limits may it be adopted? In deciding which of these courses to pursue, the translator stands between Scylla and Charybdis. If he departs too widely from the precise words of the text, he incurs the blame of the purist, who will accuse him of foisting language on the original author which the latter never employed, with the possible result that even the ideas or sentiments which it had been intended to convey have been disfigured. If, on the other hand, he renders word for word, he will often find, more especially if his translation be in verse, that in a cacophonous attempt to force the genius of one language into an unnatural channel, the whole of the beauty and even, possibly, some of the real meaning of the original have been allowed to evaporate. Dr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in an instructive article on Translation contributed to the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica,' quotes the high authority of Dryden as to the course which should be followed in the execution of an ideal translation.

'A translator [Dryden writes] that would write with any force or spirit of an original must never dwell on the words of his author. He ought to possess himself entirely, and perfectly comprehend the genius and sense of his author, the nature of the subject, and

the terms of the art or subject treated of; and then he will express himself as justly, and with as much life, as if he wrote an original; whereas he who copies word for word loses all the spirit in the tedious transfusion.'

In the application of Dryden's canon a distinction has to be made between prose and verse. The composition of good prose, which Coleridge described as 'words in the right order,' is, indeed, of the utmost importance for all the purposes of the historian, the writer on philosophy, or the orator. An example of the manner in which fine prose can bring to the mind a vivid conception of a striking event is Jeremy Collier's description of Cranmer's death, which excited the enthusiastic admiration of Mr. Gladstone.* 'He seemed [Collier wrote] 'to repel the force of the fire and to overlook the torture, by 'strength of thought.' Nevertheless, the main object of the prose writer, and still more of the orator, should be to state his facts or to prove his case. Cato laid down the very sound principle 'rem tene, verba sequentur,' and Quintilian held that 'no speaker, when important interests are involved, 'should be very solicitous about his words.' It is true that this principle is one that has been more often honoured in the breach than the observance. Lucian, in his 'Lexiphanes,'† directs the shafts of his keen satire against the meticulous attention to phraseology practised by his contemporaries. Cardinal Bembo sacrificed substance to form to the extent of advising young men not to read St. Paul for fear that their style should be injured, and Professor Saintsbury ‡ mentions the case of the French author, Paul de Saint-Victor, who 'used, 'when sitting down to write, to put words that had struck 'his fancy at intervals over the sheet, and write his matter 'in and up to them.' These are instances of that word-worship run mad which has not unfrequently led to dire results, inasmuch as it has tended to engender the belief that statesmanship is synonymous with fine writing or perfervid oratory. The oratory in which Demosthenes excelled, Professor Bury says,§ 'was one of the curses of Greek politics.'

The attention paid by the ancients to what may be termed

* Morley's 'Life of Gladstone,' vol. iii. p. 467.
† Weise. 1841. Vol. ii. p. 303.
‡ Loci Critici, p. 40.
§ History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 326.

tricks of style has probably in some degree enhanced the difficulties of prose translation. It may not always be easy in a foreign language to reproduce the subtle linguistic shades of Demosthenic oratory—the Anaphora (repetition of the same word at the beginning of co-ordinate sentences following one another), the Anastrophe (the final word of a sentence repeated at the beginning of one immediately following), the Polysyndeton (the same conjunction repeated), or the Epidiorthosis (the correction of an expression). Nevertheless, in dealing with a prose composition, the weight of the arguments, the lucidity with which the facts are set forth, and the force with which the conclusions are driven home, rank, or should rank, in the mind of the reader higher than any feelings which are derived from the music of the words or the skilful order in which they are arranged. Moreover, in prose more frequently than in verse, it is the beauty of the idea expressed which attracts rather than the language in which it is clothed. Thus, for instance, there can be no difficulty in translating the celebrated metaphor of Pericles* that 'the loss of the youth of the city was as if the spring was 'taken out of the year,' because the beauty of the idea can in no way suffer by presenting it in English, French, or German rather than in the original Greek. Again, to quote another instance from Latin, the fine epitaph to St. Ovinus in Ely Cathedral: 'Lucem tuam Ovino da, Deus, et requiem,' loses nothing of its terse pathos by being rendered into English. Occasionally, indeed, the truth is forced upon us that even in prose 'a 'thing may be well said once but cannot be well said twice' (τὸ καλῶς εἰπεῖν ἅπαξ περιγίγνεται, δὶς δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται), but this is generally because the genius of one language lends itself with special ease to some singularly felicitous and often epigrammatic form of expression which is almost or sometimes even quite untranslateable. Who, for instance, would dare to translate into English the following description which the Duchesse de Dino† gave of a lady of her acquaintance: 'Elle n'a jamais été jolie, mais elle était blanche et fraîche,

* The use by Pericles of this metaphor rests on the authority of Aristotle ('Rhet.' i. 7. 34). Herodotus (vii. 162) ascribes almost the identical words to Gelo, and a similar idea is given by Euripides in 'Supp.' 447–49.

† Memoirs, vol. i. p. 328.

'*avec quelques jolis détails*'? On the whole, however, it may be said that if the prose translator is thoroughly well acquainted with both of the languages which he has to handle, he ought to be able to pay adequate homage to the genius of the one without offering undue violence to that of the other.

The case of the translator of poetry, which Coleridge defined as 'the best words in the best order,' is manifestly very different. A phrase which is harmonious or pregnant with fire in one language may become discordant, flat, and vapid when translated into another. Shelley spoke of 'the vanity 'of translation.' 'It were as wise [he said] to cast a violet 'into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle 'of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language 'into another the creations of a poet.'

Longinus has told us* that 'beautiful words are the very 'light of thought' (*φῶς γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἴδιον τοῦ νοῦ τὰ καλὰ ὀνόματα*), but it will often happen, in reading a fine passage, that on analysing the sentiments evoked, it is difficult to decide whether they are due to the thought or to the beauty of the words. A mere word, as in the case of Edgar Poe's 'Nevermore,' has at times inspired a poet. When Keats, speaking of Melancholy, says:

> 'She lives with Beauty—Beauty that must die—
> And Joy, whose hand is ever on his lips,
> Bidding adieu,'

or when Mrs. Browning writes:

> '. . . . . Young
> As Eve with Nature's daybreak on her face,'

the pleasure, both of sense and sentiment, is in each case derived alike from the music of the language and the beauty of the ideas. But in such lines as

> 'Arethusa arose from her couch of snows, etc.'

or Coleridge's description of the river Alph running

> 'Through caverns measureless to man
> Down to a sunless sea,'

it is the language rather than the idea which fascinates. Professor Walker, speaking of the most exquisitely harmonious lyric ever written in English, or perhaps in any other language,†

* On the Sublime, xxx.

† Literature of the Victorian Era, p. 382.

says, with great truth: 'The reader of "Lycidas" rises from 'it ready to grasp the "two-handed engine" and smite; 'though he may be doubtful what the engine is, and what 'is to be smitten.'

It may be observed, moreover, that one of the main difficulties to be encountered in translating some of the masterpieces of ancient literature arises from their exquisite simplicity. Although the indulgence in glaring improprieties of language in the pursuit of novelty of thought was not altogether unknown to the ancients, and was, indeed, stigmatised by Longinus with the epithet of 'corybantising,'* the full development of this pernicious practice has been reserved for the modern world. Dryden made himself indirectly responsible for a good deal of bad poetry when he said that great wits were allied to madness. The late Professor Butcher,† as also Lamb in his essay on 'The Sanity of True Genius,' have both pointed out that genius and high ability are eminently sane.

In some respects it may be said that didactic poetry affords special facilities to the translator, inasmuch as it bears a more close relation to prose than verse of other descriptions. Didactic poets, such as Lucretius and Pope, are almost forced by the inexorable necessities of their subjects to think in prose. However much we may admire their verse, it is impossible not to perceive that, in dealing with subjects that require great precision of thought, they have felt themselves hampered by the necessities of metre and rhythm. They may, indeed, resort to blank verse, which is a sort of half-way house between prose and rhyme, as was done by Mr. Leonard in his excellent translation of Empedocles, of which the following specimen may be given:

'οὐκ ἔστιν πελάσασθαι ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐφεκτὸν
ἡμετέροις ἢ χερσὶ λαβεῖν, ἥπερ τε μεγίστη
πειθοῦς ἀνθρώποισιν ἁμαξιτὸς εἰς φρένα πίπτει.'

'We may not bring It near us with our eyes,
We may not grasp It with our human hands.
With neither hands nor eyes, those highways twain,
Whereby Belief drops into the minds of men.'

But Dr. Symmons, one of the numerous translators of Virgil, said, with some truth, that the adoption of blank verse only

* On the Sublime, c.v.

† Aristotle's 'Theory of Poetry and Fine Art,' p. 398.

involves 'a laborious and doubtful struggle to escape from 'the fangs of prose.' *

A good example of what can be done in this branch of literature is furnished by Dryden. Lucretius † wrote:

'Tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire?
Mortua cui vita est prope iam vivo atque videnti,
Qui somno partem maiorem conteris aevi,
Et vigilans stertis nec somnia cernere cessas
Sollicitamque geris cassa formidine mentem
Nec reperire potes tibi quid sit saepe mali, cum
Ebrius urgeris multis miser undique curis,
Atque animi incerto fluitans errore vagaris.'

Dryden's translation departs but slightly from the original text and at the same time presents the ideas of Lucretius in rhythmical and melodious English:

'And thou, dost thou disdain to yield thy breath,
Whose very life is little more than death?
More than one-half by lazy sleep possest,
And when awake, thy soul but nods at best,
Day-dreams and sickly thoughts revolving in thy breast.
Eternal troubles haunt thy anxious mind,
Whose cause and case thou never hopest to find,
But still uncertain, with thyself at strife,
Thou wanderest in the labyrinth of life.'

Descriptive poetry also lends itself with comparative ease to translation. Nothing can be better than the translation made by Mr. Gladstone ‡ of 'Iliad' iv. 422–32. The original Greek runs thus:

'ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχέϊ κῦμα θαλάσσης
ὄρνυτ' ἐπασσύτερον Ζεφύρου ὕπο κινήσαντος·
πόντῳ μέν τε πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας
κυρτὸν ἐὸν κορυφοῦται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἁλὸς ἀχνην·
ὣς τότ' ἐπασσύτεραι Δαναῶν κίνυντο φάλαγγες
νωλεμέως πόλεμόνδε· κέλευε δὲ οἵσιν ἕκαστος
ἡγεμόνων· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκὴν ἴσαν, οὐδέ κε φαίης
τόσσον λαὸν ἕπεσθαι ἔχοντ' ἐν στήθεσιν αὐδήν,
σιγῇ δειδιότες σημάντορας· ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι
τεύχεα ποικίλ' ἔλαμπε, τὰ εἱμένοι ἐστιχόωντο.'

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* 'Miscellaneous Writings,' Conington, vol. i. p. 162.

† III. 1045 ff.

‡ Mr. Gladstone's merits as a translator were great. His Latin translation of Toplady's hymn 'Rock of Ages,' beginning 'Jesus, pro me perforatus,' is altogether admirable.

Mr. Gladstone, who evidently drew his inspiration from the author of 'Marmion' and 'The Lady of the Lake,' translated as follows:

'As when the billow gathers fast
With slow and sullen roar,
Beneath the keen north-western blast,
Against the sounding shore.
First far at sea it rears its crest,
Then bursts upon the beach;
Or with proud arch and swelling breast,
Where headlands outward reach,
It smites their strength, and bellowing flings
Its silver foam afar—
So stern and thick the Danaan kings
And soldiers marched to war.
Each leader gave his men the word,
Each warrior deep in silence heard,
So mute they marched, thou couldst not ken
They were a mass of speaking men;
And as they strode in martial might
Their flickering arms shot back the light.'

It is, however, in dealing with poetry which is neither didactic nor descriptive that the difficulty—indeed often the impossibility—of reconciling the genius of the two languages becomes most apparent. It may be said with truth that the best way of ascertaining how a fine or luminous idea can be presented in any particular language is to set aside altogether the idea of translation, and to inquire how some master in the particular language has presented the case without reference to the utterances of his predecessors in other languages. A good example of this process may be found in comparing the language in which others have treated Vauvenargues' well-known saying: 'Pour exécuter de grandes choses, il faut vivre 'comme si on ne devait jamais mourir.' Bacchylides* put the same idea in the following words:

'θνατὸν εἶντα χρὴ διδύμους ἀέξειν
γνώμας, ὅτι τ' αὔριον ὄψεαι
μοῦνον ἁλίου φάος,
χὤτι πεντήκοντ' ἔτεα
ζωὰν βαθύπλουτον τελεῖς.'†

* Od. iii. 78–82.

† 'As a mortal, thou must nourish each of two forebodings—that to-morrow's sunlight will be the last that thou shalt see: and that for fifty years thou wilt live out thy life in ample wealth.'

and the great Arab poet Abu'l'Ala, who was born in A.D. 977, wrote:

'If you will do some deed before you die,
Remember not this caravan of death,
But have belief that every little breath
Will stay with you for an eternity.'

Another instance of the same kind, which may be cited without in any way wishing to advance what Professor Courthope* very justly calls 'the mean charge of plagiarism,' is Tennyson's line, 'His honour rooted in dishonour stood.' Euripides† expressed the same idea in the following words:

'ἐκ τῶν γὰρ αἰσχρῶν ἐσθλὰ μηχανώμεθα.'

To cite another case, the following lines of 'Paradise Lost' may be compared with the treatment accorded by Euripides to the same subject:

'Oh, why did God
Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
With spirits masculine, create at last
This novelty on Earth, this fair defect
Of Nature, and not fill the World at once
With men as Angels, without feminine;
Or find some other way to generate
Mankind?'

Euripides wrote:

'ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις κακόν,
γυναῖκας ἐς φῶς ἡλίου κατῴκισας;
εἰ γὰρ βρότειον ἤθελες σπεῖραι γένος,
οὐκ ἐκ γυναικῶν χρῆν παρασχέσθαι τόδε.'‡

Apart, however, from the process to which allusion is made above, very many instances may, of course, be cited, of translations properly so called which have reproduced not merely the exact sense but the vigour of the original idea in a foreign

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* History of English Poetry, iii. 394.

† Hipp. 331.

‡ 'Great Zeus, why didst thou, to man's sorrow, put woman, evil counterfeit, to dwell where shines the sun? If thou wert minded that the human race should multiply, it was not from women they should have drawn their stock.'—Hipp. 616–19.

language with little or no resort to paraphrase. What can be better than Cowley's translation of Claudian's lines?—

'Ingentem meminit parvo qui germine quercum
Aequaevumque videt consenuisse nemus.'

'A neighbouring wood born with himself he sees,
And loves his old contemporary trees,'

thus, as Gibbon says,* improving on the original, inasmuch as, being a good botanist, Cowley 'concealed the oaks under 'a more general expression.'

Take also the case of the well-known Latin epigram:

'Omne epigramma sit instar apis: sit aculeus illi;
Sint sua mella; sit et corporis exigui.'

It has frequently been translated, but never more felicitously or accurately than by the late Lord Wensleydale:

'Be epigrams like bees; let them have stings;
And Honey too, and let them be small things.'

On the other hand, the attempt to adhere too closely to the text of the original and to reject paraphrase sometimes leads to results which can scarcely be described as other than the reverse of felicitous. An instance in point is Sappho's lines:

'καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἄλλα δώσει,
αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα.'

So great a master of verse as Mr. Headlam translated thus:

'The pursued shall soon be the pursuer!
Gifts, though now refusing, yet shall bring,
Love the lover yet, and woo the wooer,
Though heart it wring!'

Many of Mr. Headlam's translations are, however, excellent, more especially those from English into Greek. He says in his preface: 'Greek, in my experience, is easier to write than

* Decline and Fall, v. 185.

'English.' He has admirably reproduced the pathetic simplicity of Herrick's lines:

'Here a pretty baby lies,
Sung to sleep with Lullabies;
Pray be silent and not stir
The easy earth that covers her.'

'μήτηρ βαυκαλόωσά μ' ἐκοίμισεν· ἁτρέμα βαῖνε
μὴ 'γείρῃς κούφην γῆν μ' ἐπιεσσόμενον.'

Many singularly happy attempts to render English into Latin or Greek verse are given in Mr. Kennedy's fascinating little volume 'Between Whiles,' of which the following example may be quoted:

'Few the words that I have spoken;
True love's words are ever few;
Yet by many a speechless token
Hath my heart discoursed to you.'

'οἶδα παῦρ' ἔπη λαλήσας· παῦρ' ἔρως λαλεῖν φιλεῖ·
ξυμβόλοις δ' ὅμως ἀναύδοις σοὶ τὸ πᾶν ἠνιξάμην.'

The extent to which it is necessary to resort to paraphrase will, of course, vary greatly, and will largely depend upon whether the language into which the translation is made happens to furnish epithets and expressions which are rhythmical and at the same time correspond accurately to those of the original. Take, for instance, a case such as the following fragment of Euripides:

'τὰ μὲν διδακτὰ μανθάνω, τὰ δ' εὑρετὰ
ζητῶ, τὰ δ' εὐκτὰ παρὰ θεῶν ἠτησάμην.'

There is but little difficulty in turning this into English verse with but slight resort to paraphrase:

'I learn what may be taught;
I seek what may be sought;
My other wants I dare
To ask from Heaven in prayer.'

But in a large majority of cases paraphrase is almost imposed on the translator by the necessities of the case. Mr. William Cory's rendering of the famous verses of Callimachus on his friend Heraclitus, which is too well known to need quotation, has been justly admired as one of the best and most poetic translations ever made from Greek, but it can

scarcely be called a translation in the sense in which that term is employed by purists. It is a paraphrase.

It is needless to dwell on the difficulty of finding any suitable words capable of being adapted to the necessities of English metre and rhythm for the numerous and highly poetic adjectives in which the Greek language abounds. It would tax the ingenuity of any translator to weave into his verse expressions corresponding to the ἁλιερκέες ὄχθαι (sea-constraining cliffs) or the Μναμοσύνας λιπαράμπυκος (Mnemosyne of the shining fillet) of Pindar. Neither is the difficulty wholly confined to poetry. A good many epithets have from time to time been applied to the Nile, but none so graphic or so perfectly accurate as that employed by Herodotus,* who uses the phrase ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτω ἐργατικοῦ. The English translation 'that vast river, so constantly at 'work' is a poor equivalent for the original Greek. German possesses to a greater degree than any other modern language the word-coining power which was such a marked characteristic of Greek, with the result that it offers special difficulties to the translator of verse. Mr. Brandes † quotes the following lines of the German poet Bücher:

'Welche Heldenfreudigkeit der Liebe,
Welche Stärke muthigen Entsagens,
Welche himmlisch erdentschwungene Triebe,
Welche Gottbegeistrung des Ertragens!
Welche Sich-Erhebung, Sich-Erwiedrung,
Sich-Entäussrung, völl'ge Hin-sich-gebung,
Seelenaustausch, Ineinanderlebung!'

It is probable that these lines have never been translated into English verse, and it is obvious that no translation, which did not largely consist of paraphrase, would be possible.

Alliteration, which is a powerful literary instrument in the hands of a skilful writer, but which may easily be allowed to degenerate into a mere jingle, is of less common occurrence in Greek than in English, notably early English, literature. It was, however, occasionally employed by both poets and dramatists. Euripides, for instance, in the 'Cyclops' (l. 120)

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* Book ii. c. 11.

† Eighteenth Century Literature, vol. vi. p. 331.

makes use of the following expression, which would serve as a good motto for an Anarchist club, *ἀκούει δ' οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδενός*. Clytemnestra, also, in speaking of the murder of her husband ('Ag.' 1551–52) says:

'πρὸς ἡμῶν
κάπτεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν.' *

That Greek alliteration is capable of imitation is shown by Pope's translation of the well-known line†

'πολλὰ δ' ἄνακτα κάταντα πάραντά τε δόχμιά τ' ἦλθον·'

'O'er hills, o'er dales, o'er crags, o'er rocks, they go.'

Pope at times brought alliteration to his aid in cases where no such device had been adopted by Homer, as when, in desscribing the labours of Sisyphus,‡ he wrote:

'With many a weary step, and many a groan,
Up the high hill he heaves a huge round stone.'

On the whole, although a good deal more than is contained in this article may be said on either side, it would appear that, broadly speaking, Dryden's principle holds good for prose translations, and that experience has shown, in respect to translations in verse, that, save in rare instances, a resort to paraphrase is necessary. The writer ventures, in conclusion to give two instances, in one of which there has been comparatively but slight departure from the text of the original Greek, whilst in the other there has been greater indulgence in paraphrase. Both are taken from the Anthology. The first is an epitaph on a shipwrecked sailor by an unknown author:

'ναυτίλε, μὴ πεύθου τίνος ἐνθάδε τύμβος ὅδ' εἰμί,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πόντου τύγχανε χρηστοτέρου.'

'No matter who I was; but may the sea
To you prove kindlier than it was to me.'

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* 'By us he fell, he died, and we will bury him.'
† Il. xxiii. 116.
‡ Od. xi. 733.

The other is by Macedonius:

'Αΰριον ἀθρήσω σε· τὸ δ' οὔ ποτε γίνεται ἡμῖν
ἡθάδος ἀμβολίης αἰὲν ἀεξομένης·
ταῦτά μοι ἱμείροντι χαρίζεαι, ἄλλα δ' ἐς ἄλλους
δῶρα φέρεις, ἐμέθεν πίστιν ἀπειπαμένη.
Οψομαι ἑσπερίη σε. τί δ' ἕσπερός ἐστι γυναικῶν;
γῆρας ἀμετρήτῳ πληθόμενον ῥυτίδι.'

'Ever "To-morrow" thou dost say;
When will to-morrow's sun arise?
Thus custom ratifies delay;
My faithfulness thou dost despise.
Others are welcomed, whilst to me
"At even come," thou say'st, "not now."
What will life's evening bring to thee?
Old age—a many-wrinkled brow.'

Dryden's well-known lines in 'Aurengzebe' embody the idea of Macedonius in epigrammatic and felicitous verse:

'Trust on, and think to-morrow will repay,
To-morrow's falser than the former day.'

CROMER.

GREEK PROSE ROMANCES

An Æthiopian History, written in Greek by Heliodorus. Englished by THOMAS UNDERDOWNE, Anno 1587. With an Introduction by CHARLES WHIBLEY. Tudor Translations. 1895.

PLUTARCH has described how at Carrhae (53 B.C.) the Parthian Surena vanquished the Romans; how he slew Crassus; how as victor he entered Seleucia in mock triumph, followed by 'all the strumpets and women Minstrels' of the city, 'who went singing songs of mockery and derision 'of *Crassus* womannish cowardlinesse'; how

'*Surena*, having called the Senate of Seleucia together, laid before them *Aristides* bookes of ribaldry, intituled "*The Milesians*," which was no fable, for they were found in a Romane's fardle or trusse called *Rustius*. This gave *Surena* great cause to scorne and despise the behaviour of the Romanes, which was so far out of order, that even in the warres they could not refraine from doing evill and from the reading of such vile bookes.'

So Sir Thomas North translates a famous passage in 'The 'Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans.' The story shows with what contempt, in the last years of the Roman Republic, a virile people regarded the fashionable occupation of novel-reading. Two centuries later, the Emperor Severus could find nothing worse to say of his defeated rival Albinus than that he had grown grey in the study of such old-wives' trifles as the Milesian tales. Something of the same feeling has survived the improvement in the character of modern prose romance. To-day, no soldier would be disgraced by carrying a work of fiction in his knapsack, and all the world now reads novels. Yet there are still Surenas who condemn, at least for others, the profitless study of prose fiction.

Every country, at every stage of history, has had its popular tales of wonder, told by all sorts and conditions of men. Such a story, for instance, as that of the 'Two Brothers,' written 3000 years ago by the Egyptian Enna, has all the sincerity of a legend of the people, caught from the lips of living peasants, and preserved in a literary form. In such tales *Graecia mendax* was rich. Of fables, apologues, and allegories, she had her stores. But the deliberate composition of prose

fiction for popular entertainment was a late growth, which, in the case of Greece, accompanied the degeneracy of her literature. It is not difficult to suggest some reasons for this slow development. In the days of their glory, the crowded life of the Greek States left little space for leisure or for privacy. No need was felt for other distractions than those which the State supplied. Public orations, public readings, public disputations, public games, public festivals, absorbed men's energies. It was not that imagination was starved by its exclusion from the field of prose romance. Rather it was inspired from different sources, and adopted modes of expression more suited to existing conditions. Its highest thoughts flowed naturally into verse. In scenic representations it found the most direct means of communication. It was warmed by the clear flame of the passion for liberty. It was fed by an all-pervading mythology, which implanted a wholesome fear of the Gods, peopled the elements with Nature-spirits, surrounded hearth and home with superhuman beings and spirits of the human dead. Nor was the material for social romance in ancient Greece either rich or varied. Domestic slavery moulded society into too monotonous a shape to admit of much diversity of form or colour, and the women of the home occupied too inferior a position to allow full play to the passion, adventures, and stratagems of love.

A state of society that afforded scope for the new comedy of Menander might well have fostered a taste for the novel of domestic life. But if any prose picture of manners and customs was painted through the medium of imaginary actors in a love intrigue, it has entirely disappeared. Probably the taste for romance was diverted into other directions by contemporary events. The conquests of Alexander the Great, for instance, powerfully stimulated a new passion for adventure, and a new curiosity about remote peoples and unknown lands, which created semi-fabulous geographies and histories of Persia and India. At the same time, the extension of their Empire brought the Greeks into contact with Oriental countries. It made them familiar with Eastern tales of magic and sorcery, of demons and genii. It added new worlds of wonder to the more native tales of transformations of men into animals or of animals into men, of which, in the second century before Christ, at least two collections already existed.

As the Christian era was approached and passed, conditions became more favourable to the growth of prose fiction. Poetry throve best when the national spirit rose highest. It was otherwise with the development of the Greek novel. Roman rule gave to the world a semblance of political cohesion; but it crushed national liberty, or only preserved its forms. Before B.C. 30 Athens had been humiliated, the Macedonian monarchy destroyed, Asiatic Greece mastered. With the loss of political influence disappeared some of the living activities of the Greek people. Rhetoricians and sophists usurped the honours of poets and politicians. Under a suspicious government the path of safety lay in frivolity. Society grew more leisured, luxurious, licentious. The old religion lost its hold upon the learned. For them, it ceased to be a creed or moral sanction, and degenerated into an antiquarian taste or a superstitious regard for omens and divinations. Scepticism and credulity went hand in hand. Wild tales of ghosts, vampyres, *succubi*, demons, and 'incredible natures' * were the beliefs of the ignorant, and, in the presence of mysteries of the unknown, even the learned suspended the exercise of their critical faculties. Life was still crowded with cult, ritual, ceremonial. But the chaos of religions grew more and more bewildering, as the old Pantheon was invaded by foreign divinities. Philosophy was degraded into the handmaid of the new worships, occupied in dignifying their mystic teaching or in tracing unity through their diversities. The highest minds or strongest characters might be captivated by the Stoic ideal. But the man in the street found its moral standard unattainable, because it threw him back upon himself. What he craved was some power, some authority, some certainty, outside and above the weakness of his own nature. Herein lay the gathering strength of Christianity. Meanwhile, the biography of Apollonius of Tyana illustrates the depths of credulity into which the human mind had sunk, just as the work of Lucian, who turns into the keenest ridicule every religious creed or philosophical system, indicates the collapse of guiding principles or central purposes in life.

* A collection of these tales was made by Phlegon, the Lydian freedman of the Emperor Hadrian. Another collection was made by Damascius two centuries later. The work is lost. But a table of its contents is given by Photius.

It was under these conditions, and out of these ingredients, that a new form of prose literature was developed. None of the early writers of Greek fiction, with the possible exception of Diogenes, are natives of European Greece. Aristides was a Milesian, Heliodorus a Phoenician, Achilles Tatius an Alexandrian, Eumathius a Byzantine; Cyprus, Antioch, or Ephesus gave birth to the three Xenophons; Iamblichus and Lucian were Syrians. If anything is certain about Longus, it is that his name is not Greek. The impulse came from the cities and islands of Asia Minor and from Egypt. Ionia, highly civilised, indolent, luxurious, pleasure-loving, valuing comfort above freedom, understanding liberty only as the absence of restraint, took the lead in the creation of prose fiction. In Miletus, or in Lesbos, the love-intrigue centred round the courtesan. Was not Aspasia a Milesian? To the same city belonged Rhodopis, more legendary but scarcely less famous, who built a pyramid by making each of her lovers contribute a stone, was raised by the loss of her slipper to the throne of Egypt, and by her wiles, in the romance 'Theagenes and Chariclea,' almost overcame the austere virtue of the high-priest of Memphis. But from Egypt came a different conception, which, as years passed, was most powerfully seconded by Christianity. In Egypt female influence, for good or evil, was powerful. Honoured in the State, venerated in the family, women, free and unveiled, held a position similar to that which they occupy in Modern Europe. The love of a man for a woman, whom he aspires to make his wife, becomes the recurring *motif* of early romances of adventure.

It is to the last century before Christ, and the first two centuries of the Christian era, that the development of prose romance probably belongs. Within that period appear three distinct forms of fiction: the imaginary journey, with its incredible histories of fabulous countries and peoples; the romance of adventure and love-intrigue, with its succession of improbable escapes from the machinations of jealous rivals, from pirates, banditti, and shipwreck; the pastoral romance, with its soft and sensuous pictures of Arcadian felicity and primeval innocence. Each type, in its different way, offered a temporary escape from the realities of a life which was full at once of terror and despair.

Miletus has given its name to a special kind of short narrative,

generally of an amatory character, which reached its highest flight in the beautiful story of 'Cupid and Psyche,' told by Apuleius as a 'Milesian tale.' No vestige remains of the 'Milesian Tales' by Aristides. Both in its Greek original and in the Latin translation of Sisenna, the collection has so completely disappeared that it is even uncertain whether the stories were written in prose or verse. The work probably belonged to the not uncommon type of histories of towns, in which mythological tales of their fabled founders were mingled with stories of the lives and adventures of their inhabitants. Something of their character may be preserved in the collections of Parthenius of Nicaea and of Conon. Both writers seem to have flourished in the latter days of the Roman Republic and the early years of the Roman Empire. The manuscript of Parthenius was one of the spoils of Napoleon which was restored to the Vatican Library. But the work of Conon only survives in the 'Bibliotheca Greca' of Photius.*

Parthenius, who is said to have taught Virgil the Greek language, collected abstracts of thirty-six love-stories. Twenty-five are gathered from poets, or from the historians, some apocryphal, of Troy, Pallene, Naxos, Miletus, Sicily, Lydia, or Bithynia, whom he cites as his authorities; the remaining eleven are given without any reference to the sources from which they are derived. Told in the baldest outline, the stories have lost whatever amorous detail, graceful embroidery, and warmth of colour they may have possessed in their original form. The fate of 'Leucone,' also narrated by Plutarch, may illustrate the general character of the work.

'In Thessaly there lived a maiden of the rarest beauty, named Leucone. She was loved by Cyanippe, son of Pharax, who pleaded his suit to her parents, and won her hand. Passionately devoted to the chase, Cyanippe passed all his days on the mountains, hunting hares and wild boars. At night he returned to his young wife,

* Soldier, administrator, diplomatist, and eventually ecclesiastic, Photius was also a man of letters. Before he was elected Patriarch of Constantinople (857 A.D.), he had been employed on a mission in Assyria. Thence he sent to Tarasius the summaries of the 279 books which he had read, together with comments on their style and construction, which are generally quoted as his Greek Library. The work is interesting as the first bibliographical and critical journal; it is also valuable for its preservation, in outline, of several books which have perished in any other form.

so overcome with weariness that often, before he had spoken to her a single word, he would fall into the deepest slumber. Tormented with disappointment and jealousy, Leucone became a prey to the most cruel anxieties. She set herself to discover the secret of the charm which drew Cyanippe to the mountains and thus kept him from her side. Girding her robe to the knees, she escaped from her women, and plunged into the woods. Cyanippe's hounds were hunting a stag. Heated and excited by the fury of the chase, they no sooner scented the young woman than they flew at her. No one was near to beat them off: in a few seconds she was torn to pieces. When Cyanippe came up, Leucone was a mangled corpse. Overwhelmed with grief, he summoned his slaves by his cries, bade them build an altar of wood, laid upon it the lifeless body of his young wife, offered up his hounds as a sacrifice upon the pyre, and then with one and the same stroke ended both his grief and his life.'

No manuscript of Conon's collection survives, but fifty of his abstracts have been preserved by Photius. Most of the tales are mythological, and do not illustrate human life, passion, or character. One of the narratives has, however, been adapted by Cervantes, though it seems more probable that he derived the story from the 'Golden Legend,' where it also appears, than from Conon. The stratagem of the fraudulent banker (No. 38) is discovered in Conon by accident, in 'Don Quixote' by the native shrewdness of Sancho Panza. A Milesian, fearing the sack of Miletus by Cyrus the Persian, entrusted his treasure to a banker at Tauromenium. His fears allayed, he sought the restoration of his money. The banker admitted the deposit, but asserted that he had returned it to the owner. The dispute came to trial. Before the tribunal, plaintiff and defendant stood side by side, the banker leaning on a hollow staff, in which he had concealed the treasure. When called on to support his assertion by a solemn oath, he gave the staff to the Milesian to hold, while, with both hands uplifted, he swore that he had restored the money to its owner. Furious at the banker's treachery, the Milesian struck the stick violently on the ground. It broke in two and the fraud was discovered. In 'Don Quixote' Sancho Panza himself discovers the trick, having, as he says with a deft touch of characteristic frankness, once heard a story of a similar stratagem.

It is as a Milesian tale that Apuleius gives his Latin version of the 'Golden Ass.' In the Greek form, in which the 'Luciad,

' or the Ass ' has also survived, the story is a literary masterpiece. Two of the characteristics usually attributed to the Milesian tales are certainly prominent: it is short, and in certain passages amazingly indecent.

The ' Luciad ' is not only a curious relic of the past. It is also true literature. None of the Greek prose romances can compare with it for the spirit and terseness of the narration. The story, told in the first person as the real experience of one Lucius of Patras, turns on one of those metamorphoses of which Greek writers before the Christian era had already collected instances. An eager student of magic, Lucius journeys to Thessaly, then the Mecca of the Black Arts. He intended to change himself into a bird; the use of the wrong philtre transforms him into an ass. He knows that a meal on roses will break the charm. But he learns to his cost that roses do not strew the path of beasts of burden. At midnight, as he is lamenting his folly with brays instead of groans, robbers break through the wall of his stable, load him with their booty, and drive him off into the mountains. Thus begin his surprising adventures. Ass though he is to outward view, his mind remains human. He has neither, as he learns by experience, the thick hide of the animal nor its stomach. Yet, in the end, it is his human appetites which restore him to the comforts of life and the shape of a man. Passing from buyer to buyer, he falls into the hands of two slaves who are cooks to a wealthy Thessalonian. He fattens on the choice food which they prepare and he steals. At last he is caught in the act of dining by the master of the house. Vastly amused at the tastes of the four-footed epicure, the master orders the animal to be supplied with fish, meat, pastry, and wine. The fame of the ass's gastronomic performances spreads so far, that the master determines to exhibit him at the public games at Thessalonica in the company of a condemned female prisoner. In the middle of the theatre a sumptuous banquet is served to the ass and his companion as they recline together on a gorgeous couch of tortoiseshell inlaid with gold. An attendant passes by, bearing garlands and crowns of roses. The ass seizes his opportunity and the flowers. With each rose that he devours something of his animal form slips off him, till he stands forth in the crowded theatre, no longer an ass, but Lucius of Patras, naked as when he was born.

Whoever the writer was, he is a natural story-teller. Apart from its literary merits, the 'Luciad' possesses an interest which scarcely belongs in the same degree to any other prose work of Greek fiction. It gives a lively picture of the times. The central idea is grotesquely impossible; but in detail the sketches of private life are accurate, and the general impressions true. We see the tremendous gap between wealth and poverty, the contrast between the extravagant luxury of the rich, or the substantial comfort of the well-to-do middle class, and the grinding poverty of the hard-working market-gardener. We see also the insecurity of life and property produced by the apathy of the government, the licence of the soldiery, the audacity of brigands; the misery of slaves liable to torture on the slightest suspicion or to cruel punishments for trifling faults; the religious impostures of the strolling charlatans, who carried into remote villages the image of the Syrian goddess Cybele, and, dripping with blood from self-inflicted wounds, with wild music and frenzied dance, preyed on the superstitious piety of rustics; the deep-seated moral corruption which could even tolerate the idea of such an exhibition of the ass and the female prisoner as was contemplated in the theatre of Thessalonica.

The 'Luciad' probably belongs to the second century of the Christian era. Its authorship is disputed. Photius tells us that he had read the 'Metamorphoses' of Lucius, and that the first two books are either copied from Lucian's 'Luciad' or copied by Lucian from Lucius. He suggests that Lucian stripped off all the unnecessary digressions and embellishments of Lucius, and produced the 'Luciad'—as a sculptor chisels a perfect statue from a misshapen block. The theory is not convincing. It is less characteristic of Lucian's genius and professional training to abridge than to expand, and the task of condensing another's composition seems unnatural to a writer so fertile of invention. It is, moreover, uncertain that Lucian ever wrote the 'Luciad,' which sometimes passes under his name. Two facts seem to be established by the note of Photius. One is that, in its Greek form, Lucius's longer work on 'Metamorphoses' has perished; the other is that the first two books of that lost work were practically identical with the existing 'Luciad.' Equally uncertain is the relation of the Greek 'Luciad' to the Latin 'Golden Ass.'

Which was the copyist—Lucius, Lucian, or Apuleius? Possibly Apuleius had before him the lost 'Metamorphoses' of Lucius. Himself an African, Apuleius connects the story with the worship of the Egyptian Isis. In the 'Golden Ass' it is by the intervention of the goddess that a human form is restored to Lucius, who in gratitude becomes her votary and is initiated into the mysteries of her worship. Apuleius describes his work as a collection of fables, thrown together into the form of a Milesian tale, an 'Egyptian papyrus, on 'which has fallen a drop from the waters of the Nile.' He even indicates the point at which he parts company from his original. In the person of Lucius of Patras, or rather of Corinth, he tells the story of his transformation and the recovery of his human form. Subsequently he speaks of Lucius as a native of Madaura, his own birthplace. Thenceforward it is his own life that he describes—his visit to Rome and his initiation into the mysteries of Isis.

To the same period as the 'Luciad' probably belongs the 'Daphnis and Chloe' of Longus. Nothing is known about the author. His name, his nationality, the date at which he wrote, are all uncertain. Photius makes no mention of the book. But it would be rash to conclude from his silence that the story was written after 857 A.D. In the literary world of the decaying Empire of the East, among clumsy pedants neglectful of style and careless of form, the studied elegance of an artificial exquisite like 'Daphnis and Chloe' would have been singularly out of place. Amyot's famous translation of the work concealed its true character from readers who only knew it in the French version. In the original Greek there is nothing artless except the simplicity of the subject. The innocence of two young people of opposite sexes, conscious of the awakening of mutual love yet ignorant of the full purpose of their feelings, veils the perfection of the art with which the picture is finished. Every literary device is freely employed to heighten the effect; every word is fastidiously chosen to convey with the utmost precision the most delicate shades of meaning; every epithet is added with deliberate intention. The sentences are elaborately constructed, not only to express the sense with clearness, but to gratify the ear with the sweetness of their cadence. With remarkable skill the sense of the tranquillity of country life is impressed

upon the reader. No changes seem to mark the passage of Daphnis and Chloe from childhood to youth, except the regular succession of the seasons and the recurrence of the labours appropriate to spring and summer, autumn and winter. Rarely has so much artifice been lavished on so primitive a theme. Its very simplicity becomes a kind of luxury, and its charm is the charm not of natural grace but of finished coquetry.

The scene of the story is laid in Lesbos, in the neighbourhood of Mitylene. But it is impossible that the writer was a native of an island where winter, which he describes as early and severe, is unknown. The roads are blocked with snow; except on the banks of rivers and by the margins of streams, the earth is invisible. Peasants, confined to their cottages, ply their winter tasks by blazing fires. The live-stock are brought under cover; oxen are fed with chaff in the stalls, sheep with leaves in the folds, pigs with acorns in the sties. It might be plausibly suggested that the author was some sophist of Alexandria—some skilful student of the niceties of the Greek language, such as were many of the scholars who haunted the famous library, under whose shadow, in that busy hive of industry and learning, the weavers, paper-makers, glass-blowers, and metal-workers plied their various trades. If this were so, Alexandria might claim a share in the development of pastorals both in prose and verse. Theocritus, who sang of the Sicilian shepherds, as they pastured their flocks on the slopes of Etna, or sheltered from the noonday heat by the side of some shady spring, spent many years of his life at Alexandria. As he was the father of pastoral verse, so the unknown Longus is the father of the pastoral romance in prose.

'Daphnis and Chloe' is free from the affectations, the wearisome digressions, and many of the unrealities that are the usual defects of pastoral romance. On the other hand, it cannot escape the charge of indecency. It is pagan in its depravity. Nor does it altogether avoid the insipidity and monotony that seem inseparable from this style of composition. It is in its vivid descriptions of country scenes and of rural life, manners, and occupations, that its chief attraction lies. The picture is highly idealised; but, in detail, graphic touches abound which are true to nature. The popularity of prose pastorals underwent so many changes, that it is difficult to estimate the influence which the book exercised on their

development. Though the Greek text remained unprinted till 1598, the French version of Amyot appeared in 1559, and the translation into Latin verse by Gambara in 1569. It may therefore, so far as dates are concerned, have influenced not only the 'Diana' of Montemayor and the 'Astraea' of D'Urfé, but the dramatic pastoral of Tasso. The taste of the seventeenth century travelled in other directions than that of its predecessor. But the eighteenth century witnessed a strong reaction in favour of pastoral romance. The story charmed men of such different minds as Rousseau and Goethe. Goethe indeed says that he read and re-read the book without ever exhausting its beauties. It was the model of Marmontel's 'Annette et Lubin,' of Gesner's 'Idylls,' and, above all, of 'Paul et Virginie' (1788). Longus and Bernardin de St. Pierre belong to two different worlds, and lived under different moral orders; but the theme of both books is alike. It is the awakening of love in the hearts of two young people, though the earlier book describes the growth of the senses rather than of affection. Both pairs of lovers remain pure; but the first is unmoral, the other moral. The innocence of Daphnis and Chloe depends solely on youthful inexperience; it is safeguarded only by ignorance; they are unconscious rather than modest. The purity of Paul and Virginia rests on the restraint of virtue, and is protected by the Christian ideal of chastity.

No imitator of the 'Luciad' has survived. All could pillage, none could imitate, 'Daphnis and Chloe.' Prose fiction turned aside from the composition of pastorals or the presentation of popular fables in the form of Milesian tales. Novelists changed geography and history into romance by weaving love stories into narratives of imaginary travels or adventures. To the first of these classes belongs the 'Tales of the Incredible Things 'beyond Thule' of Antonius Diogenes; to the second the 'Babylonica' of Iamblichus. No manuscript of either work has survived; they are only preserved in the summaries of Photius. The dates at which the authors lived and wrote are uncertain. Photius, who held that the 'Incredible Things 'beyond Thule' was written shortly after the death of Alexander the Great, regards Diogenes as the father of prose fiction. Modern critics doubt whether he or Iamblichus wrote before the middle of the second century of the Christian era.

The imaginary travels of Diogenes are inspired, partly

by the 'Odyssey,' partly by ancient geographies. Aulus Gellius (fl. 150 A.D.), travelling from Athens to Rome, landed at Brundusium, where he bought a collection of these semi-fabulous works from which some of the materials of Diogenes are derived. There is a quaintly modern touch about the incident. It is as though some traveller of to-day, to relieve the monotony of the journey, had purchased a shilling 'shocker' at a railway bookstall. Yet no writer of the twentieth century could take more elaborate pains than Diogenes to pass off his fictions as truth. He does not rely on realism. The means which he adopts are more mechanical. He carefully 'documents' each chapter by references to authorities, many of them apocryphal, or supports his wildest fictions by the evidence of tradition, which he claims to have collected at great expense. It is this class of descriptive literature, with its ostentatious pretensions to accuracy, in which he irreverently includes the work of Herodotus, that Lucian burlesques in his 'True Journey.' Unlike Diogenes, and his chief authority, Ctesias, Lucian begins his book by asking his readers not to believe a word of the contents. 'In 'warning them,' he says, 'that I am not going to speak the 'truth, I shall at least have spoken the truth once.' Not for the last time, the parody, especially in the second book, surpasses its originals in wit and invention. Immortalised by the imitation of Rabelais, it has afforded a model to Cyrano de Bergerac, Swift, and Voltaire.

Early romancers felt the difficulty of creating an audience. The author of the 'Luciad,' in modern style, addresses the world at large. Longus professes to explain a picture by the story of 'Daphnis and Chloe.' Heliodorus tells a great part of 'Theagenes and Chariclea' by means of speeches from one actor to another. Achilles Tatius, in 'Clitophon 'and Leucippe,' seizes on a bystander, to whom the tale is told. Diogenes makes Dinias, the Ulysses of his imaginary journey, narrate his adventures to Cambas, the Arcadian legate, and instructs him to have them inscribed on tablets of cypress-wood. The tablets, buried in the tomb of Dercyllis, the wife of Dinias, were discovered by Alexander the Great at the capture of Tyre. So the story is brought to light. An Arcadian by birth, Dinias left his native land in pursuit of knowledge of men and things. He reaches Thule, where he finds Dercyllis, a young Tyrian maiden of noble birth, who with

her brother was dwelling on the island. She describes to him her flight from Tyre to escape the persecution of an Egyptian priest; her visit to the nether world; her encounter with Astraeus; his stories of Pythagoras—which are accepted as truths in the biographies of that philosopher; her pursuit and capture by the Egyptian; his spell by which she is robbed of life by day and restored at night; his violent death and the breaking of his enchantment. Then Dinias takes up the story in his own person. After telling Cambas of the return of Dercyllis to Tyre, he recounts his own adventures beyond Thule; what astronomical wonders he had witnessed; how, as he neared the farthest North, all the mysteries of the moon stood revealed; and how, finally, he awoke from deep sleep to find himself in the Temple of Hercules at Tyre, where he married Dercyllis and lived a long and happy life.

Among extant writers, Diogenes is the parent of the prose romance of imaginary travels. Iamblichus is similarly the ancestor of prose romances of adventures which, however improbable, are generally possible. The one turns geography, the other history, into romantic fiction. The 'Babylonica' of the Syrian Iamblichus is gloomy in tone and Eastern in colouring. It is the story of two lovers, Rhodanes and Sinonis. Garmus, the widowed King of Babylon, desired Sinonis as his wife. Because she rejects his suit, he causes her to be fettered with chains of gold, and his rival, Rhodanes, to be bound to a cross. Sinonis rescues her lover and the two take flight together. Pursued by the emissaries of Garmus, they pass through innumerable adventures and make many hairbreadth escapes. Finally Rhodanes is chosen King of Babylonia in the room of Garmus, and shares his throne with Sinonis.

The story is cast in the mould of the romances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which the hero overcomes all obstacles, weds a beauteous princess, and wins a kingdom or an empire. Existing, as it does, only in a summary, no literary talent is likely to be revealed except ingenuity of invention. Judged by this test, Iamblichus was at least resourceful in inventing details. Many of the stock devices of subsequent romancers appear, seemingly for the first time, in his pages. Here, for instance, we find the rout of the pursuing soldiers by a swarm of poisonous bees; the unintentional release of the heroine from prison by the

proclamation of a general gaol-delivery; the substitution of a sleeping-potion for poison and of death-like slumber for real death; the discovery by a dog of the buried corpse of the murdered Trophima; the false inscription on the tomb which induces belief that Sinonis is dead.

It was in the direction of the 'Babylonica,' and of the romance of adventure, that prose fiction subsequently developed. Like the authors of the 'Luciad' and 'Daphnis and 'Chloe,' Diogenes had no immediate followers. Many trod in the steps of Iamblichus. Between the second century and Heliodorus, who wrote towards the end of the fourth century, a long gap intervenes. Possibly the interval was filled by the 'Habrocomas and Anthia' of Xenophon of Ephesus. The prominence of unnatural passion in that story seems to suggest that it preceded the general spread of Christianity, and the elaborate description of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, which was burnt in 263 A.D., hints an approximate date. The story is too trivial to make the point important. But if the suggestion is accepted, 'Habrocomas and Anthia' is the earliest romance of adventure of which the manuscript is known to exist. Whether Xenophon wrote before or after Heliodorus may be a question; but of the latter's superiority there is no doubt. Heliodorus is the true father of the romance of adventure. By common consent, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, his 'Theagenes and Chariclea' was regarded as the masterpiece of Greek prose fiction.

Heliodorus, by birth a Phoenician, apparently wrote in the reign of Theodosius the Great. Ecclesiastical tradition makes him a Christian, and Bishop of Tricca, or Triccala, in Thessaly. A later legend asserts that, bidden to repudiate his love-story or resign his episcopal office, he chose to sacrifice his bishopric. Montaigne, and Burton, and Boileau have lent to the story the weight of their authority, and the case of Home, expelled from the Scottish ministry for writing 'a stage play entitled 'the "Tragedy of Douglas,"' affords a literary parallel. But the legend is improbable. Were it true, the Church in later times made Heliodorus some amends. Amyot, Bishop of Auxerre, first made 'Theogenes and Chariclea' known to the Western world in a modern language, and the translation of a book which cost the author a bishopric was rewarded with an abbey. Another French bishop, Huet, Bishop of Avranches,

in the seventeenth century prefaced the 'Zaïde' of Mme. de la Fayette with the first critical account of early romances, in which he praises Heliodorus as the model of all subsequent novelists.

The preservation of the manuscript of Heliodorus is itself romantic, for it was saved by a German mercenary from the destruction of the famous library of Matthias Corvinus during the sack of Buda. Printed in the original Greek in 1534, it was translated into Latin, seventeen years later, by a learned Pole. It is on this Latin version, rather than on the Greek original, that Thomas Underdowne founded his picturesque, racy, inaccurate translation into English, which first appeared in 1569. The rediscovered book took the literary world by storm. Fourteen translations and editions appeared in the sixteenth century alone. Shakespeare did not disdain to allude to an incident in the story. From it Tasso and Mademoiselle de Scudéri borrowed episodes or models. It so fascinated Racine, a youthful student at Port Royal, that when his grave preceptors thrice threw his copies into the fire, he made himself for the future independent of such confiscations by printing the book on his own memory.

In true heroic fashion, Heliodorus plunges into the middle of his story. The opening passage, rendered by an Elizabethan poetaster, Abraham Fraunce, into wretched hexameters, introduces the hero and heroine. At early dawn, a band of freebooters climb the brow of a hill, which slopes towards the sea near one of the mouths of the Nile. Below them rides a ship, moored by stern-cables to the land, laden waist-deep with merchandise. On deck no sign of life appears. But the shore is strewn with dead and dying men, and the remains of an interrupted feast. The pirates hurry down to seize their booty. As they draw near they see, seated on the rocks, a maiden of surpassing beauty, her fair hair crowned with a wreath of laurel, clad in a gold-embroidered robe, a bow at her side, a quiver on her shoulder. Her right arm hangs idly down; her left hand, the elbow resting on her knee, supports her cheek as she gazes intently on a young man, who lies at her feet, bleeding and sorely wounded. She rises to her full height. Astounded at her beauty, the pirates cower behind the bushes, fearing that in her they beheld the goddess who had caused the slaughter. But when she stoops down, raises the young

man's head, kisses his lips, and wipes the blood from his face, their fears vanish. The embrace, the action, were human in their tenderness. They rush forward, and the hero and heroine, Theagenes and Chariclea, are prisoners in the hands of pirates. Who they are, whence they came, why they alone survive a bloody fray, what subsequent adventures they encounter, are told in the romance.

In 'Theagenes and Chariclea' neither places nor persons are treated individually. The romance belongs to no particular age or country. The Athens of Heliodorus is neither free nor conquered. His Egypt is the Egypt neither of the Pharaohs, nor of the Ptolemies, nor of the Romans. He attempts no picture of the mind; he does not even use action to develop the different motives and impulses of his actors. Like all early novelists he relies for the interest of his romance upon adventures. Capture and recapture by pirates and soldiers are again and again repeated; peril is piled on peril, escape on escape. By plunging *in medias res* he succeeds in arresting attention. But he creates for himself the difficulty of introducing the previous history of the hero and heroine. He meets it by employing a third person, in the fashion of a tragic Chorus, who narrates to a casual acquaintance events of which his own knowledge is often only second-hand. Though the main thread of the plot is firmly held, and more than one of the incidents is striking, the mechanical art of constructing a story was evidently still in its infancy. No modern craftsman would have so weakened the dramatic effect of the conclusion by the premature disclosure of its secret. Prisoners in the hands of the Ethiopians, Theagenes and Chariclea, on the plain outside 'sun-burnt Meroë,' in the presence of King Hydaspes and Queen Persina, are about to be sacrificed to the Sun and Moon. Only victims who have preserved their purity are accepted as offerings. Both hero and heroine have triumphed over the ordeal of fire which tests their chastity. No way of escape appears. But the reader knows throughout that Chariclea has only to declare her parentage and receive the highest honours. For nine years Queen Persina had borne no child to her husband, Hydaspes, King of Ethiopia. At length she conceived. In the royal bedchamber, the Queen's eyes were always fixed upon a picture of Andromeda, fair and white as are Grecian maidens, rescued by Perseus from the monster.

When the child was born, she was fair and white as Andromeda herself. Persina was terrified lest King Hydaspes should deem the cause inadequate to the effect. Dreading her own fate and that of her offspring, 'the woful Queene of Black-'moreland,' as Lisle calls her in his version of 'The Faire 'Ethiopian' (1638), determined to expose the infant and to tell the King that his daughter was dead. But to secure kind treatment for the deserted child she placed with her jewels of great price, and round her body bound a silken fillet on which was written in royal or hieratic characters the story of her birth. The child is, of course, Chariclea.

Heliodorus writes like a learned recluse, dependent on the stage for his knowledge of human nature, and in his style reminiscent of earlier poets and historians. It might be suggested that in Calasiris he has portrayed himself. A Mr. Barlow of the fourth century, he is always ready to improve the occasion, or to supply explanations of such phenomena as the inundations of the Nile or the roughness of the Ionian Sea, constantly quoting Homer, of whose Egyptian birth he is as zealous a champion as was any Highlander of the authenticity of Ossian. No distinctively Christian sentiments appear. But the moral tone is uniformly high, and the whole story is in praise of chastity for men as well as women.

In moral tone the 'Clitophon and Leucippe' of Achilles Tatius, a native of Alexandria, who in date and merit is generally placed next to Heliodorus, is inferior to 'Theagenes 'and Chariclea.' Like his predecessor, Tatius is said to have become a Christian and a bishop. If the legend is true, he was still unregenerate when he wrote his romance. Though virtue finally triumphs, the book is pervaded with traces of some of the worst vices of paganism. In many respects Tatius does not suffer from comparison with Heliodorus. His story is shorter, his style more vivid, his narrative, during the first five books, more brisk. His conclusion is less dramatic. His opening is also more awkward. Yet, having once provided his hero with a listener, his autobiographical method of telling the story is more lively than the second-hand narrative of previous events which Heliodorus so largely employs. The supposed writer is a stranger sight-seeing in Sidon. He is fascinated by a picture in one of the temples. A bull, swimming out to sea from the Sidonian shore, bears on his back a maiden.

It is Jove carrying off Europa. Round him, as he swims, Loves sport and dolphins gambol. With fluttering wings, Cupid himself leads the way, torch in hand—Cupid in the guise of a child, with back-turned head, laughing mischievously at Jove, as though mocking him because, for his sake, the Great God has assumed the form of a bull. As the sight-seeing stranger stands before the picture, he murmurs to himself aloud 'How marvellously doth a puny child lord it over 'heaven and earth and sea!' An unknown bystander, who proves to be Clitophon, overhears the half-spoken thought, and, in illustration of the text, without break or pause, tells him the love-tale of himself and Leucippe.

'Clitophon and Leucippe' proceeds on the usual lines of the romance of adventure. Shipwrecks, captures by pirates, rescues and escapes are strung to the thread of the identity of the principal actors. As in all Greek novels, the hero is inferior to the heroine. Theagenes is more insipid than Edward Waverley; Clitophon is not only a mere animal but a coward. On the other hand, Chariclea shows both firmness and presence of mind, while Leucippe, though a gentler figure than the fair Ethiopian, supports her misfortunes with patience and constancy. Another commonplace of Greek fiction is that the hero is passionately loved by all women, and the heroine by all men. Their fatal attractiveness breeds most of the mishaps into which they are plunged. In Cupid romancers possessed an instrument which the feeblest could employ. It only needed an arrow from his bow to create a fresh complication. But on Tatius it seems to have dawned that some less mechanical and more convincing process was needed, and he makes some effort to trace in Clitophon and Leucippe the stages in the growth of their mutual passion.

The romance of Heliodorus is heroic. We move through temples and palaces among high-priests, Oriental satraps, kings and queens: Chariclea is a princess, Theagenes a descendant of Achilles. 'Clitophon and Leucippe' introduces us to ordinary Greek citizens, in their villas, their gardens, and the routine of their luxurious social existence. Partly perhaps for this reason, the romance is less vague and more particular in its treatment of places and things. The picture of Alexandria, the birthplace of the author, for example,

has an historical value which is confirmed by modern excavations. Natural history was one of the studies pursued by the Alexandrian School, and Tatius gives spirited descriptions of the crocodile, hippopotamus, and elephant. It is true, however, that he assigns to the hippopotamus a cloven hoof, and describes the fabulous phoenix with all the confidence and realism of an eye-witness. Another feature in the romance suggests the influence of Alexandria. Distinguished as patrons and collectors of the fine arts, the Egyptian Ptolemies implanted in their subjects tastes which survived their rule. Of pictorial art Tatius shows a remarkable appreciation. Besides his vivid description of the picture at Sidon, he describes with true feeling two paintings at Pelusium, one representing Andromeda rescued by Perseus, the other Prometheus tortured by the vulture.

Both Heliodorus and Tatius, and especially the latter, were freely imitated, sometimes transcribed, by their successors. With one exception, the subsequent writers of Greek prose fiction show a progressive decline. Their work is that of copyists, and, like engravings struck from the same plate, the successive impressions grow fainter and feebler. The 'Chaereas and Callirrhoe' of Chariton of Aphrodisia, written about the fifth or sixth century, alone deserves to rank with its earlier rivals. Its neglect by Western Europe is probably due to the fact that the manuscript was not discovered till 1750. In simplicity of construction, and, assuming the extraordinary attractions of Callirrhoe, in probability of incidents, the story is inferior to no previous romance of adventure. It also contains the most satisfactory sketch of a man which is to be found in Greek prose fiction. The character of Dionysius, a wealthy and learned landowner, is well drawn and well maintained. He woos Callirrhoe like a gentleman, and, though she loves Chaereas, he wins her admiration. In its respect for chronology, 'Chaereas and Callirrhoe' makes another advance on its predecessors. Though the regard for history is little more than nominal, and though no attempt is made to reproduce the manners and customs of any particular century, it approaches nearer to the historical novel than any previous romance. The scene is Syracuse, and the date is shortly after the failure of the Athenians to conquer the city. The hero and heroine are imaginary persons; but the names

of the subordinate figures are those of contemporary actors in the history of the period. Thus the author, whose assumed name probably indicates the dedication of his pen to the Graces and to Venus, describes himself as secretary to Athenagoras the rhetorician, who played a real part in the defence of Syracuse. Callirrhoe is the daughter of Hermocrates, who was one of the actual heroes of the siege, and in history his daughter married a Dionysius. Chaereas is the son of Ariston, who was also one of the conspicuous defenders of the town. When the scene shifts to Persia, the author still consults the history of the times. The contemporary rulers of Persia, both in the novel and in real life, were Artaxerxes and his wife Statira.

Following closely on 'Chaereas and Callirrhoe' came a new type of prose fiction. 'Baarlam and Josaphat,' probably written by St. John of Damascus (676–754), was the ancestor of a long line of spiritual romances. Though, in its original form, it was far removed from the religious novel of later times, the book ought not to be entirely unnoticed. It is important, not only for its influence on the religion and literature of the Middle Ages, but for its adaptation of Buddhist legends. The early life of Josaphat is in fact the traditional youth of Buddha.

The powerful Eastern potentate Abenner was an idolater, and a persecutor of Christians. Childless, he passionately desired a son. When at length Josaphat was born to him, he consulted the wise men of his kingdom on his son's future. All, save one, foretold that the young prince would excel his ancestors in wealth and power and glory. One sage alone predicted that the boy would become a Christian, and that the only glories for which he was destined were those of heaven. To shield his son from knowledge of the miseries of life, Abenner lavishes all the resources of wealth and ingenuity. But Josaphat drives out, and, like Buddha, in his drives becomes acquainted with sickness, old age, and death. To Baarlam, a holy monk dwelling in the wilderness of Sennaar, comes the Divine command to attempt the conversion of Josaphat. Disguised as a merchant, he obtains audience of the young prince under the pretext of showing him a priceless gem. The jewel is the Gospel and the doctrines of the Christian faith. They are put before Josaphat in the series of beautiful apologues and parables on which the medieval

popularity of the romance mainly depended. Josaphat, embracing Christianity, is baptised by Baarlam, who forthwith returns to the desert. From that time forward Josaphat lives the ascetic life. Threats, arguments, temptations fail to shake his resolution; a timely vision of heaven and hell puts his most dangerous foe to flight: even the possession of a kingdom does not divert him from his purpose. When his father abdicates in his favour, he resigns the throne and seeks out Baarlam in his lonely cell. There he tends the last years of his master, there buries him, and there, thirty-five years later, finds his own last resting-place.

Through the grotesque machinery of the romance throbs the passion of conviction. For earthly love John of Damascus substitutes a love that is heavenly, for adventures the sufferings of martyrs; his story breathes, not the enjoyment of life's pleasures, but the rapture of their renunciation. He had no imitators among writers of Greek fiction. They still followed the lines of Heliodorus and Tatius.

The last, and certainly the most tiresome, of the prose romances of adventure is the 'Hysmene and Hysmenias' of Eumathius, probably written in the twelfth century. It would be charitable to suggest that the book is a dull burlesque of previous works. The exaggerated prominence of descriptions of paintings and of gardens, the capacity of the hero for falling asleep at critical moments, the detailed variety of dreams which follow a succession of heavy banquets, the affectation of confusing the plot by the similarity of names of actors and places, the part assigned to the heroine Hysmene, who makes love to the unwilling hero Hysmenias,—all these are consistent with an exaggerated burlesque of characteristics in earlier romances. If the book is not intended to be humorous, it is a dull imitation of Tatius and, in a less degree, of Heliodorus. Yet the sixteenth century took the romance seriously. One Italian translation and two French versions attest its popularity, and its influence may be faintly traced in the pastoral romance of the Spaniard Montemayor.

Greek writers of fiction themselves seemed to grow ashamed of their own work. Conscious of the need of some new attraction, they embellished with verse their faded and imitative finery:

Carmina non possunt Erebo deducere manes.

The barbarous verse in which the latest romances are written

had not the magical power to restore grey ashes to life. The 'Rhodanthe and Dosicles' of the Byzantine monk Theodore Prodromus, written in the thirteenth century, remained cold and insipid. 'Drosilla and Charicles' belongs to a still later period. Yet in this diffuse, imitative work of Nicetas Eugenianus two points of interest may be noticed. The first is the change in the legend of Charon. No longer the ferryman on the Styx, he is the dark horseman, who traverses the earth gathering his convoys for the nether world, carrying the children on his saddlebow, driving the young before him, and followed by the laggard steps of the aged. So Cleander meets him in the mountains, and implores him to reveal the doom of his beloved Calligone. The second point is the praise bestowed on Chagus, the Arab sheikh, as compassionate as he is brave, who restores to liberty the two captive Greeks. It is a tribute to the generosity and learning of the Khalifs of Bagdad, an unconscious recognition of the fact that the intellectual supremacy of the world in medicine and philosophy was passing from Greece to Arabian students.

Strictly speaking, versified romances do not belong to prose fiction. But it was in these barren sands that the mighty stream of the imaginative literature of Greece was arrested and lost. If it be asked how far the ancient prose romances affected the development of the modern novel, the answer is that their influence was small. The romantic literature of the Middle Ages was an independent growth. For centuries knowledge of Greek almost disappeared from the Western world. It was preserved in Calabria through its connexion with the Eastern Empire, and was more studied in the schools of Canterbury and York than elsewhere in Europe. But the number of scholars who, before the fifteenth century, were famous for their knowledge of the language, might almost be counted on the fingers of both hands. It was not till the Revival of Learning that Greek literature was enthusiastically studied in the West, or that her prose fiction was made accessible to the public. For one brief period 'l'immortel 'Héliodore' ruled the romance writers of France. But, before the close of the seventeenth century, Greek prose fiction, except in the form of pastorals, had become, what it has ever since remained, an antiquarian interest instead of a living literary influence.

R. E. PROTHERO.

THE SHORT STORY IN FRANCE, 1800–1900

1. **La Vénus d'Ille, etc.** By PROSPER MÉRIMÉE. Paris. 1830–1847.
2. **Nouvelles.** By THÉOPHILE GAUTIER. Paris. 1836 et seq.
3. **Contes et Nouvelles.** By ALFRED DE MUSSET. 1830–1839.
4. **Lettres de mon Moulin, etc.** By ALPHONSE DAUDET. Paris. 1866 et seq.
5. **L'Étui de Nacre.** By ANATOLE FRANCE. Paris. 1892.
6. **Claire de Lune, Contes de la Bécasse, etc.** By GUY DE MAUPASSANT. Paris. 1883–1890.
7. **Stello.** By ALFRED DE VIGNY. Paris. 1832.

IT was during the period when the genius of romanticism had saturated the public with exuberant rhetoric and eloquent sentimentalism, typified by Victor Hugo and George Sand, that the *contes* of Mérimée and Gautier revindicated, in different fashion and by opposite methods, the supreme value of form in composition and of that unity of effect which is twin to structural completeness. Neither, it is true, escaped the infection of contemporary taste. The infatuation of the monstrous and the exceptional possessed the imaginations of both writers, and the themes they selected by preference are insulated by abnormality of character and incident, or detached by remoteness of time and place, from ordinary experience. Mérimée's pages are dyed with sanguinary extravagances, as in 'Carmen,' 'Les Âmes du Purgatoire,' and 'Lokis'; Gautier portrays to satiety the Byronic frenzies of sensuous passion in his 'Fortunio,' 'Le Roi Candaule,' and 'La Morte Amoureuse.'

But apart from a similar tendency towards the exotic and the abnormal, and apart from their place as pioneers of the doctrine of art for art's sake, no two artists ever reached their goals by more contrary paths. Gautier sought his end in concentration, Mérimée in elimination of detail. Gautier, by accumulated touches, all conducing to one effect, attained his special quality—pictorial unity. Mérimée with trained precision resumed in some few clearly outlined traits whole groups of minutiæ. Further, Mérimée carried to perfection

the economy of words. 'La Vénus d'Ille,' a modernised version of the ring given to the goddess, illustrates the process. A Parisian archaeologist is the guest of a provincial *confrère*. His host owns an antique Venus of dubious date and sinister aspect. The statue stands at an angle of the garden hedge which bounds the village tennis-ground. The son of the house, bridegroom-elect, has possessed himself of an antique ring for the approaching marriage ceremony. The suggestion of the whole plot is contained in these two presentments: the ring—the statue. The guest depicts the tedious family life, trite, vulgar, pretentious; but now here, now there, comes a glimpse of some undercurrent of dim horror. Soon the first hint of vitality in the sullen, inanimate bronze is given. The Venus, 'l'idole,' is in ill repute with the superstitious villagers. As the guest gazes from his window at dusk some lads in passing have caught sight of the ominous idol, the 'coquine.' A stone is thrown—there is a cry, a sound of clumsy flight. 'Elle me l'a rejetée!' She has thrown it back at me! The story progresses; its surface the usual, the familiar; its understrata the abnormal, the impossible. The traditional incidents follow. Upon the wedding-eve there is tennis-play; the bridegroom joins the play, he sets his ring for safety upon the finger of the malignant effigy, forgets it, seeks it at nightfall. 'Elle a serré le doigt,' stammers the bridegroom to the guest. He has been drinking hard at the marriage feast—maybe it was a drunken illusion. The supper ended, the Parisian retreats to his own bedchamber located in the wing allotted to the newly-wed couple. Night has come. 'Le silence régnait 'depuis quelque temps lorsqu'il fut troublé par des pas lourds 'qui montaient l'escalier. Les marches craquèrent forte-'ment. . . .' Oppressed with some sense of disquiet he sleeps a disturbed sleep; when he wakens, 'Il pouvait être 'cinq heures du matin . . . le jour allait se lever. Alors 'j'entendis distinctement les mêmes pas lourds. Cela me 'parut singulier.' A pause—he listens—there comes a cry, bells ring, steps pass hither and thither, servants run to and fro. The guest rises, dresses in haste; he seeks the corridor; the door of the nuptial-room is open wide. Across the bed the body of the bridegroom is stretched—'il était déjà raide 'et froid. Ses dents serrées . . . on eût dit qu'il avait été 'étreint dans un cercle de fer. Mon pied posa sur quelque

'chose de dur qui se trouvait sur le tapis; je me baissai 'et vis la bague.'

Few authors have shown more skill than Mérimée in expressing a character by an isolated action, or a complete personality by one type-feature. The prefatory incident in the story of Arsène Guillot when Arsène, abandoned by her lovers, expends her last five-franc piece in votive candles to the intent that her livelihood may be assured in her unavowable trade, elucidates the whole course of the narrative. It is the casual episode that determines the nature of the ensuing catastrophe, nor could pages of analytic psychology characterise more completely the attitude of heart and mind belonging to the naïve sinner of her forlorn class. Mastery in the art of such abbreviations is a leading factor throughout Mérimée's fiction. Having presented his 'signe' he states his facts with studied moderation and inimitable conciseness of phrase and diction. The very violence of the action depicted in many instances facilitates his aim. Extremes admit of no superlatives and invite little annotation. He leaves them unexplained, uninterpreted; they need no commentary. Logically enchained, episode succeeds episode with calculated crescendo of emphasis. They are viewed from one standpoint only—the bystander's. Mérimée makes no pretence to be the depositary of human secrets; his is not the office of the confessor but of the detective, and his psychology lies not in the dissection of mental states but in their visible outcome and exposure.

In a different way it is for the sense of sight that Gautier wrote, as with rapid visualising touches he regretted that 'less happy than painter or musician, he could only present 'the objects not simultaneously but in succession.' His stories resolve themselves into sequences of scenes; 'Le Roi 'Candaule,' 'La Toison d'Or,' 'Le Nid de Rossignols,' are picture-narratives. Colour and form engross the author's attention. Where the *conte cruelle* of literature sought sensational stimulus from instincts of physical or moral repulsion, Gautier, on the other hand, sought it in the principle of non-moral physical attraction. Beauty is the decorum of his art; and as for the moralist goodness is the redemption of life, so for Gautier beauty is the veil cast over the deformities and distortions of nature. In it he sought immortality,

'dans l'art les événements passent et la beauté seule reste.'* In excess of detail he approaches Balzac; but where Balzac inventories, Gautier depicts; his catalogue consists of illustrations. Every non-pictorial element is ignored, nor is any pictorial element admitted which is not in close relation to the colour, outline, and movement of the picture. In his use of words the translation of things seen to things written is as direct as language permits. To present, not to suggest, is his endeavour; hence his general avoidance of allegorical and emblematic imagery whenever the dictionary could supply a term, however recondite and technical, sufficiently distinctive to characterise the object treated. He is no doubt driven, as all writers must be at times, to employ descriptive metaphorical diction, but when it occurs it lies as close to the object described as the mould to the cast. 'La pluie hachait le 'ciel à fils menus.' 'Le houblon du treillage passait 'familièrement sa petite main verte par un carreau cassé.'

'Une Nuit de Cléopâtre' is perhaps the most brilliant example of an art where the pen acts as a substitute for the brush. The hot desolation of the vast Egyptian necropolis of mystery and granite, 'where the sole occupation of the 'living would appear to be the embalming of the dead,' is outstretched before our eyes, threaded by the opaque waters of the sluggard Nile. Over all 'une lumière crue, éclatante 'et poussiéreuse à force d'intensité, ruisselait en torrents de 'flamme, l'azur du ciel blanchissait de chaleur comme un métal 'à la fournaise.'

The scene shifts to the queen's garden, with its pools and fountains, its verdurous luxuriance of leaf and blossom. Thither Meïamoun penetrates Actaeon-wise—death the penalty. Cleopatra arrests the doom; his life is in truth forfeit, but it pleases her first to pay its price — the payment, one night, 'une nuit de Cléopâtre.' Again the scene shifts. Meïamoun as a god sits enthroned beside that woman-glory of the ancient world. The death-cup is outpoured, Meïamoun lifts it. For a moment Cleopatra's touch retards the crisis, for a moment only; the sound of trumpets breaks the spell; Anthony's heralds ride into the vast hall, and Cleopatra's detaining hand falls from her lover's arm. 'C'est l'heure

* 'Hist. du Romantisme.' T. Gautier. 1874.

'où les beaux rêves s'envolent.' Meïamoun raises the cup to the lips Cleopatra has kissed. . . . 'Whose is the dead 'body lying upon the marble?' Anthony asks, as he greets the queen.

Gautier was essentially a specialist of the Short Story. Compare the method of 'Cléopâtre' with Flaubert's *conte*—'Hérodias'—belonging to the same epoch of Eastern life. The Flaubert of 'Hérodias' manifests himself as the novelist-genius who re-constructed history at length in 'Salammbô' and whose psychological study of Madame Bovary was the *chef-d'œuvre* of its species. The Gautier of 'Cléopâtre' shows the true genius of the *conte*-writer whose attempts at prolonged romance as in 'Le Capitaine Fracasse' and 'Mademoiselle de Maupin' displayed a total lack of structural unity both in the dislocations of plot and the inconsequences of character. The contrast of *conte* with *conte* illustrates at once the diversity of method and the diversity of talent between two artists essentially gifted to create different forms of fiction. In each story there is the same objectivity of treatment, the same withdrawal of the author's personality from view, the same search for exactitude in the descriptive word, the same perfection of pictorial effect.

In the hands both of Mérimée and of Gautier, as in those of d'Aurevilly and l'Isle Adam, the art of the French *conte* remained for the most part definitely objective, and in this quality, despite differences of constituent elements, it was a legitimate descendant of the *novella* of Boccaccio, of Bandello, and of Strapparola, whose love of beauty equalled Gautier's. All these French writers dealt primarily with exteriorised passions, with events and actions; they told what happened and what was the end of the happening; their design was to kindle interest and excite curiosity. For them, as for the Italian novelists, action was the mainspring of invention. It fell, by poet-right, to Alfred de Vigny the thinker, to Alfred de Musset the lover, to inaugurate the distinctively subjective Short Story, where emotional values supersede all others and where success lies in the evocation of sympathy.

The fever of romanticism was at its height when Alfred de Vigny, amongst romantics 'le plus, peut-être le seul, penseur' *

* 'Hist. de la Littérature Française.' G. Lanson. Paris. 1909.

published the 'Épisodes' which form the volume where Stello, the melancholic patient of 'le docteur Noir,' is distracted from his malady of mortal egoism by the three narratives of his physician's professional experiences. For Vigny, whose star, in Gautier's memorable tribute, 'burnt less brilliantly 'than its fellows because it rode higher in the heavens,' form and structure, the mould of art, were of secondary importance. The preoccupation of the thinker had so impregnated Vigny's imagination that, even in the classic sentimental masterpiece of Kitty Bell and the starving of Chatterton, he is not content to abide by the emotional issue of the catastrophe. The moral is epitomised in the concluding incident. 'England'—Chatterton is made to declaim—'England is a magnificent 'vessel, we are her mariners all, to each his own task.' Beckford, the poet's interlocutor, beneficent patron of the commonplace, listens unmoved. 'C'est bien, mon enfant; mais que diable peut 'faire le Poète dans la manœuvre?' 'Le Poète,' cries the doomed genius, 'cherche aux étoiles quelle route nous montre 'le doigt du Seigneur.' The protest of the divine apologist is unheeded, the world of Mammon has its own compass to steer by, and the starved boy in his empty garret, the torn sheets of unpublished poems scattered around, ends the short chapter of his life. A note—'un petit billet'—lies amidst the torn poetic manuscripts. 'Que lui offrait donc M. Beckford 'dans son petit billet?' inquires Stello. '"Ah, à propos," dit 'le docteur Noir, "c'était une place de premier valet de chambre '"chez lui."'

Keen of wit, light of hand, none of the abstract conceptions that tortured Vigny's mournful imagination distracted the mind of Alfred de Musset from sentimental issues as he set himself to the art of prose fiction. Subjective to the core, the emotional current in his 'Contes et Nouvelles' is confined to the narrow channel of his individual experiences and experiments; it was a boundary he rarely transgressed. From that limitation his works derived the unity of effect incident to personal consistency of standpoint and of sentiment. The stories, it is true, fall short of ideal standards. Released from the discipline of poetic form and the restrictions of dramatic dialogue they lack compression, conciseness, and structural proportion. Unessential trivialities overlap due bounds, the dramatic crises of situations lose their relief.

But the sincerity of his autobiographical emotionalism, the semi-truths of psychological instinct in his ' profils de grisettes,' Mimi Pinson and Bernerette, and in his *profils* of other equally frail heroines, ' Emmeline ' and ' Les deux maîtresses,' invest the portraits with the vitality not only of *choses vues* but of the *chose sentie*. Grace, charm, the freshness of an inalienable birthright of youth, cling to the figures which have passed from Musset's pages into the dusty gallery of literature. And in that gallery they stand, all with the same sentimental appeal; the pity of it—the pity of life, the pity of dying—of loving, the pity of joy itself. Mimi Pinson, ' plus jolie que ' la beauté ' in her white headgear and little black gown—' Elle n'a qu'une robe au monde, Et qu'un bonnet,'—dancing, singing, drinking, smoking, reckless, courageous, generous, pawning her gown to feed a companion, was at that day and hour a unique conception. Gay and hungry she sallies forth to her fête-day mass shawled in a window-curtain, gay and hungry she seeks the garret where Rougette starves in misery, for M. le baron de Rougette has proved ' insecourable.' And Musset's wit lent its edge of comedy to the scene. ' " Ces ' " pauvres filles," ' Eugène, student and humanitarian, cries to his friend, the world-wise Marcel. What can he do for their welfare? How rescue them from the precarious life of prodigality and destitution? He has seen its misery with his heart.

' En ce moment les deux amis passaient devant le café Tortoni. La silhouette de deux jeunes femmes qui prenaient des glaces se dessinait à la clarté des lustres. L'une d'elles agita son mouchoir et l'autre partit d'un éclat de rire. " Parbleu," dit Marcel, " les voilà! . . . il paraît que M. le baron [de Rougette] a bien fait des choses." '

Ices and champagne or—the river. ' " Ma vie s'est passée ' " à tâcher de vivre, et finalement à voir qu'il faut mourir," ' says Mimi's sadder sister, Bernerette, to her sometime lover with the acquiescent hopelessness of Mérimée's Arsène Guillot. Of story, in the popular sense of the word, Musset's *contes* have little; they are mere narratives of emotional developments and intricacies with clear characterisation, instinctive rather than psychological, of the few persons concerned. They may be accepted as exemplifying the transition of the theme of the Short Story from the without to the within and,

addressing themselves solely to the sympathies of the reader, are the precursors of the long line of what may be named after Loti's *livre-type*, stories of Pity and Death.

Mérimée, Gautier, Flaubert, exercised, however covertly, an art of composition; they disposed their incidents in due order of sequence; they arranged their figures with an aesthetic sense of perspective, prepared and suspended their crises and held the balance of accent and emphasis. In the hands of their successors, of Daudet, Loti, Maupassant, the Short Story underwent fundamental modification. One and all were content, with occasional reversions to older tradition, to abandon any attempt at narrative structure. They substituted for the plot of consecutive events and actions, which to a greater or less degree constituted the framework of earlier *contes*, the presentment of detached episodes, single personalities, and isolated situations. The Short Story of the artist was resolving itself into the sketch of the literary journalist. The unity of effect attained in earlier days through the harmonising dominance of a single note of passion or emotion, or by the accentuated impress of some individual trait of temperament and character, was achieved by the exclusion from the canvas of all happenngs, all ideas, save one. Under stress of this exclusion the *conte* became not seldom a mere art of anecdote, an art of the memorandum book. Of this art, in his *contes*, Alphonse Daudet was master. A naturalist by intention and conscience, intention and conscience suffered daily defeat overcome by the sympathetic humanitarianism of his Provençal temperament. The spiritual leaven in his nature proved, in the judgment of the realist, an invincible weakness—'La maîtresse faculté de Daudet c'est la faculté de 'l'attendrissement.' His sensitive, nervous perceptions caught and trapped sentiment on the wing and registered the impression of its passage across the sordid or brutal human background. His scenes are drawn from the stage of realism, the sentiments appertain to the sphere of sympathetic idealism: 'J'ai 'toujours été très curieux de ces petites scènes silencieuses 'et intimes qu'on devine encore plus qu'on ne les voit . . . 'de ces pantomimes qui . . . d'un geste vous révèlent toute 'une existence.'

Graceful and sympathetic, the pastel vignettes, for they are

little more, added by Daudet to the list of Short Stories, fringe the profounder depths of irreparable sadness which his longer novels portray. They are concise, with the terseness of an artist who has learnt never to transgress the limits of his chosen frame; their unity of effect is that of a scene, coloured and permeated by its own sentiment, reflected in the sensitive mirror the artist has prepared on which to net its fugitive image. This note of sympathetic sadness which runs through Daudet's work was deepened and expanded by Pierre Loti. The episodes Loti treats—the mournful reluctance of the seaman to whom has fallen the task of tending the ship's cattle when the last calm-eyed victim awaits its hour of slaughter, the hopeless pathos of human dying in 'Tante Claire nous quitte'—are not as Daudet's vignettes, anecdotes of an observer, nor are they isolated scenes noted in a sketch-book. They are rather the *memento mori* of fugitive emotional impressions. Moreover, they are impressions stamped and sealed with the signature of sincerity. It is by force of emotion alone that they live in the memory, and emotion is the true medium of that 'talent d'évocation' by which Loti supplements his descriptive gift.

'L'Étui de Nacre,' published in 1892, marked a new era in the history of the Short Story. Since the days of Mérimée, objective intellectualism, so far as the *conte* was concerned, had passed by on the other side. The great naturalists, Flaubert (with the exception of his 'Trois Contes'—'Un Cœur Simple,' 'La Légende de Saint-Julien l'Hospitalier,' 'Hérodias'), the brothers Goncourt, and Émile Zola (whose 'Contes à Ninon' (1864) belongs to the realms of pure fantasy) occupied their talents upon themes requiring larger spaces than the *conte* affords for due development. But outside the school of realism Anatole France filled the gap. His legends of primitive and medieval faith, his short studies of Revolution incidents, are trammelled by no sense of emotional obligation. There is no revolt against inexorable fatalities, no doctrinaire assertions of faith or unfaith in men or gods. On the contrary an attitude of sentimental neutrality leaves M. France at leisure to bring the *conte* to an unrivalled excellence of literary perfection. He reproduces no pattern process in form and structure, and his method as a master of diction adapts itself with fluent transformations to his varied themes. He relates

his stories of the naïve faith of medieval ages in clearly cut, delicately chiselled narratives modelled by a talent which lends itself without effort to the terse utterance which the short story demands. The effects aimed at are diverse as his subjects: the volume opening with the reminiscences of Pilate closes with anecdotes 'de Floréal, An II.' In the presentment of the familiar from a novel standpoint, in the presentment of the unfamiliar as a commonplace of daily happening, M. France is an accomplished artist. Monk Célestin walking the woodlands in the company of his converted faun; Gestas the drunken penitent battering at the shut door of the confessional, infuriated that no priest aspires to have the honour of hearing his 'belle confession'; Frère Barnabé, the meek-hearted saltimbanque who, full of humble emulation for the worthier talents consecrated by other monks to divine service, performs his feats in honour of Madame la Vierge and 'la tête en bas, 'les pieds en l'air jonglait avec six boules de cuivre et douze 'couteaux,' in the monastery chapel, are presented with a lucidity of outline, a felicity of touch, which, if it leaves them devoid of any illusion of reality, endows them with the vitality of art. The 'Procurateur de Judée' stands foremost as an attempt, in strict accordance with the genius of the Short Story, to concentrate in one salient phrase the gist of the whole preceding narrative. It is a mode of procedure peculiarly in keeping with the aims of the *conte*-writer. The scene of the story is the Roman watering-place where Aelius Lamia, returned in middle age to Italy after the long exile of his riotous youth, encounters his friend of past years, the ex-procurator of Judea. The invalids discourse together concerning the last period of Pilate's residence in Palestine. To Lamia's questions Pilate replies at length. Lamia too has Judean memories of exile, memories belonging to the green years of youth. One memory has outlived all others. It is of a woman of Jerusalem, before whose beauty Cleopatra's might have paled. To ill-famed hovels of fisher folk, to taverns crowded with soldiers and publicans, he had followed her vagrant steps. And then she had vanished from the street-ways. Men said she had joined herself to a little band of disciples, disciples of a young thaumaturge, a Galilean wanderer. '"Il se nommait Jésus, il était de Nazareth, et il fut mis en '"croix pour je ne sais quel crime. Pontius, te souvient-il

' " de cet homme ? " Pontius Pilatus fronça les sourcils et ' porta la main à son front comme quelqu'un qui cherche dans ' sa mémoire. Puis—" Jésus ? " murmura-t-il ; " Jésus, de ' " Nazareth ? Je ne me rappelle pas." '

The process here is obvious : the places, the names, the ideas, referred to in the dialogue are already familiar to the reader, hence all explanatory details are obviated, and the author draws into his service all the associations attached. The keen and subtle irony which threads the pages to the climax lies throughout, it may be said, in what is not written. And in the final sentence placed in Pilate's mouth—' Je ne me ' rappelle pas '—it is our consciousness that the name that Pilate has forgotten has focussed the remembrance of nineteen centuries, that gives its point to the story.

But if amongst moderns M. France has achieved singular distinction as the intellectualist of the modern *conte* ; if Alphonse Daudet coloured his brief notes from life with the tenderness of his Provençal sympathy ; if Pierre Loti has lent the accent of poignant emotional fatalism to the *vraie vérité* of the tragedies of insignificant lives, Guy de Maupassant holds rank as the supreme *conteur* of his century in the estimation of his countrymen. ' Saveur, amplitude, puissance,' were the qualities which Flaubert's pupil sought, and the fashion of his finding elicits from M. Doumic the pronouncement that commentary fails where the critic is face to face with ' la ' perfection même.'* Some two hundred and more ' nouvelles ' belong to his short period of incredibly productive activity. In the telling of these stories there is no search for dramatic phrase, no suspension of the crises for dramatic effect, no resort to disused, artificial, or technical terms for direct descriptive expression. His talent for observation, his faculty for description and narrative, were unrivalled ; he possessed a faultless sense of proportion in fitting his theme to the dimensions of its frame, and above all he achieved the finished art of simplicity of thought : ' J'ai pensé simplement.' Absolute lucidity of statement, combined with a brevity which never suggests an abbreviation, was the result of that prominent characteristic of his literary processes. Moreover, it is noticeable that his psychology is the psychology of the immediate

* ' Ecrivains d'Aujourd'hui.' René Doumic.

circumstance and sensation; his characters have neither past nor future. Within the confines enumerated by M. Lanson, confines admitting no indication—except by rare exception—of any spiritual side to life material and sensual, it would be difficult to say what aspect of *mœurs contemporaines* he has not treated. His pictures of peasant life—emulating the brutality of Balzac's 'Paysans'—form a group unrivalled in their adaptation of intimate knowledge to its verbal expression. He has mirrored his slow-witted villagers in the egoistic animalism of their unawakened sympathies. The provincial bourgeois, equally sordid if less frankly brutal, supplies him with another series of models. He has portrayed the libertine survival of monarchism; the Paris *viveur*, his emotions blunted, his sensations dulled, his passions atrophied; depraved little *marquises*, in exquisite toilettes, with a callous sensuality, a gross shamelessness their sisters of the street would find it hard to emulate. Episode after episode of intrigues, base, vicious and squalid, succeed one another, the last vestige of all that makes the desire of man for his mate a healthful and regenerating force in Nature's great economy eliminated. His hunting anecdotes are stories of sportsmen possessed by sanguinary manias; his *contes-à-rire* retain the grossness of oral folk-tales or medieval farce. In 'La Peur,' 'Lui,' 'Qui 'sait?', notably in his masterpiece of terror 'Le Horla,' he has chronicled the hauntings of his own diseased brain as sanity made surrender to the delusions of a madman's fantasy.*

To what extent was the torturing mental malady that shadowed all his popular triumphs responsible for the artist's conception of life and character? To what extent should the absence of certain aesthetic moral qualities and the lack of experience implied by his avowal: 'Je n'ai jamais aimé. . . . 'Je ris souvent des idées sentimentales, très sentimentales 'et tendres que je trouve en cherchant bien,' share the onus attaching to the extraordinarily narrow outlook from which he treats, with wearying recurrence, the relationship of man and woman as one of mutual degradation? It is a question for the psychologist to determine. For the critic of non-latin race, to read consecutively a prolonged series of Maupassant

* 'La Vie et l'Œuvre de Guy de Maupassant.' E. Maynial. Paris.

nouvelles is to alternate between an attitude of acute homage to his genius and one of equally acute exasperation at the continuous and monotonous ascription of a crude animalism as the source of every action and the mainspring of every character depicted. It might almost be said that the accuracy of truth to life in detail enhances the sense of the want of truth to life in its entirety, for life as a whole embraces, with a wider tolerance than his harsh pessimism dreams of, good with evil, compassions with cruelties, the loves of spirit with the loves of sense.

What Maupassant could effect on the silver reverse of his genius has, nevertheless, been understated. Finer intuitions not seldom mitigated and enlarged his materialistic preconceptions, more especially as the childish desire Gautier initiated, to scandalise the bourgeois, gave place to other aesthetic motives. 'Claire de Lune,' in its moonlit atmosphere, where the old priest signs an armistice with the humanity of mating love, 'Le Pardon,' where Berthe lays the heavy bouquet of roses, white roses, on the tomb of her husband's mistress, with 'une prière inconnue et suppliante'; 'L'Enfant,' where the younger Berthe takes in her arms the new-born child of the dead woman Jacques had loved and abandoned: 'La 'mère est morte, dites-vous—nous l'élèverons, ce petit,' are records of absolutions none the less divine because purely human. 'Une Veuve,' which curiously enough suggests the pen of an Emily Brontë, where 'la vieille tante,' wearing upon her finger the ring of blonde hair, relates the long-past story of her child-cousin's precocious and fatal passion, primitive in its violence, piteous in its issue, is a story of pure sentiment. In all these, to name no more, sympathy and emotion vibrate through the assumed impassibility of the *conteur*. And he has told finally, in 'L'Amour,' of that greatest love that no man can outdo. It is the dawn scene of a hunter's chase. The first shot has broken the truce of night and darkness on the frozen marsh, the slaughter of flying fowl has begun, the dogs bring in the bleeding, stricken wild duck to the feet of the two sportsmen. Presently in the cold, clear sunrise light two silver-breasted teal rise from the rushes:

'Je tirai—une d'eux tombe presque à mes pieds. Alors, dans l'espace au-dessus de moi une voix, une voix d'oiseau cria. Ce fut une plainte courte, répétée, déchirante, et la bête, la petite

bête épargnée, se mit à tourner dans le bleu du ciel au-dessus de nous, en regardant sa compagne morte que je tenais entre mes mains. Karl à genoux, le fusil à l'épaule, l'œil ardent, la guettait, attendant qu'elle fût assez proche—" Tu a tué la femelle," dit-il; " le mâle ne s'en ira pas." Certes il ne s'en allait point. Il tournoyait toujours et pleurait autour de nous. Jamais gémissement de souffrance ne me déchira le cœur comme l'appel désolé de ce pauvre animal perdu dans l'espace. Parfois il s'enfuyait sous la menace du fusil qui suivait son vol; il semblait prêt à continuer sa route, tout seul, à travers le ciel. . . . Mais il revenait bientôt. . . . " Laisse-la par terre," me dit Karl, " il approchera tout à l'heure." Il approchait, en effet, . . . affolé par son amour, amour de bête. Karl tira. . . . Je vis une chose noire qui tombait . . . et Pierrot me le rapporta . . . Je les mis, froids déjà, dans le même carnier, . . . et je repartis ce jour-là pour Paris."

Such is Maupassant's rendering of L'Amour, nor, one may conjecture, was it wholly in irony that he attributed love's supreme sacrifice to the love of the mated bird.

A complete survey of the French *conte* would resolve itself into a mere catalogue of authors and titles, and in a brief study of some definite types many noteworthy names must necessarily be omitted.* Further, in a criticism of foreign literature it is well that the critic's endeavour should be rather to interpret qualities and methods than to class them in orders of pre-eminence; for him it is wise to lay the finger on the lips, and recall the axiom of a greater critic: ' C'est le temps qui classe ' les hommes, et il les classe selon l'influence qu'ils ont sur ' l'avenir.'

UNA A. TAYLOR.

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* Notably Balzac, Sand, Coppée, Mirbeau, Catulle Mendés, etc.

MATTHEW PRIOR—DIPLOMATIST AND POET

1. **Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the Manuscripts of the Ma-quis of Bath preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire. Prior Papers.** Vol. III. London: Wyman. 1908.
2. **Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck.** Vol. V.
3. **'Dialogues of the Dead,' and other works in prose and verse.** By MATTHEW PRIOR. The Text edited by A. R. WALLER, M.A. Two vols. Cambridge: University Press. 1905, 1907.
4. **The Cambridge History of English Literature.** Vol. IX. Cambridge: University Press. 1912.

IN one of his many suggestive speeches Lord Morley of Blackburn vindicated men of letters from the charge of being incapable men of affairs. Matthew Prior is a case in point. He has been long regarded as one of the chief poets of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and, a few years ago, the University of Cambridge issued a final edition of his works, composed, for the most part, of his poems. Immense pains have been taken with this edition, and the archives of Longleat have not been searched in vain for new material, both in verse and in prose. No immortal could have had more efficient editorial labour bestowed on him; corrections and new readings have been noted; and good-natured Mat Prior—as his contemporaries called him—is academically canonised. No one would probably have been more amused than he at this care of his verse, for his primary object in life was to become a successful and well-paid official. Place and pay were uppermost—not in any sordid or dishonourable sense—in his thoughts, and he wrote poetry only for a pastime or to help him to rise in the world.

Prior did not hesitate to call himself 'a professed panegyric 'poet.' To fill this *métier* was an easy task for one whose expression flowed in couplets, and who had no difficulty in breaking off in the middle of a letter and in concluding it with a spontaneous rhyme. But clever, ingenious, sometimes even brilliant, as Prior was, delightful as was the subdued and kindly gaiety of his temperament, and easy as was the flow of his verse, he was more remarkable as a man of affairs than as a poet. From first to last he was hampered in his

career by his humble birth and by insufficient means, and from first to last one of his chief objects in writing verse was to make good, by the exercise of an agreeable talent, his want of rank and fortune. Prior's muse was always at his service, whether to please monarchs or to conciliate noblemen. During the anxious years which he passed at the Hague, uncertain of his future, as hardly pressed for cash as the Treasury at home, constantly urging his official friends at Whitehall to see that his 'bills of extraordinaries' received attention, he wrote —in 1695—both the Long Ode on Queen Mary's Death, and the Ballad on the Taking of Namur. The times had ceased to be suitable for such compositions. Prior was consequently the last of the panegyric poets, of whom Cartwright was the most prolific. William III. was too much a man to care for a Carmen Seculare, and Queen Anne was too stupid to appreciate even fulsome compliments in a neatly turned ode. No writer in his senses would have addressed a stanza to any one of the Georges.

Prior's work in this form came to a curiously dramatic conclusion. Staying in Paris in 1714 and hoping that the result of his labours, which had ended in the Peace of Utrecht, would further advance his fortunes, he bethought him that he would write some verses complimentary to the Queen, and, by asking in them for her portrait, please her vanity and improve his position:

'The Train of Equipage and Pomp of State,
The shining sideboard, and the burnished Plate,
Let other Ministers, Great Anne, require;
And partial fall thy Gift to their desire.
To the fair Portrait of my Sov'reign Dame,
To that alone, eternal be my claim.

'My bright Defender, and my dread Delight,
If ever I found favour in thy sight;
If all the pains that for thy Britain's sake
My past has took, or future Life may take,
Be grateful to my Queen, permit my Prayer,
And with this Gift reward my total care.'

There were more lines in the same strain; but, even while he wrote, news of the Queen's death arrived, and his verses, like his public career at a later date, came to an abrupt and uncompleted end.

Prior had no need to seek favours from William III. by means of complimentary verses, for his official capabilities were sufficient to gain his Sovereign's approval. The fact of this approval, of his promotion on more than one occasion by a master who demanded efficiency in his subordinates—and not the least the cordial terms on which he always stood with the Earl of Portland—is the best proof of Prior's capacity as a man of affairs. Had the life of William been prolonged, the public career of Prior might have been more fortunate. He fell because he was too efficient a public servant, too zealous in the interests of the Ministers of the day. He lived in an age when what we should now call the permanent civil servant shared, to some extent, in the success or failure of political leaders, and was sufficiently identified with them to be affected by their good or bad fortune. Prior acquitted himself as well in the service of Harley and Bolingbroke over the Treaty of Utrecht at the end of his career, as he did at the Hague, at Ryswyck, and at Paris, in that of William III., at its commencement. Whilst his earlier zeal advanced him in the diplomatic service, his later energy finally landed him in prison, and ended his public career. Throughout these years of responsibility and anxiety, Prior's facility in the agreeable art of verse-making never forsook him. It was part of his nature, and the older he grew the more skilful he became. But he who was a master of expression had little to express; amiable, gay, witty, and intelligent, he was as incapable of deep emotion as of irradiating thought.

If, however, too much attention has been paid to Prior as a poet—and one has only to read Johnson's Introduction to his works to see how little a clear-headed critic could find to say for him in this capacity—the importance and interest of his career as a whole have never been sufficiently appreciated. His influence on the development of the foreign policy of England was considerable, and from his correspondence now rendered available, one is able to perceive the value of his intelligence and tact in diplomatic negotiations. The bases of the two international engagements which are known in history as the Treaty of Ryswyck and the Treaty of Utrecht were completed in private, and, in the settlement of the 'preliminaries' of each, Prior had a large share. 'There begins now,' he wrote to the Earl of Dorset, 'to be some real appearance of a treaty. The

'preliminary points are pretty well agreed, and the place will 'soon be named.' Not long after this letter was written Prior visited London obviously for the purpose of giving personal information to the King, whose policy was that stated by Prior at the end of 1696 as his own personal view:

'the success of the whole affair will depend upon the resolutions of our Parliament. France will certainly give more or less in the treaty as the people of England will proportionately give towards carrying on the war in case those offers miscarry; and however great our poverty is we must hide it, if possible, from the enemy.'

This resolution, to proceed with the war and to hide the financial straits of the English Treasury, was adhered to, and the result was a treaty extraordinarily favourable to the parties to the Grand Alliance. The appointment as Chief Secretary to the Lords Justices in Ireland in the summer of 1697 was the King's reward to Prior for his services at the Hague. But the long-drawn negotiations prevented him from taking up the post in person, and in December of the same year the King sent him with Lord Portland to Paris. He thus lost the enjoyment of a post which, being lucrative and easy, was the object of his immediate desire—'we shall get our 'thousand pound a year in Ireland, and I shall come once or 'twice a year to England, which, my dear Master, are no light 'considerations.'

Though to the end of his life interested in public affairs, Prior was never ambitious, never anxious for power, and always satisfied with subordinate position; for outward show or influence he cared not at all. At the end of 1698, when he had in fact been the representative of Great Britain at Paris, his chief wish was to return to England.

'I have played the minister here in my Lord Jersey's absence, and, now he is returned, we are preparing for his entry, so I am to appear with him as I did with my Lord Portland, in a new gaudy coat and with an expensive equipage. I must own to Your Lordship I am weary of this dancing on the high rope in spangled breeches, and if my Lord Jersey be Secretary of State (as it is thought he may be in some time), I will endeavour to get home and seat myself in a desk in his office, for I had rather be Matt Prior near my dear Lord Dorset than Monsieur l'Envoyé in any Court in Christendom.'

Affluence and congenial society were the objects which Prior chiefly prized, and it was the very irony of fate that his faithfulness in official service, his power of observation, and

his capacity of expression lessened his means for the enjoyment of the form of life which was most suited to his temperament.

At the Hague and at Paris Prior was as much bored as amused, and his incapacity for thrift, as well as the shortness of funds in the Treasury, kept him continually in financial difficulties, even during the year 1698 when he was the representative of Great Britain at the French capital with a larger, if irregularly paid, salary.

With his sense of humour, his not unkindly cynicism, and his contempt for show, Prior could not fail to see the worst side of life at the Court of Louis XIV. The Roi Soleil was now in his decline; he was ruled by Madame de Maintenon; he was surrounded by scheming and jealous courtiers; the welfare of the French people was lost sight of in an atmosphere of personal ambition and aggrandisement. And as a foil to the showy glories of the Court of the King of France, there was the shabby royalty of the Stuart circle. 'King James looks 'mighty old and worn, and stoops in his shoulders; the Queen 'looks ill and melancholy; their equipage is mighty ragged, 'and their horses are all as lean as Sancho's.' The position of the exiled rulers—as described by Prior—was unhappy and pitiable. Sovereigns without a kingdom, they were willing but almost afraid to plot against the existing régime. At once impoverished, powerless and ambitious, they were buoyed up by news from their English partisans, and by the personal favours of Louis and his courtiers, who, in reality, only regarded them as pawns in the political game. 'Things go in relation 'to us as they used to do,' wrote Prior, in the autumn of 1698; 'they are civil to us, and hate us, and they are civil to King 'James and despise him.' Such were the closing scenes of the Stuart dynasty as depicted for us by Prior. James and his Queen were invited to fêtes at Versailles and to hunts at Compiègne, but they were powerless and poverty-stricken, surrounded by equally poor and equally dissatisfied followers.

The descriptions which Prior sends to his English correspondents of Louis and his entourage are not more complimentary than his accounts of the exiles:

'Madame de Maintenon governs him as absolutely as Roxalana did Solyman. He lives at Marly like an Eastern monarch, making waterworks and planting melons, and leaves his bashas to ruin the land, provided they are constant in bringing in their tribute.'

In a somewhat earlier letter he sends Charles Montague an equally unpleasant sketch:

'The monarch as to his health is lusty enough, his upper teeth are out, so he speaks a little like old Manard, and picks and shows his under teeth with a good deal of affectation, being the vainest creature alive even as to the least things. His house at Versailles is something the foolishest in the world; he is strutting in every panel, and galloping over ones head in every ceiling, and if he turns to spit he must see himself in person or his vice-gerent the Sun with *sufficit orbi*, or *nec pluribus impar*. I verily believe there are of him statues, busts, bas-reliefs and pictures above two hundred in the house and gardens.'

It was to furnish these insignia of power, as well as to advance the Sovereign's schemes of political ambition, that the French people were bled to death. Prior writes in another letter:

'I promised to give you some account of the state of things here, and I think it may be done in one word, that the whole money of this nation is at Paris in the hands of the partisans and fermiers, from whom it must necessarily come into the King's, since they can dispose of their money no otherwise whilst the louis d'or is at 14 livres; and he will keep it so till he has got all the money he can, frightening the people every week with the report of its falling, so that it is better for particular men to trust the Government and make what advantage they can of their money, than let it lie dead by them (for all traffic and merchandise is quite lost), whilst they fear they may lose one or two, or indeed three livres to bring it to the ancient standard, in 14. The Court, too, having all places and advantages to bestow, and everybody being noted as, according to their condition, they bring in their money, and bailiages and intendantships bestowed, whereby those who lend to the King are enabled to recover themselves by robbing the people, every man is obliged to swim with the stream and contribute to ruin the public in his own defence. This, in their good humour the most sensible of them do not stick to confess; and even some Maréchals of France, whom I have had the honour to be with, have said openly enough how happy a people we were who were governed by established laws and taxed by our own consent. The common people of this nation have a strange veneration for their King: it is certain he might have the last penny of them, as well by their inclinations as his power pour la gloire: but the people of quality hate him to hell, and (as the French do things always to excess) there is nothing so extravagant as their expression in this kind in an auberge overnight, though they dare as well be hanged as not rise at five the next morning to be at Versailles by eight.'

It is impossible to leave Prior's correspondence from Paris in 1697–9, so excellently descriptive of Court society and

political tendencies, without touching on the letters between him and Lord Portland. It was a strange friendship. Dissimilar in temperament and in position though they were, cordial and intimate relations existed between the two men, which evidenced the clear insight of the Secretary and the sagacity and sincerity of Bentinck. Making due allowance for the difference in official position and power, and for the phraseology of the age, they wrote to each other with what, in later years, George Selwyn liked to call an *épanchement de cœur*. To Portland Prior unbosomed himself not only on personal questions but on matters of high politics, and the former, in his turn, was always friendly and stated his views guardedly but surely. It is clear also that Prior's letters were sometimes read by the King—'*Le Roy a leu vostre lettre*,' Portland writes in his old-fashioned French, '*et votre soubmission à ces ordres ne vous sera pas préjudiciable. Je vous ay témoigné dans ma précédente la satisfaction que l'on a eu des sentiments que vous aves marquez sur les affaires de ce pais, qui n'ont estez veus que de celui seul qui a le droit de les voir.*' Portland and Prior were certainly at one on a noticeable point in regard to English politics. Each considered party warfare as injurious to the welfare of the nation, and as a hindrance to the plans of the King.

'The people of England are wild, at ease, and separate from the commerce and knowledge of the affairs of Europe; some that have a good deal of wit think too speculatively, for want of experience in relation to things abroad; many are personally malicious at the Court because they are not in it; the Ministers therefore should give His Majesty at once a plain direct and honest account how this general bent of the nation is at present, and not tell His Majesty things by halves, letting him see the worst side of them when it is too late; but if some of the Ministers be too deep in their parties' interest to do this, His Majesty's business suffers from their partiality, and as the Scripture says, no man can serve two masters, so no man, I am confident, can serve a King of England, who ought to be master of all parties and persons in the kingdom, who is too much a slave to any party wherein he is engaged.'

To this he received a sympathetic reply from Portland:

'Vos raisons sont bonnes and vos arguments de mesme, mais vous ne comprennez pas que les meilleures ne valent rien ici, et que plus grand politique s'y trouveroit bien embarrassé. J'ay bien receu la médaille dans vostre lettre, je guetteray si il en paroit ici; nous voyons tant de mauvais escrits que je ne pourray pas recognoistre celui dont vous parlez quand il paroistra. Je vous prie de bien faire observer tous les mouvements qui se feront où vous estes.'

When one reads the remains of this confidential correspondence, it becomes more and more evident that Prior's importance as a man of affairs has been unduly minimised, and his position as a poet exaggerated.

After Prior left Paris in the summer of 1699, he doubtless thought that he should never return there. At last he enjoyed that 'leisure and freedom,' 'of which,' he writes, 'I 'have scarce had a taste for these last ten years.' For a few months a member of Parliament with an official salary and no official work, a Fellow of St. John's at Cambridge, in close touch with the literary society of London, and one of the memorable coterie of Tory men of letters who often gathered round his table in Duke Street, it seemed as though his work as a diplomatist were ended. He probably not only thought so but wished it, and it was merit and not ambition which caused him to play an important part in the negotiations with France which were concluded by the Peace of Utrecht. Nothing can more vividly show the difference between English government under William III. and under Anne than the manner in which Prior was regarded by the two sovereigns. To be a capable servant was sufficient recommendation for the King, but when Harley pressed the employment of Prior on Anne, she significantly answered: 'I have no objection to Mr. 'Prior than what I mentioned in my last, for I always thought 'it very wrong to send people abroad of mean extraction; 'but since you think Mr. Prior will be very useful at this time, 'I will comply with your desire.' And so Prior was again brought into contact with the Roi Soleil—the marvellous man with his long-lived sovereignty during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The sketch which Prior gives of Louis XIV. at this extremity of the King's reign is more agreeable than that of an earlier period. But in his narrative of the negotiations of 1711, which culminated in the Treaty of Utrecht, there are none of the personal touches which give life to a long-past correspondence. What has been left to us in the archives of Welbeck is in the nature of a diary. We have, however, a very interesting description of an interview with Louis XIV. in his private cabinet—'The King was walking, 'he stood still when I came in, and as I made my obeisance 'to him he nodded a little, bowed to me at my third bow, and 'sitting or leaning his back rather upon a table behind him,

'as I came up to him, he began "*A ça Monsieur, je suis bien* '"*aise de vous voir, vous parlez Francais je sçay,*"' which is all very modern and lifelike, with no trace of eighteenth-century formality. The conversation continued in the same easy tone, and if it contained nothing of importance in detail, it yet has historical value as indicative of the real desire of each party to arrive at terms of peace.

Among the hitherto unpublished material which is contained in the Cambridge edition of Prior's works are four Dialogues of the Dead. They were sure to be amusing and witty, but the chief interest lies in two—the dialogue between the Emperor Charles and the grammarian Clenard, and that between Cromwell and his porter. They indicate Prior's views of *la haute politique* after a close and long observation of princes and ministers. Ambitious schemes bring neither satisfaction to sovereigns nor benefit to nations, and the grammarian and the porter in their humbler stations are happier men, and less harmful in their generation than princes whose armies overrun a continent. Throughout the first-mentioned Dialogue one hears in Clenard the voice of Prior talking to his friends, expressing in intimate converse his thoughts on the ways of monarchs and statesmen. His ideas are noticeably modern and in advance of his age, and strangely in contrast with the prevailing thought of the time and of the statesmen with whom throughout his life he had been brought into intimate contact. 'You are a dangerous 'Person,' are the words Prior puts into the mouth of Charles, 'and ought to be laid in a gentle confinement, for the good 'of the Public.'—'Ha! Ha! Ha! You really make me laugh,' is the reply:—

'Don't you imagine that we think such as You dangerous Persons, only that for our Private Safety we dare not say so. Am I to be laid up because you can't bear Truth? I tell You that for the good of the Publick you should all have your Swords taken from You as if You were actual Lunaticks, and not be suffered to go a-Madding with this Battle of a Globe to play with. Believe me you grope thro' the world with your Scepters, like blind Beggars with their Staves; and are moved and directed by the Neighing of a Steed, and the sound of a Trumpet, as those by the barking of a Dog and the tinckling of a Bell. What a Changling was Cyrus. . . . To talk once more of Your own extravagancies, Dear Emperour, when you had given yourself such incredible troubles, and made that Universal bustle in Italy, what did You bring home but your Name

of Charles le Quint, corrupted by the Venetian pronounciation into Harlequin, a little restless Fellow with a black Muzle, a Patch-work Coat on his back, and a lath Sword in his Hand, Assaulting All he met, leaping thro every Mans Windows, and disturbing the business of his House? And have you not been Represented under this foolish Character in all the Fairs throughout Europe; That of Franckfort not excepted, where you valued your Self just now for having been Crowned. In one word, Human Nature is a very poor thing, Neighbor Charles; Dispotic Power never ought to be Trusted with it, considering what sad Effects Ignorance, self Will & Flattery may produce. I am astonished that an Absolute Monarch does not Degenerate into a meer Driveller.'

If in these two dialogues Prior laughs at the ambition of monarchs, in that between the Vicar of Bray and Sir Thomas More he amuses us by his shrewd experience of successful men of the world. 'Attend then,' says the Vicar, 'Never strive 'against the Stream, always drive the Nail that will go, eat 'your Pudding and hold your tongue, don't pretend to be 'wiser than your Master, or his eldest son'—precepts which Prior's whole life shows were rules which governed his own conduct in official and in private affairs. The points in the dialogues are always sensible and often keen. In them, as in his letters and in his poetry, the personality of the man himself, of the man of the world, is the main note of the work, adding to its interest.

The Dialogues accentuate the impression which is obtained from Prior's correspondence, that he was without ambition, and had always kept a cool head among intriguers and courtiers. His disappearance from public life, even though it was through the gates of a prison, was therefore not the personal misfortune it would have been to a man striving for place and power. Even his imprisonment seems to have left no bitterness behind, and subsequently, if the tone of his correspondence is an indication of his mind, Prior enjoyed his existence as a 'stander-by,' a phrase of his own, which well describes his attitude to life in his later years after he was freed from confinement. 'Service always 'to my best lady,' is a postscript to a letter to Lord Harley, written from Cambridge in November 1717, 'I have made a 'hundred puns in forty-eight hours, to the joy and wonder of 'all my hearers.' In the same month he wrote again to the same correspondent, in the same friendly and gay spirit:

'This letter, my dear Lord, is rather to know when I shall see you than to excuse my not having written to you since my coming to

London. I have so much to say to you, that I reserve it all for a tête à tête or I must be obliged to write a volume. Now, since talking with you is the thing in the world that I love, and writing a book the thing in the world I hate, I think myself excused, and as Alma says: "He's half absolved that has confessed." . . . The Bishop of Chester, my near neighbour, has just now visited me; we drank your health in your own cider. My goods are come from France, and *Valerius Maximus* shall stay unseen till you vouchsafe him a visit. And now I have tired you, but you must read on, till I tell you that I desire you to give my great respects to Lady Harriette, and love to Peggy; pray likewise send me a turkey and some beer, and come as soon as you can to him who is ever, etc.'

Indeed, during the last years of Prior's life, from 1717 to 1721, there is not a note of sadness or of despondency in his correspondence. On the contrary, in spite of deafness and attacks of illness, he enjoyed his life, his town home in Duke Street, his visits to Wimpole, his talks on politics and literature with men he liked. Among his dear friends Lord Harley and his family, among noblemen and gentlemen who were interested in art, literature, and horticulture, among old school and college companions, he would have been able to pass many happy years freed from the anxiety of official life, had he been fortunate enough to have escaped from illness. Sprung from a humble Dorsetshire family, he could look back over a successful official career, and could note the high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries as a man of letters; but probably he prized most the affection and the appreciation of his many friends, for of enemies he had not one. Among the fragments of verse which have been found at Longleat and have now been printed, there is a song, two stanzas of which reveal Prior's kindly nature and his philosophical capacity for appreciating the proportion and the value of events:

'Since all indeed was done by Fate
We vainly of the events complain.
Our sorrows why should we relate
If memory but renews our pain?

'Those ills that were before too great
We still augment whilst we complain
Our sorrows why should we relate
If memory but renews the pain?'

Prior was neither the first nor the last poet to express these Horatian sentiments; but poets have seldom opportunities of

giving practical effect to their thoughts, and so these spontaneous evidences of his personal feeling are more interesting than his skilful verbal art.

As time runs on Prior's letters from abroad may become, on account of the reality which pervades them, the most enduring and the most important of his writings. From beginning to end they are sincere. They contain lifelike sketches of society, whereas, however clever may be his slighter verse, it is deficient in feeling and tenderness. The whole of Prior's correspondence must be ranked high, for he had all the gifts which go to make the appreciated letter-writer—the power of observation, the humour, the liking for leisure, and the capacity to place himself *en rapport* with those to whom he wrote. It is in connexion with this correspondence that Prior's poetry, with its many personal touches, should be read, for it then becomes autobiographical, and from the union of the two emerges, far more completely than heretofore, a living and most companionable personality. But be that as it may, the verdict of a discerning posterity will surely be in accord with Prior's own wishes—'I 'had rather be thought a good Englishman, than the best poet 'or greatest scholar that ever wrote.'* Such was the considered expression of his mature thought and of his ripe experience. Gifted as a writer of *vers de société*, and cultivated though he was in polite learning, Prior—to use his own words—was neither the best of poets nor the greatest of scholars; but his public career from first to last stamps him definitely and indubitably as a good Englishman.

E. S. ROSCOE.

* Preface to Solomon on the Vanity of the World, ed. 1718.

NIETZSCHE THE MAN

1. **The Works of Friedrich Nietzsche.** First Complete and authorised English Translation, in 18 vols. Edited by Dr. OSCAR LEVY. Foulis. 1909–1913.
2. **Friedrich Nietzsche's Gesammelte Briefe.** 8 vols. Schuster and Loeffler, also Insel Verlag. Leipzig. 1900–1911.
3. **The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche.** By G. CHATTERTON-HILL. Ouseley. 1912.
4. **The Gospel of Superman.** By HENRY LICHTENBERGER. Translated by J. M. KENNEDY. Foulis. 1910.
5. **The Young Nietzsche.** By FRAU FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE. Translated by A. M. LUDOVICI. Heinemann. 1912.
6. **Nietzsche: Sein Leben und Seine Werke.** By RICHARD M. MEYER. Oscar Beck. Munich. 1913.

WHAT manner of man was Friedrich Nietzsche? How did he stand in relation to life and to his fellow-beings? There are still living to-day many persons who enjoyed the friendship or correspondence of the teacher of the Superman, but it may be doubted whether any of them, with the possible exception of his sister, could reveal Nietzsche as fully as he has revealed himself in his letters.

Nietzsche's personality is already so interwoven with or so absorbed by his philosophy that it is difficult to contemplate the man apart from his creed. The light has overborne the lamp and obliterated its outlines. The priest of the Superman has already become to most men a murky, mystic figure, dwelling afar on a mountain peak: a being, it is supposed, so remote from human association as veritably to prefer, like Zarathustra himself, the company of eagles and serpents. Even in his 'Ecce Homo' it is almost impossible to see his face, sound the depths of his heart, or hear his voice apart from his tenets and beliefs. The inaccessible soul of the recluse revealed itself but little in the manner in which most men reveal themselves—in intimacies of family, social, or communal life. For this reason his figure appears all the more intangible and even terrifying to those who stand aghast at his doctrines. He had, in a measure, succeeded in withdrawing himself from men, as though he felt no

need of humanity or of human love. This perhaps has aroused almost as much resentment as have his attempts to destroy the faith in accepted morals or his ruthless attacks upon the culture of the day. Yet here the popular misconception is not only, as usual, great but gross. In the place of the hypothetical monster upon whom madness was sent as doom, stands the man upon whom suffering was laid in a measure larger than falls to the lot of most men. If a new Lucifer, he was also the old Prometheus; if a destroyer, he was also a redeemer.

The friends of his youth and manhood he grappled passionately to his heart and in them he saw always the highest attributes. No cry of his came from profounder depths in his nature than the cry of 'Human, all-too-human!' One might even say that this German anti-Christ was in his life and attitude a more exemplary Christian than many of the orthodox who profess to see in him all that is mad, nihilistic and satanic. Yet his 'Christian' virtues are not to be interpreted as such in a conventional sense. They refer chiefly to his immediate personal relationships. They were embodied in the heroic sacrifices he made for the sake of his race ideals, and in the lofty unselfish love that poured itself steadily upon the future type he had idealised—the man that was to surpass man. In his friendships there lived many of the noble qualities immortalised in the great friendships of the pagan world. The depth of feeling and devotion which, for instance, existed between him and Erwin Rohde would be difficult to match in our more cynical and superficial days.

Solitary souls, exiled souls, and sick souls reveal themselves in their letters. And when the man who lives in his intellect lives also in the creative emotion of the artist and under the stress of a lyrical temperament, he will reveal himself with but little reserve. He who would know Nietzsche the man must seek him in his letters. They were the scriptures of his soul. In them he will experience an inspiring contact with a mind and character noble, pure, and sensitive, with an incorruptible sincerity and a resolute integral will—frequently dominated by a kind of inspired oracular fury. The letters may be found in the eight volumes of the original German edition of which none have yet been translated into English. They contain numerous letters written to Nietzsche's mother

and sister, a mass of fervent and often inspired correspondence between himself and his bosom friend Erwin Rohde, a volume of letters to his young disciple and assistant Peter Gast, and many epistles to his close intimates among the commanding spirits of the intellectual world of the Continent, such as Karl von Gersdorff; Jakob Burckhardt, professor of history at Basle; Dr. Paul Rée, a Schopenhauerian philosopher; Taine, the French literary historian; Hans von Bülow, the musician; Georg Brandes, the Danish critic; the authoress Malvida von Meysenbug, Professors Ritschl of Bonn and Overbeck of Basle, and many other distinguished men and women. These personalities in the intellectual circle of this lonely recluse and wanderer acted and re-acted upon him in many different ways, causing him to burn and shine with many lights and fires.

In nearly all these letters the passionate humanity and intellectual honesty of Friedrich Nietzsche are clearly and often painfully evident. There is a reaching-out to, a leaning upon, his friends and disciples. Besides his deep capacity for friendship, he shows towards those who 'understood' him a touching gratitude which betokens how sorely this isolated spirit hungered for human sympathy. To declare this is of course merely to declare him a man and not a monster. But it is the intensity of his human virtues and affections, so at variance with his teachings of hardness and estrangement, which makes their operation in him so interesting. His remorseless will and his lofty faith in himself could, however, compel him to sunder himself from his closest friendships—as in the almost historic case of Wagner—once he found the base no longer stable. Then the wrenchings and agony of heart endured by him would almost crush him, and terrible revulsions of feeling would goad him on to attack what he had once loved. Free in intellect and spirit as a condor in the air, he was nevertheless temperamentally and physically dependent upon the affection of his mother, sister, and friends. When we consider that he waged a steady and bitter war with the thought of our time, that he exhausted climate after climate, locality after locality, in his unceasing hunt for health, and that his robust constitution had been shattered by long illnesses, the philosopher's dependence upon the love and sympathy of others is easily understood.

In Nietzsche's letters, edited and arranged by his sister, Frau Förster-Nietzsche, his friend Peter Gast and others, we encounter a remarkable self-revelation and analysis of a formidable and struggling soul. Amidst such a wealth of material, selection is difficult, yet the presentation in part of a few letters from the chief epochs of his life, from boyhood to the approach of that terrible twilight in which his daemonic intellect was to lie pent till death, will serve to illumine his character, if not roundly, at least vividly.

The earliest letter is to his sister Elizabeth and bears the date of the 30th of March 1856. The twelve-year-old boy describes in graphic terms the details of a railway journey made by him and his mother. Of particular significance is his intense interest in a newspaper account of the birth of the Prince Imperial, his nurses, his honours, his yells. 'I ' have not yet played with the soldiers, but shall do so soon,' he adds gravely, commenting on some sisterly gift. Then follow the years of school life at Pforta, dating from 1858 to 1864, with frequent boyish letters addressed to mother and sister. There are requests for new linen, pens, chocolate, books, pocket-money, interspersed with vivid accounts of school studies and festivities. Family birthdays always bring forth prettily worded letters of congratulation, and before Christmas hints for gifts appear—usually books or music-scores. The following passages from a contrite letter written in April 1863 describe a catastrophe that befell the sensitive, honourable lad, and must have caused him great distress:

'DEAR MOTHER,

'I take up my pen with a heavy heart, full of the most intense dissatisfaction with myself—and this grows all the worse when I think of the many delightful hours, undisturbed by a single discord, which we spent together during the Easter holidays. Well,—I was drunk last Sunday. I have no excuse, other than that I did not know how much I could stand, and that I happened to be somewhat excited that afternoon. On my return I was observed by Head Instructor Kern, who brought my name before the synod on Tuesday. Here I was reduced in rank in my class and deprived of an hour of our Sunday promenades. You may well imagine that I am very depressed and moody over causing you such distress with this wretched affair. Such a thing has never happened to me before. And then I am filled with regret for the sake of Pastor Kletschke, who recently showed such confidence in me. Through this one affair I have now entirely

destroyed the favourable position I had achieved during the last quarter. I am so angry with myself that I simply cannot go on with my studies. I can find no peace. Please write me very soon and very sternly, for I deserve it, and no one knows better how much. . . .'

Then came the college days at Bonn. Motherly and sisterly services and solicitude as to his bodily comfort call forth such responses as the following:

'My Dear Mamma and Lisbeth,

'I am now sending you first tidings from my lodgings in Bonn. I am writing to you full of gaiety, joy and hope and in the deepest gratitude of my heart. Was it not your kind hands that made my first hours in this new world so agreeable, and your dear wishes and prayers which hallowed my entrance into a more independent life?'

Many letters follow dealing with life in Bonn, student festivals, and country or Rhine excursions. Nietzsche, despite his shrinking from student turbulence and vulgarity, is shown to have been safe from priggishness:

'Sunday we all went *en masse* to Siegburg, swept through the streets with loud hurrahs, danced and returned rather late. Just an hour ago I was at a most sumptuous concert—amazing luxury! —all the women in red—nothing but English spoken. "I don't speak English" [*sic*]—Tickets One Thaler, but as I am an active member, I pay nothing. I was arrayed most wonderfully and elegantly—white waistcoat and kid gloves. I write enormous quantities of letters and receive none from you in return.

'In all Love and Devotion, Your Fritz.'

His sentimental attachments to his friends, his interest in Christmas celebrations, the singing of hymns and the writing of verses, furnish matter for many confidential letters. Hyacinths always remind him of his mother's birthday. He recommends certain books to his sister and adopts the patronising, authoritative tone of the indulged brother. He would fain be thought something of an intellectual Bohemian and scholastic dare-devil. 'I am looked upon as a sort of 'musical authority in our student circles,' he writes, swaggeringly, in February 1865, 'as well as a rather queer 'blade—like all who hail from the Franconia Corps at Pforta. 'I am certainly not disliked, even though inclined to 'be somewhat *moquant*. I am called satirical. This 'characterisation derived from the judgment of others,'

he adds naively, 'may interest you.' His mother reproves him for his extravagance at school and receives a long and contrite letter.

Young Nietzsche leaves Bonn and takes up his studies at Leipzig. Here he leads a very busy life, and forms many new friendships and scholarly associations. There are numerous visits to theatres and concerts, and jubilant outings on the river and in the mountains. It was in Leipzig that Nietzsche, then in his twenty-fourth year, first met Richard Wagner and forged the earliest fetters of that glowing hero-worship which he was later to tear asunder with such agony of the spirit. In a letter dated the 9th of November 1868, the future philosopher writes to his comrade Erwin Rohde at Hamburg and gives a humorous and vivid account of a grotesque event that befell him ere he met with the great composer. It shows Nietzsche in a new and debonair mood:

'. . . When two such friends as we write to each other then all the little angels rejoice! . . . When I came home I found a brief note addressed to me, thus: "If you care to meet Richard Wagner come to the *Café Théâtre* at a quarter to four. WINDISCH."'

Excited by this news, Nietzsche hurries off to Windisch. Yes, Wagner is in Leipzig at the house of relatives, but under the strictest *incognito*. The Press had no inkling of his presence; all the servants at Brockhaus' had been converted into mere liveried tombs. Wagner, who was prowling about town in a huge hat and cape, had, it appears, expressed a wish to meet Nietzsche—this through hearing Frau Ritschl declare that Nietzsche had interpreted a certain piece of Wagner's for her. Windisch acts as go-between.

Nietzsche rejoices in the thought that his tailor is to have his new dress-clothes ready for Sunday, and chuckles complacently over an article in a local paper which gravely declares Wagner to be in Switzerland. He goes forth in a tremendous downpour of rain to spur on the dilatory tailor, whiles away the dragging hours in a *café*, then returns to his rooms. Thither, at last, a little old man brings a parcel. Nietzsche tries on the coat—an admirable fit! The old man presents the bill. Let Nietzsche continue:

'I accept it politely; he wants to be paid at once—cash on delivery. I am astounded, and tell him I have no dealings with him, but only with his master. He grows persistent, the time

shorter; I seize the clothes and begin to put them on; the old fellow snatches them and hinders my fell purpose. Force on his side, force on mine. Great scene! I do battle in my shirt, intent on getting into the new trousers. Then a sudden manifestation of dignity on my part, ceremonial threats, maledictions upon the tailor and his crew. I solemnly swear vengeance. The man goes off with my things. I meditate darkly upon the sofa and contemplate a black coat, uncertain whether it will do for Richard. The rain pours down in bucketsful.'

After 'this monstrous and extraordinary duel' in which the young philosopher of the 'Will to Power' was worsted by an old tailor in the battle for the pantaloons, Nietzsche meets Windisch and together they make their way to the Brockhaus. There the great composer and the obscure scholar are soon in lively conversation.

'He questioned me closely as to how I became acquainted with his music, railed terrifically against all representations of his operas, with the exception of the Munich productions, and made merry over the Kapellmeisters who, in their jolly fashion, keep shouting to their orchestras: "Gentlemen, gentlemen! now it 's growing passionate! My dear fellows! just a little more passion, please!" Wagner imitates the Leipzig dialect splendidly.'

Nietzsche's soul, afloat on an ocean of youthful *schwärmerei*, pours itself out in rapt enthusiastic admiration of this 'amazingly lively and fiery man.' He grows excited when Wagner declares that Schopenhauer, another idol of Nietzsche's at the time, was the one philosopher who understood music. Wagner reads him an extract from that startling autobiography which was not given to the world until the year 1911. Nietzsche laughs himself ill over it. Thus the famous friendship had its beginning.

'Really,' Nietzsche later confides to Rohde, 'my mood 'during all this was most romantic—you must allow that 'the preliminaries to this acquaintance, considering the 'mighty aloofness of the distinguished eremite, came pretty 'close to being fabulous.'

Soon after this event in his life Nietzsche is called to the University of Basle. His impending departure from Leipzig is mysteriously and playfully hinted at in letters to his mother; later he sends an engraved card with his name and this inscription: 'Professor extraord. of classical Philology '(with 800 Thalers salary) at the University of Basle.'

Mockingly he makes merry over the ingenuous enthusiasm his mother and sister evince at this 'marvellous news and 'wonderful luck!' There is little doubt that Nietzsche's acceptance of this professorship at Basle was influenced by the fact that Wagner's home at Tribschen, to which he had been cordially invited, was easily accessible from Basle. This sudden move woefully dislocated projects entertained in common by Nietzsche and his friend Rohde. The latter's deep disappointment was, perhaps, the first rift in the lute of the soul-communion between the two scholars. Their fervent friendship, as reflected in their nine years' correspondence, was based upon the utmost brotherly frankness and affection.

From Basle 'Fritz' writes home chatty notes and genial verses. He warns them not to prepare elaborate kitchen messes against his holiday visit to Naumburg. He has of late been living very simply on bread, milk, grapes, and soups. He enjoys the red wall decorations they sent him, his red sofa and red table-cloth, 'each in a different *nuance*'; his stove keeps him warm, there are double sashes to the room, and he drinks cocoa. Wagner has offered him rare hospitality at Tribschen, and he performs all manner of petty services for Frau Cosima, even to the ordering from Paris of 'white 'tulle with golden stars to serve as a dress for the Christ-'kindchen.'

Two somewhat matter-of-fact letters, dated August and September 1870, are written, one from the battlefield of Weissenburg, the other from the military hospital at Erlangen. He sends home some 'memento of the waste and horrible 'battlefield of Wörth, sown with ghastly remnants of humanity 'and tainted with the smell of corpses.' Here Nietzsche fell ill with what he afterwards asserted was cholera, caught while tending his patients—tending them, no doubt, with much of that 'pity' he afterwards stigmatised as weak and weakening—in his capacity as a member of the Sanitary Corps. He does not, however, tell his mother that the chaplain had already come to prepare him for the end. The next month he is back in Basle and soon in his usual vein. Among his friends there, Fräulein Charlotte Kestner, a dainty and aristocratic old lady (the daughter of Charlotte Buff, the 'Lotte' of Goethe's 'Werther'), occupies a lofty place. Despite occasional sallies into society, to dinners, dances and

parties, he lives 'like a rat amidst his books—has fifty years' 'worth of beautiful work before him, yet must pull like an ox 'in a yoke, and can scarcely turn to right or left.' His health begins to fail.

From Steinabad, whither he had gone in the autumn of 1875 to seek relief from catarrh of the stomach, he writes many pathetic letters to his sister Elizabeth, expressive of his close dependence upon her loving care. A little later she came to keep house for him in Basle. Among the letters there is a draft of one to Wagner, referring to Nietzsche's eulogistic brochure 'Wagner in Bayreuth'—which he subsequently repudiated with such vehemence in his 'Case of Wagner.'

'Here, beloved Master, is a kind of festal Bayreuth sermon! I could not hold my tongue and was forced to speak right out. Those who now take joy in you will certainly have their joy doubled by me—such is my present proud confidence. I have no way of judging how you yourself will receive this tribute. Unpleasant consequences arise with almost every screed I publish—questions are always raised with reference to my personal relations to my subject—misunderstandings which must then be readjusted with considerable charity. Inasmuch as I have this feeling in a very great degree to-day, I am loath to express myself more plainly. When I consider what I have ventured upon this time, I feel a sense of dizziness and hesitation. Once, in your very first letter to me, you wrote me something of faith in German liberty. To this faith I turn to-day, just as this faith alone gave me the courage to do what I have done. I am wholly yours with all my heart.'

Nietzsche, it appears, was nervously, but unnecessarily, concerned lest Wagner should be able to read between the lines of this letter something of the alteration that had already taken place in his attitude towards the Master's work, although his love and reverence were as great as ever.

The South at last woos the sick man and offers him health. In November 1876 he writes to his mother from Sorrento. Her own mother had just died:

'You, dear mother, have lived through all this close beside her, were able to help her and speak with her, and because of this, I am sure, you will feel yourself all the more lonely and bereft. I therefore consider it a great blessing that our Elizabeth is with you this winter—that advantage at least has come to you out of my illness, which would otherwise have caused you only worry and loss. . . . My health grows steadily better. At present I can do nothing more—not even write longer letters, as you know.'

Tortured by a feeble stomach, broken nerves and purblind eyes, Nietzsche in May 1879 writes to his publisher:

'I have resigned my professorship and am going into the mountains—reduced almost to desperation and quite destitute of hope. My sufferings were too severe—too prolonged.

THE HALF-BLIND ONE.'

From 1876 until his collapse Nietzsche maintained a warm-hearted correspondence with Peter Gast, a young composer of considerable ability who became one of his most faithful disciples. Gast performed many important duties and commissions for the ailing philosopher, such as transcribing his manuscripts, correcting his proofs, and attending to the publication of his books—which at first were all issued at Nietzsche's expense. Nietzsche's letters to Gast overflow with the most touching expressions of gratitude and appreciation—and renewed appeals for assistance. This devoted disciple's reverence for his master was repaid by the master's admiration and steady encouragement of the disciple's 'Southern' music, his 'lion' music, which was to reflect the philosopher's Dionysiac 'joy in life.' These hopes, however, appear to have had little fruition. In this correspondence, despite its effusive and intimate nature, there is, on Nietzsche's part, little of the inner abandonment visible in his letters to Rohde. Rohde was always 'Du' to him, but Gast was invariably addressed by the more formal 'Sie.' In a fit of self-doubt he writes to Gast:

'DEAR FRIEND,

'Pray read this manuscript. Then ask yourself this: Are there any traces of suffering or oppression to be found? I do not imagine that there are, and this belief is in itself evidence that power lies hidden in the expression of these views of mine, and not weakness or fatigue—for which my enemies will certainly make search. I shall have no peace until these pages, transcribed by the hand of my most self-sacrificial friend, and then revised by me, are sent off to Chemnitz.... This is a time when it seems most desirable that I betake myself to a place near my mother, my home and my childhood memories.'

The following passage may tend to soften the acerbity of the raging feminist who is prone to revile Nietzsche for what the wise old woman told Zarathustra: 'When thou 'goest to woman, forget not the whip!' Gast had warned him of an ambiguous passage in one of his writings:

'My best thanks, dear friend, for the hint. I do not wish to convey the impression of having any contempt for women, and so I have elided the passage. It is nevertheless true that originally it was man alone who considered himself a human being—the study of languages still gives evidence of this—woman was really reckoned as an animal. The recognition of her humanity is one of the greatest steps in moral progress.'

The themes of love and sympathy often engage his pen when writing to Gast, and he alludes frequently and always poignantly to his rupture with Wagner:

'Here's a reflection: Our love for ourselves is no longer complete when we cease to exercise ourselves in love for others—for which reason this cessation must be guarded against.

You are shaped of stronger material than I, and are able to create loftier ideals for yourself. For my part I suffer atrociously when forced to do without sympathy—nothing in the world, for instance, can quite fill up that deep gap the last few years have brought me in the loss of Wagner's sympathy. How often do I dream of him, and always in the spirit of the cordial relation of bygone days! Never did an angry word pass between us, no, not even in my dreams. . . . All that is now done with—and what boots it if in this or that particular I happened to be in the right? As if this were able to wipe away the memory of the sympathy I have lost! And I have suffered all this many times before as I expect to suffer it many times again. There are the most terrible sacrifices which my progress in Life and Thought have demanded of me. Even now, after an hour of sympathetic conversation with absolutely strange persons, my whole philosophy begins to rock. It appears to me so foolish to endeavour to have right at the expense of love, or not to be able to communicate one's best for fear of losing another's sympathy.'

When young Gast is in temporary need, Nietzsche's own meagre purse flies open at once and he chides him gently for not making his necessity known before. In the following extract from a letter written from his beloved Sils-Maria in 1881, Nietzsche seems to catch some dark prophetic glimpse of his own sorrowful destiny—to strike a note of doom.

'Ah, my dear friend! The August sun is overhead, the year runs along, the peace and silence on the mountains and in the woods grow deeper. Thoughts of which I have never encountered the like have risen up on my horizon. Of these I will give no hint, and I shall keep my soul in a most unassailable repose. It is likely that I shall have to live some years longer. Ah, my friend, a foreboding runs through my mind that I am really living a very dangerous life, for I belong to those machines which may fly to

pieces! The intensity of my feelings makes me shudder and laugh. On several occasions I was unable to leave my room for the ridiculous reason that my eyes were inflamed. Why? On each occasion I had wept too long during my wanderings on the preceding day, and indeed, no sentimental tears, but tears of ecstasy, during which I sang and talked nonsense, filled with the new vision which I alone of all living men possess.'

He would be a rash psychologist who would ascribe these amazing tears to any hysterical origin. They were the tribute of the dreamer to his ideal, of the artist-creator to his creature. He had conceived the Superman.

Nietzsche's ill-health now compelled him to pursue his phantom of an ideal climate from lowland to highland, from sea-coast to mountain-top. In the years that followed the harried man fled from Genoa to Recoaro, then back to his favourite Sils-Maria, thence, returning to Genoa, he lived successively at Trautenburg (his mother's home), Leipzig, Rapallo, Nice, Turin, Cannobio, Chur, wracked in body and oppressed by an infinite loneliness, yet toiling like some demi-urge at his tasks. In relation to Nietzsche's rigid celibacy, the following letter to Gast is of considerable interest. It gives his first impressions of the young woman who, apart from his sister, and to that sister's intense annoyance, came closest to him during his life. Solicitous friends had suggested her as a promising *jüngerin* or female disciple for Nietzsche.

'That poem, "Hymn to Life" * was not my work. It is one of those things that have an immense power over me. I have never read it without tears. It rings like a voice for which I have waited and waited since the days of my childhood. This poem is by my friend Lou (Salome), of whom you have not yet heard. Lou is the daughter of a Russian general, and is twenty years of age. She is as keen as an eagle and as brave as a lion; yet for all that a very girlish creature who, perhaps, has not long to live. . . . She seems to be prepared in a most marvellous way for my whole manner or system of thought. Dear friend, you will certainly do both of us the honour not to imagine that our relationship is in any way a mere love affair. We are friends, and I shall keep this girl and her faith in me sacred.'

This friendship, however, did not last very long, and Nietzsche's five months' dream of possessing the companionship of a sweet yet fiery soul to sustain him on his arduous pilgrim-

* Translated by Herman Scheffauer, vol. xxii., Complete Works.

age, ended in tragic disappointment. The collected letters contain the draft of an epistle to the fair young Russian, in which Nietzsche, smarting both as man and prophet, expresses his disillusion in bitter and mordant terms. One may imagine the triumphant zeal with which the good sister Elizabeth, who edited the correspondence, and who had disliked Lou from the first, inserted this letter! It is possible that domesticity and wifely solicitude might have saved even Nietzsche, with all his disdain of fireside comfort, for a longer, healthier, and happier life. Such influences—who knows?—might have acted as a balance-wheel to his overstrained energies, and the climate of a suitable home might have spared him his constant, agonising flights hither and thither.

From Rapallo he unburdens his soul to the faithful Gast:

'Your last letter was an act of mercy to me. I thank you with all my heart. This winter was the worst in all my life—I consider myself the victim of a cataclysm of Nature. This sinful Deluge of old Europe will kill me yet, unless, perchance, someone comes to my rescue and drags me off to some high Mexican plateau. The immense burden which lies upon me because of the weather (even old Ætna is beginning to spit!) has turned itself into thoughts and feelings whose pressure is simply terrible.'

There were in him, nevertheless, stoic qualities which find expression in the following, also to Gast:

'On reading your last letter a shudder overran me. Let us assume you are right—my life, then, would not be a complete failure? And least so at present when I felt most convinced of it! In another way your letter gave me the impression that I would now have but a short time to live—and that this was well! O dear friend, you can have no idea what a surplusage of sorrow life has cast upon me—from earliest childhood. But I am a soldier, and at last this soldier has even had the great good fortune to become the father of Zarathustra! This parentage was my one hope. I think you will now understand the meaning of my verses to Sanctus Januarius:

"Thou who with thy fiery lances
Cleav'st the ice that pent my soul,
Until oceanward it dances,
Roaring, to its noblest goal."'

Yet the secret of Nietzsche's inner defeats, and of the triumph of the forces that drove him back again and again to brood upon the chains that fettered him to the tragic self-pity of humanity, is contained in this cry: 'In all my sicknesses

'a great terror overcomes me, I feel a kind of dragging-down 'to the weaknesses, the mercies, even the virtues of the mob— 'do you understand that—you son of health?' His rupture with Wagner haunts him still: 'I was like to have gone 'to ruin over it in a trice, for I am not coarse-fibred enough to 'be able to separate myself from human beings whom I have 'once loved. But it is done and I still live.' Nietzsche's nervous and suggestive powers of description and his poetic response to the subtlest moods of Nature, are finely exemplified in this description of Ruta Ligure, written to Gast in October 1886:

'A word from this wonderful corner of the world where I would rather see you than in Munich. Imagine an island of the Greek Archipelago, upon which forests and mountains had been deliberately flung—an island which happened to float against the mainland one day and never came loose again. There is something Greek about it, and also something piratical, unexpected, hidden, perilous—finally, at a lonely turning, a fragment of a tropic pine-forest which takes you out of Europe; yes, something Brazilian, too, as my neighbour at table tells me. Never have I loafed about so much as here, in real Robinson Crusoe insularity and forgetfulness. I have great delight in watching several large fires leap up before me. To see the pure, restless flame with its grey-white belly rear itself against the cloudless heavens—with heather everywhere and that blessedness of October which speaks in a hundred different tints of yellow—Oh, my dear friend, an aftermath of summer such as this would mean something to you—perhaps even more than to me.'

During 1887 and 1888 his letters, in particular those to his mother and sister, his 'dear, dear Llama,' are full of a brooding, retrospective melancholy, complaints of his absolute isolation and heart-breaking loneliness, of ceaseless combats with illness and bad weather, and the increasing curse of insomnia. The radical differences of opinion between himself and his friends alienate them from him, one by one. 'Each 'finds his little hearth and circle; only the most independent 'of them finds none.' One of the heaviest blows that fell upon the unhappy man was the realisation of the great gulf that had spread between him and his old bosom friend, Erwin Rohde, who had become one of the most brilliant of German philologists. In the spring of 1886 Nietzsche had journeyed all the way from Venice to Leipzig in order to visit his old comrade. The two men, who had not seen each other for

ten years, met once more—and faced the tragic truth that each had utterly altered in soul. An icy breath of estrangement fell upon them, and Nietzsche revealed his sorrow thus in a letter to his sister:

'Where are those old friends with whom I once felt myself so closely united? Now it is as if we belonged to different worlds and no longer spoke the same language. Like some stranger, some banished man, I wander among them; no word, no look reaches me now. I grow dumb, for no man understands my words—Oh! it is too true that they have never, never understood me! Or is it that each endures the same fate and bears the same burden in his soul? It is terrible to be condemned to silence when one has so much to declare! Non-communication is, in truth, the most awful of all isolations.'

Rohde, it appears, was appalled by something unearthly in the aspect of his former friend (who must have been a startling figure, with his great military moustache, dark, glittering eyes and beetling brows), and wrote thus: 'There 'was something in him which I never knew before, and much 'that had once characterised him no longer existed. It was 'as if he came from a land in which no one else could live.'

In the momentous year 1888 Nietzsche began to attract the attention of the famous Danish critic Georg Brandes. Nietzsche was raging against Germany for its indifference to the truth of his philosophy, his nerves were unstrung, and he was forcing himself to perform prodigies of work. His whole being was in a state of stormy exaltation. He pours forth his gratitude to Brandes for his appreciation and for the lectures in which Brandes had introduced him to the Danish public. He is filled with a burning desire to see his last work, 'Ecce Homo,' published in four European languages at once. Through Brandes he becomes acquainted with August Strindberg, to whom his first letter begins thus:

'The highly valued note from Monsieur Taine which I enclose encourages me to ask your advice in a matter which is of supreme importance to me. I wish to be read in France: this, in fact, is an absolute necessity for my purpose. Inasmuch as I am the most independent and possibly the strongest spirit of our age—one doomed to fulfil a tremendous task—I refuse to be constrained from saluting those few kindred souls who might give ear to me, by the absurd barriers which an abominable dynastic national policy has set up between the peoples. . . . I am to-day the loneliest of all Germans. . . . And since there is in my nature nothing either

morbid or capricious, I have grown to feel this lonesomeness, not as an affliction, but as a precious distinction, as a state of *cleanliness*. Nor has anyone ever complained of a dismal mien on my part, not even myself. Perhaps no other mortal has made himself familiar with more evil or more questionable worlds of thought; but this was because I must perforce love the thing apart. I regard gaiety as one of the *proofs* of my philosophy. And perhaps I may prove this to you in the two books I send you to-day.'

Strindberg's response must have flattered Nietzsche's wounded vanity and sublime megalomania at this time.

The Swedish author wrote that Nietzsche 'had bestowed 'upon humanity the deepest book it possesses. Moreover, 'he had the courage to spit these magnificent words straight 'in the faces of this pack of rogues!' Nietzsche then proposes to Strindberg, who wrote perfect French, that he should undertake the translation of 'Ecce Homo.' The tone of the letter is the tone of the book: 'Be assured, dear sir, it is a work 'of supreme importance. For I am strong enough to break 'the history of mankind into halves.'

The long evening is at hand. There are flashes of reviving joy and titanic courage, there are even bursts of golden humour; but the innermost heart of Zarathustra's creator had been corroded by the rust of his supreme world-loneliness. In consequence of the strong drugs he used to induce sleep, a stroke of brain paralysis fell upon him at the close of the year 1888, and thenceforward his dynamic mind lay lamed, lethargic, and helpless until his death in 1900. The tender devotion of his mother and sister furnishes another of those poignant instances of love and sacrifice which, no doubt, are common enough, but shine, as in the case of Charles and Mary Lamb, with an additional lustre when bound up with a luminous name. Every letter Nietzsche wrote up to the moment of his collapse is absolutely clear and coherent. His last words to his mother are:

'Fortunately, I have now developed in all the directions necessary for my task. My health is really splendid; the heaviest duties, for which no man has yet been strong enough, come easily to me. . . . My dear old mother, accept my heartiest good wishes at the close of the year and wish me a twelvemonth consonant with all the great things I must yet accomplish.'

From Turin he writes to Strindberg on the last day of December 1888:

'You will receive my answer to your novel in due course—it sounds like a rifle-shot. I have commanded a holiday to be made at Rome, and given orders—for a fusillade. Until we meet again—for we shall meet again! *Une seule condition. Divorçons.*

NIETZSCHE CAESAR.'

On the 4th of January 1889 Nietzsche sends his last mystic message to Peter Gast:

'To MY MAËSTRO PIETRO,—

'Sing a new song for me: the World is illumined and all the heavens are filled with joy.'

On the same day he writes a final line to Strindberg, who had read his previous message with 'consternation and a shuddering 'heart':

'*Eheu!* No more! *Divorçons!*'

And then to Brandes:

'To FRIEND GEORG,—

'After thou hadst discovered me, it was no great task to find me; the difficulty that now arises is—how canst thou lose me again?'

All three of these cryptic messages bore the significant and fateful signature: 'The Crucified One.'

At last, with the dawn of the new century, the soldier-philosopher sank to rest on his battlefield. His mind had been dark and his lips silent for eleven years, but his face was still set towards that future on whose far, murky horizons he had seen the great phantasmal figure of the Superman towering like some gleaming cloud.

HERMAN SCHEFFAUER.

CURRENT LITERATURE

1. **Essays in Biography.** By CHARLES WHIBLEY. Constable. 1913.
2. **Joyous Gard.** By ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER BENSON. Murray. 1913.
3. **The Adventurous Simplicissimus,** being the description of the Life of a strange vagabond named Melchior Sternfels von Fuchshaim. Written in German by HANS JACOB CHRISTOPH VON GRIMMELSHAUSEN, and now for the first time done into English. Heinemann. 1913.
4. **Jane Austen: Her Life and Letters.** A Family Record. By WILLIAM AUSTEN-LEIGH and RICHARD ARTHUR AUSTEN-LEIGH. Smith, Elder. 1913.
5. **Mary Russell Mitford: The Tragedy of a Blue Stocking.** By W. J. ROBERTS. Melrose. 1913.
6. **A Small Boy and Others.** By HENRY JAMES. Macmillan. 1913.
7. **Lore of Proserpine.** By MAURICE HEWLETT. Macmillan. 1913.
8. **Love-Letters of a Worldly Woman.** By Mrs. W. K. CLIFFORD. New Edition. Constable. 1913.
9. **Poems.** By ALICE MEYNELL. Burns and Oates. 1913.

IN a day when books are for the most part addressed to a vast and undiscriminating public, when, of the stalls in Vanity Fair, that of the publisher is not the least garish, noisy, and democratic, the writer who steadfastly refuses to forget that literature is an art as well as a trade, that there is an aristocracy of the mind as well as of society, is almost as rare as he is invaluable. Such a writer is Mr. Charles Whibley. In his new collection of essays, even when his subject in some of its bearings is of a popular character, his treatment of it is scrupulously individual and independent. Only form gives real significance. It is not a jibe that Swift could write about a broomstick what it would be a joy to read; it is the most enviable compliment an artist can deserve. Mr. Whibley's nearest approach to a broomstick is the 'stoik philosopher' George Buchanan. With the deftest analysis and the nicest courtesy Mr. Whibley demonstrates that, in spite of Montaigne's tribute to a most erudite and witty scholar, 'mekle maid 'accompt of in other countries,' 'ce grand poëte escossois' was

only a skilful and imitative versifier. But while restoring him to justice Mr. Whibley rescues him from calumny, and in the process succeeds in making him alive again. Books are apt to disguise and to desiccate humanity. Mr. Whibley pierces through the print. His distaste is contemptuous for superficial judgment and shallow generalisations. He is that rare thing, a scholar; and that rarer thing yet, a scholar intent on reality.

All his chosen subjects are graced with some excess or singularity:—Sir Thomas Overbury, whose brilliant and arrogant career at last closed in darkness and solitude in the Tower, after he had languished for months on a fell diet of tarts and jellies flavoured by his enemies with 'roscetre, arsenic, 'mercury sublimate, and powder of diamonds' in quantities sufficient to kill a dozen men: the Italianated John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, merciless servant of the 'butcher of England,' who, when at last his own turn came, bade the executioner cut his head off in three strokes, as a courtesy to the Holy Trinity: honest, curious, irascible John Stow, the witty and credulous tailor turned chronicler, who four centuries ago anticipated the whole art and craft of newspaper reporting by recognising that 'the more fatuous 'is an episode, the more instant is its appeal': the fabulously romantic Admirable Crichton, 'an undergraduate raised to 'the highest power': the princely Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle: that royally imaginative master of prose, Sir Thomas Browne.

Any 'rope-ripe scoundrel,' particularly if he be 'the most 'sinister figure in a sinister age,' wins precisely his due from Mr. Whibley. Any quixotic, bizarre figure, whether scholar, statesman, ruffler, or recluse, is sure of a polite if ironical and searching scrutiny. The irony is hardly more than an aromatic flavouring. The humour is crisp—the play of a clear and heatless beam of intellect. What bias there is is a bias against shallow prejudice. The quiet raillery plays softly on, directed not so much against any particular individual, however egregious, as against life itself, the whole tragi-comedy, so intensely real and hearty a business for the motley crew of actors amidst the mob of supers, so endlessly entertaining a spectacle for the composed and catholic-minded spectator. Mr. Whibley is interested in books for the sake of

the life they focus and intensify; and he insists on an austere sense of craftsmanship because life in all its guises is worthy of the artist's pains. His own prose is perhaps a thought too conscious. He delights in trimming a telling phrase. And the urbane *insouciance* that conceals so sound a taste and so comprehensive an erudition, though it gives a fascinating individuality to his work, leaves also a faint suggestion of artifice. It is a kind of literary gallantry. Mr. Whibley writes as many of his beloved butts lived—intent on wringing its last fine savour from the passing moment, with an air and a gesture between the now and the hereafter.

No intellectual irony ruffles the placid surface of 'Joyous 'Gard.' Mr. Benson has written many such volumes of intimate musings for what is now a very numerous circle of admirers. Twenty-seven short essays make up this last book, one and all on such bristlingly complex subjects as ideas, science, faith, visions, progress, emotion, art. But however complex his theme, Mr. Benson is always pellucidly simple in his disquisition. His aim is 'to be serious without being solemn,' and it is only his own pensive affability and ease that occasionally suggest that he is being solemn without being serious. Indeed the risk incurred by a reader of this stealthy and sinuous form of literary reverie is that he may entertain 'great thoughts' with the slenderest modicum of conviction. Mr. Benson is an almost dogged moralist, but nobody could nurse resentment against a disciplinarian so sympathetic and unassuming, or misapprehend an insistency drugged with the impersonality of a reiterated 'one ought.' Such a method induces rather an almost intolerable sense of well-being. In all these essays we are conscious of a fastidious catholicity, a restful and wistful optimism, an almost angelic tolerance of individuals, a distinctly acid distaste for all inferior and superior types and classes. Mr. Benson detests 'the wild giggling of restless 'people.' On the other hand, he views with an anxiously prudent eye any too 'wild flight of the spirit.' Concerning the English, as a race, no German could be more candid. We are bashful, canting, affected, silly, credulous, snobbish, dull, pretentious money-grubbers. Nor is this all the dark of the picture. Yet so persuasive and demulcent is Mr. Benson's style that the dullest clod of Anglo-Saxondom will thank his stars his blood

owes nothing to the Conqueror. We merely shake a saddish head at our neighbours and read on. And even when the lesson, the rebuke, narrowly skirts the personal, we still shake a saddish head and still read on.

For Mr. Benson's innumerable devotees have fallen a prey to nothing less insidious than 'charm,' or in his own term, 'spicery.' He invites us into a 'Joyous Gard' where surely Sir Launcelot, whether as wanton or remorseful lover, would feel very far from at home. It is a fortress 'of beauty and 'joy,' of an elaborate serenity, erected in a leisure snatched from hard work, 'interviews and teachings and meetings,' and in obedience to 'the call' of a blossoming lilac-bush outside the writer's study-window. Mr. Benson, ensconced in this solitude, deplores the indisputable fact that we cannot always say what we think in talk and hails his pen and 'blessed white 'paper' with joy; for with these for allies there is no need to be anything in the world but what one really is. What then of that deadly mental nausea of the writer that Newman so sharply describes, of that futile pursuit of the unique word that tortured Flaubert and obsessed Pater, that sedulous apishness of Stevenson's, the bitter effort, bitter failure, bitter success of other slaves and masters of the pen who never even to their dying day learned how to write with ease? Mr. Benson recommends the practice of poetry for the improvement of prose—poetry, 'the least likely of all forms of literary 'expression to bring a man credit or cash.' He speaks from experience. But so also did another poet: 'Accord-'ing to our theory,' wrote Francis Thompson in his wonderful essay on Shelley, 'the practice of prose should 'maintain fresh and comprehensive a poet's diction, should 'save him from falling into the hands of an elusive coterie of 'poetic words. . . . For it is with words as with men: con-'stant intermarriage within the limits of a patrician clan begets 'effete refinement. . . .' Mr. Benson has not, we think, entirely escaped such a coterie, nor, in spite of a specious free-and-easiness, a somewhat intensive refinement. It seems sometimes as if, conscious even in his bookish solitude of a great cloud of witnesses—'the friends known and unknown'—to whom he dedicates his book, a subtle telepathy moves him to the utterance of a kind of composite thought and feeling. He then resembles the chairman of a unanimous philanthropic

assembly who has his audience well in hand. And the reader who at any moment chafes at this fluent inoppugnable sententiousness is frettedly aware that he is in the presence not of a single writer but of a million passive, perhaps a little censorious, readers, infinitely better than himself. 'Your philosophy or 'your life!' they seem to cry. And being a poor earthly creature, troubled about many things within and without, far from his rest, and distrustful of the very happiness of treading the *via media*, he flies from 'Joyous Gard'—pursued by a warning that has become a positive temptation:—'I do 'not mean that people can or should play fast and loose 'with life.'

As if in wait for such a reader is 'The Adventurous Simpli-'cissimus,' the record of as outlandish and devil-may-care a vagabond as ever in the world's history shocked philosopher, or suffered, fought, robbed, drank, dared, and diced his way through life. A mere glance at the chapter-headings of this volume will give a hint of its amazing extravagance and variety:

How Simplicissimus was changed from a wild beast into a Christian: How Simplicissimus got two eyes out of one calf's head: How Simplicissimus was by four devils brought into hell and there treated with Spanish wine: How he led the life of a nobleman . . . was present at a dance of witches . . . became a fool again as he had been a fool before . . . was imprisoned for a traitor and enchanter: How the devil stole the parson's bacon and how the huntsman caught himself: How the embassy of fleas fared with Jupiter: How Simplicissimus all unawares was made a married man: How he became a vagabond quack and a cheat . . . a rich man . . . being terrified of the devil, was converted . . . fell to wanton courses, journeyed with the sylphs to the centre of the earth . . . wasted his spring in the wrong place . . . and by what a short and merry road he came home to his dad. . . .

The moiety of these moving events occurred in the life of this picaresque warrior, Melchior Sternfels von Fuchshaim, before he was sixteen. Not all of them are positive matter-of-fact, but the narrative is at least founded on the actual experiences of its author, Hans Jacob Christoph von Grimmelshausen, who published it in 1669.

His translator, who veils his identity under the initials

A. T. S. G., explains that his work is intended as a contribution to the sociology of the period of the Thirty Years' War rather than as a specimen of literature. For 'Simplicissimus' is the only German substitute for the rich contemporary memoirs of France and England, towards the end of the seventeenth century. In his introduction the translator gives a concise account of his author (the gallant supporter of no fewer than eleven pseudonyms), of the public events in which he participated, of the identifiable personages mentioned in his book, and of what may be called the Simplicissimus cycle—'Trutz-'simplex,' 'Springisfeld,' the 'Enchanted Bird's Nest,' and the 'Everlasting Almanack'—titles which promise as rich (if occasionally as rank and indigestible) a feast as 'Simpli-'cissimus' itself. The translator's extremely fine achievement is the conversion of a German classic into what is unquestionably one of the most masterly translations in English since the days of Holland, Florio, Urquhart, and North. Scrutiny of his work reveals no showy and obvious prescription. 'Tis' and 'twas,' the substitution of *eth* for *s*, and so on in the verbal terminations, the ingenious use or avoidance of the auxiliary *do* and *did*, of the subjunctive mood, the doubling of terms, 'pastime and exercise,' 'like and suitable': all these simple devices are apparent. But they do not of course in the least account for the ease, raciness, flexibility, grace, the rhythm and cadence, the perfect surface and tone of A. T. S. G.'s fascinating prose. Grimmelshausen, who may not have seen life whole and was a stranger to its rarer atmospheres, at least bore witness with naked clearness to the raw and hideous side of it as it is revealed in the cruelty, terror, greed, fever,and indifference to life which are unleashed by war. He himself is responsible for the fabulous incident and detail of his record; his translator for the art and craft of renewing its imaginative reality. Many passages will test the strongest stomach. One or two have been too gross for reproduction. Yet his sinister irony, his undefeatable high spirits, his coarse outspokenness, should prove a not unwholesome draught for the quiet and secure reader of to-day. One brief passage will suggest at the same time his sardonic *naïveté* and his translator's masterly workmanship:

Now did I begin to consider and to ponder upon my unhappy condition and prospects, and to think how I might best help myself

out of my plight. For whither should I go? Here indeed my poor wits were far too slender to devise a plan. Yet they served me so far that towards evening I ran into the woods. But then whither was I to go further? for the ways of the wood were as little known to me as the passage beyond Nova Zembla through the Arctic Ocean to China. 'Tis true the pitch-dark night was my protection: yet to my dark wits it seemed not dark enough; so I did hide myself in a close thicket wherein I could hear both the shrieks of the tortured peasants and the song of the nightingales; which birds regarded not the peasants either to show compassion for them or to stop their sweet song for their sakes: and so I laid myself, as free from care, upon one ear, and fell asleep. But when the morning star began to glimmer in the East I could see my poor dad's house all aflame, yet none that sought to stop the fire: so I betook myself thither in hopes to have some news of my dad; whereupon I was espied by five troopers, of whom one hollaed to me "Come hither, boy, or I will shoot thee dead."'

'The prettiest, silliest, most affected, husband-hunting 'butterfly': in these feminine terms Miss Mitford, on very precarious authority, summed up the character of the author of 'Pride and Prejudice.' 'Still a poker—but a poker of whom 'everyone is afraid' was the last shot of a volley of spite which could not be 'vouched for.' Jane Austen's lovers—and had she lived, dowered with the charms of a Cleopatra, to twice the age of Methuselah, life could not have won for her the tenth of a tithe of the admirers enslaved by her books—need no 'new and complete' volume of her 'Life and Letters' to convince them of the falsity of the charge which Mr. Roberts in his 'Tragedy of a Blue Stocking' easily explains away. For though the compilers of the former volume have with admirable care and industry re-arranged and supplemented the none too ample material already published, it is her novels that really enshrine the serene, observant mind, the quiet, unimpassioned heart of Jane Austen. Evidence of her personal appearance is conflicting. Her cousin, Philadelphia, described her, at twelve, as prim, precise, whimsical and affected. The whimsical may explain the rest. Sir Egerton Brydges, trusting to memory, witnessed to her being fair and handsome, slight and elegant, but with cheeks a little too full. Her cousin Eliza pronounced her a Perfect Beauty, who gained, as perfect beauties should, hearts by the dozen. At the best of her womanhood, the mid-thirties, we know that she walked with a quick, firm step, had a mottled skin, hazel eyes, a small,

well-shaped nose, and was a mistress of the arts of needlework, spillikins, and cup-and-ball. The face that launched a thousand ships was the shrine of a wanton soul. That may be some philosophic consolation for those who steadfastly hope that plainness need not 'go to the bone.' But indeed if the face is a mirror of the mind, then it must have been a very pleasant thing to look at Jane Austen.

She 'never said a sharp thing in her life,' this most un-modern woman, and yet lived contentedly on in the society of the mediocrities whom she portrays to the life in her novels. That is proof of something even better than restraint. She had her sweethearts (though intelligence was never the most marriageable of feminine qualities). She won the 'boy's love' (perhaps the best) of Tom Lefroy; as he attested when he was ninety. There was the ill-fated Mr. Blackall, cordially approved of by Jane's elder sister, Cassandra, to whom nearly all the extant letters were addressed. And there was a Mr. Anon., to whom she said Yes overnight, and a very downright No next morning. And so she remained unmarried. But her books—the still, clear looking-glass of her outward, and of much but not all of her inward, life—were ample compensation, if any were needed, for an existence of single blessedness, unselfish and sympathetic.

Jane Austen began to scribble before she reached her teens. Success was niggardly and late, though at last she was able to boast 'I have written myself into £250, which only makes 'me long for more.' In the workaday bustle of a full and busy home, she wrote on in secret joy, 'only for fame and without 'any view to pecuniary emolument.' Keats shared that modest arrogance. It was, as she said of Elizabeth Bennet, her business to be satisfied, her temper to be happy. She practised an instinctive self-control as a duty. She was her own clear-sighted, unprejudiced, unafflictive mistress. She knew that social existence consisted for the most part of trivialities, of the follies of the well-intentioned, the infelicities of the discontented, of 'a monstrous deal of stupid quizzing 'and commonplace nonsense,' but she viewed and appraised it all against the still background of her own life. 'We shall 'improve, I dare say, as we go on.' She could be happy anywhere. 'We had a very quiet evening. I believe Mary 'found it dull, but I thought it very pleasant.' Hers was

'a good, a speaking' part. She never quarrelled with the scenery or with her fellow actors, nor found fault with the stage manager. The present authors repudiate the notion that Jane Austen was a stranger to the emotional and romantic side of life, that her experience was shallow and stagnant. The most trying storms in life are those in a tea-cup. Not all life's heroes rest in Westminster Abbey. The author of 'Sense and Sensibility' kept her heart safe and her inward conflicts secret. We know that her sister destroyed letters too personal to be published. But apart from that, this daughter of a country clergyman never found intolerably tedious an environment wherein it must have been usually afternoon. She really enjoyed Steventon and Southampton and Chawton ('chocolate-coloured carpet' and all)—with the quietest genius in English literature to give them an unfailing savour. And so we see her in her gossipings with Cassandra:—dress and dress again, teas, balls, parties, reiterated matrimonialities, money, weather, and evanescent 'young men.' That the example of her shining serenity, of her grave trust in the simple truth of things, was neither unheeded nor unfollowed is proved by Cassandra's comment on her sister's death:

'She was the sun of my life, the gilder of every pleasure, the soother of every sorrow; I had not a thought concealed from her, and it is as if I had lost a part of myself. . . . You know me too well to be at all afraid that I should suffer materially from my feelings; I am perfectly conscious of the extent of my irreparable loss, but I am not at all overpowered and very little indisposed, nothing but what a short time, with rest and change of air, will remove.'

Miss Mitford's life, unlike Jane Austen's, was a series of circumstantial ups and downs; the downs mainly owing to the incorrigible *abandon* of her father. He was a sore and ively trial, but to the end 'little Mary' tenderly loved and cherished 'her dear papa.' Ruin fell upon him in her early childhood. He took refuge within the Rules of King's Bench, and lived for awhile on doing odd jobs for the famous quack, Dr. Graham, who, in an age of large families, invented the 'Celestial Bed' and, forerunner of our Eugenists, exhibited the future Lady Hamilton as the Goddess of Hygiene. Mary, as

afterwards became her custom, redeemed the family fortune by selecting a lucky lottery-ticket (No. 2242, which not only adds up to that prince of numbers, ten, but to precisely her own age on the day of her choice). Her father gave her the ticket and spent the prize—£20,000. Twenty years after only a Wedgwood dinner-service was left to tell the tale. But through all clouds of shame and chagrin Miss Mitford kept up her courage. Her letters reflect it with 'a cold, high polish.' She is jocose, airy, and prudish. 'How you would dote on 'Metastasio!' she assures her father at fifteen—the father who cultivated a livelong contempt for 'littery people.' Throughout Crabbe's 'Borough'—the Crabbe of Miss Austen's devotion—she found 'not one chaste passage'; though another poet, Thomas Moore, struck her as the 'aboriginal 'of all that is pleasant in man.' As for Maria Edgeworth, Miss Mitford could never see a young girl perusing her pages without lamenting that she would be 'let into the trick of life 'before her time.' The Trick of Life!—with Mr. Benson and Jane Austen, with Simplicissimus and Sir Thomas Browne in one's mind, what would one *not* give for a little light on that piquant phrase!

Miss Mitford's first venture into authorship, 'Miscellaneous 'Poems,' involved the speculation of £59. As such ventures are wont to be, it was an unprofitable one, but not necessarily because, in her own words, she was

> 'unskilful to prolong
> The finely modulated song,'

or because the 'exigencies of rhyme' forced from her the sentiment that *home* dwells not 'tenacious in one only *dome*.' But in 1824 'Our Village' 'issued shyly forth.' In 1828 'Rienzi' took Drury Lane by storm. And Mitford was now a household word. 'Alice' knew fewer duchesses. The Duke of Devonshire brought her a prodigious nosegay—a round thousand of sprays of lilies of the valley, 'without a single 'leaf.' Wordsworth delighted in the company of this rotund, broad-faced little lady, bunched up in a shawl and a coal-scuttle bonnet, from beneath which shone out a pale-grey, soul-lit eye. Seven carriages embellished the highway before her country retreat. So extreme were the exactions of popularity that three days out of four in the height of the season

poor Miss Mitford fainted dead away before tea. In spite of that familiar cry 'Oh, who would be an authoress!' she revelled in fame, dressed to her part, and once, seated *en reine*, in 'a striped satin something,' in a high chair, there was observed, pinned to the back of the magnificent turban surmounting her largeish head, a card bearing the legend 'Very chaste—only 5*s*. 3*d*.' The castigator of Crabbe was far too genial to resent her own carelessness, even if she had become aware of it. Thus Mr. Roberts portrays her in an entertaining volume. Care and duns and the vanities and vexations of authorship pursued her. But her temper was resilient, her patience with an undeserving parent was exemplary, and she well deserved her remarkable success.

'A Small Boy and Others' is the first volume of what will surely prove the most delicate and illuminating tribute ever paid by one man of genius to another. It is concerned with only the early days in the lives of William and Henry James. Glimpses of the elder brother, though sharply distinctive, are as yet few and scattered. But the whole scene of their boyhood, the whole field of experience which they shared and which was eventually to serve them both for so diverse and triumphant an end, is described in the richest detail. And the result is one more of Mr. James's consummate achievements in the art of narrative. To childhood every imaginative mind owes its enduring sense of life. Every poet is at heart a child. And the greatest novelists not only retain that first unfaltering insight, that first instinctive comprehension and fine sensibility, but they owe the very atmosphere essential to fiction—its beauty, mystery, aloofness—to the quietest of all eyes, the most intense of all reveries, the most dreamlike of all realities—the child's. Mr. Henry James speaks of 'the sacred thrill 'of expectation' that he continually enjoyed in his youth. 'I took the unknown always for the magnificent,' with ear attent 'to the far-off hum of a thousand possibilities.' And just as experience unfolded itself to him, so his art reconstitutes it for his reader. The rare feature of his book is not so much its clearness of vision, the precision of its emotional and imaginative memory—though no other autobiography reveals a richer possession of these qualities—but the extent and

munificence of the stage over which this small boy was fated to range at ease and at large. Three great cities—hardly less various and exacting a trio than the rival goddesses upon Mount Ida—New York, London, Paris, spread their enormous panorama before the eyes of the little demure dreamer-awake that broods (in what was actually 'facial agony') out of the engaging daguerreotype prefixed to this volume. Practically nothing and nobody of any account seems to have been denied to his innocence and wisdom. And never wandered, gaped and devoured his way through their streets, a witness of an appetite more vast and more assimilative, of a palate more discriminating, than he who now so scrupulously and urbanely, with such softly radiant *bonhomie* and humour, repaid their trust and hospitality. 'Just to *be* somewhere,' not merely to be *somebody*, was his consuming desire. 'A helpless little 'love of horizons' possessed him. 'I never dreamed of 'competing.'

The looker-on, it is said, sees most of the game; and the players are too absorbed to realise it. So it was with the prodigious game of life and this childish spirit. But most men's eyes and minds see and think lucidly only one thing at a time. This eye and this mind swept phenomena as a search-light sweeps the sea; or rather, whenever their possessor entered into a room or turned the corner of a street, a voracious, instinctive attention at once set all in focus—a looking-glass with radium to vitalise its quicksilver. Names of places and of people throng these pages, names long famous and names now no longer obscure. But whether it be the baby Prince Imperial borne forth for his airing in a splendid coach; or the 'enormously big' and benevolent, 'the great 'Mr. Thackeray,' laying his hand on the littlest Miss James's flounced person and exclaiming with ludicrous horror 'Crinoline?—I was suspecting it! So young and so de-'praved!' or the then slightly worn, beautiful pink, Henrietta Sontag, Countess Rossi; or whether it be less international personages, like the 'so old, so empurpled, so polite' and tremendously respectable family dentist, Dr. Parkhurst, of Broadway; or the wistful and endearing family 'Mr. Dick'; every transitory visitor to these pages for one vivid instant lives and *is*. A child of a rare and insatiable receptiveness was among them, engaged not in that dry and desiccating

practice, taking notes, but absorbing and storing for a wonderful future whole blissful draughts of essential experience.

Out of the world of humanity into that of the preternatural, another small boy takes us in Mr. Hewlett's 'Lore of Proser-'pine.' And there, like the robbers with the ill-fated babes, he abandons us. For, either to warn off the Philistine, or because absolute truth is indefinable, he leaves the crude question of the matter-of-factness of his evidence in the air. Fairy wives, Mr. Hewlett assures us, are this very day much, much commoner than exemplary husbands. There are a quarter of a million of them. As regards fairy spinsters he cites no figures. Mr. Hewlett not only believes in Dryad and Oread and nymph and sylph, he has repeatedly seen them and been seen by them. They are as real and as joyous a portion of his past and present as ninths of November are of an alderman's. He describes them with the vivid minuteness that Pope lavished in the interests of Lucinda, or Gulliver spent upon Lilliput, and with that wealth of strange and unforeseen detail that is always the accompaniment, if not the positive proof, of reality. Read simply as romance, his book would be an unusual (though chequered) delight. As fact, it is nothing less than cataclysmic. If, occasionally perceptible by man's refined senses, these beings actually exist, what a blessed enleavening of the lump of life that fact entails! What strange doors turn softly on oiled hinges. What light is thrown on many queer friends of ours. No longer need we stand lost in vague wonder of the listening hush of woods at evening, the cry of waters, the perplexing beauty of strange faces. No longer remain inexplicable the sense of a thronged solitude, the intercepted sorcery of an eye, the gasp of panic terror, the chance and causeless lull of heart and mind. Unfortunately, and yet perhaps inevitably, Mr. Hewlett's preface, as we have said, leaves the question open, while his Master Quidnunc, we think, will defy the most generous credulity. Nothing, we fear, will persuade him to make any attempt to convince those who would insist on his haling his amazing Mrs. Ventris, or the pale, cobweb-clad, bloodless kidnapper of Florrie Beckwith, or the weanling Oread of Chesilbury, before a committee of the Society for Psychical Research. Every reader will necessarily draw his own

conclusions, and in spite of all the esoteric evidence scattered up and down in books, sceptics will probably preponderate. But Ready, ay ready! should be the watchword of those whose sense of the reality of life has not been hopelessly dulled by the habit of living. We easily cease even to wonder at our dreams, ignore the individual in recognition of its class, acknowledge beauty without feeling it, look without seeing, turn a deaf ear to impulse, take refuge in words. His novels prove Mr. Hewlett the possessor of faculties rare, if not in themselves, at any rate in such intensity. This book testifies to faculties, according to most experience, more than rare in any degree. But if Blake affirmed that as a child he saw God's face at his window and a tree at Clapham bowed down with angels, who are we blinder folk to chatter about hallucination? We can envy without distrust. And whenever we take our walks abroad, a primrose by the river's brim will now be none the less lovely for the thought that it may be reflecting the gold of a stooping Naiad's hair.

Mrs. Clifford's 'Love-Letters of a Worldly Woman' was first published twenty years ago. To-day—with the addition of a new series—it renews its youth. It has lost nothing of its first freshness and spirit. Its wit still rings keen. The portraits—so skilfully painted by the sitters' own hand—are unblurred and unfaded. And though a fairly high tide has flowed under the bridge called femininity since 1893, this correspondence is still quite modern. Its world-old problems are still unsolved. Its women are new-fashioned not old—that is to say, they are as new in kind as Delilah, as ancient in kind as Miss Christabel Pankhurst. The last mystery to leave the wreck of sex will be woman's fanatical toleration of Man. Stevenson vainly speculated how any wife could have married any husband. He retrieved, we fancy, only three mere men from the annals of humanity, worthy of a passionate devotion, and none of them was Donne, or Sidney, or Henry VIII., or Dickie Steele, or Dick Turpin, or Shelley. Certainly Mrs. Clifford's men are either dull-witted or dull-hearted, self-centred or unstable, though all, probably, motherable creatures. Mark is the worst and most attractive; Sir Noel, we suppose, one of the best, and the least. As for poor Phil in 'The 'Woman and the Philistine,' he deserved neither his Eve nor

his Lilith—and that 's the commonest kind of Adam outside Eden. Mrs. Clifford's women, on the other hand, are at least womanly—ill or well—and willing to squander all self at the ripe and precise moment it is really demanded of them, however poorly deserved. Her book is a series of riddles—spiritual and physical. But she is too conscientious an artist and too subtle a thinker to do more than suggest answers. Nor need her reader. Woman will remain a mystery to man, however angrily she may rebut the suggestion. Are the workers in a hive of bees any more conscious of why they always face their queen than of what precise order of Providence robs them of their honey?

'Life is a pure flame,' said Sir Thomas Browne, 'and we 'live by an invisible sun within us.' It is the light of this invisible sun, whether in its first daybeams or in the last that lean from a darkening heaven and enwrap beauty with melancholy, that casts earth's shadows upon all poetry. One brief snatch of words transmuted into poetry by this pure inward flame will outlast the unkindled labour of a lifetime.

Compared with the complete repertory of many modern poets Mrs. Meynell's volume of 'Collected Poems' is slight enough. More than twenty years have gone to its making. The little volume 'Preludes' enchanted Ruskin and Patmore and Meredith. And though great poets, like suns that brighten moons, are not always—as many a brief and dazzling reputation testifies—sound critics, in this case at any rate time will not refute their praises. Some of Mrs. Meynell's later work has sacrificed spontaneity to closeness of thought, or to a more definite intention than poetry will easily endure. But, apart from the beauty of individual poems, what distinguishes this volume as a whole is the spiritual ideal to which every word of it is steadfastly loyal. Many poets childishly explore the house of life and sing from half its windows, hardly conscious that though all 'command a view' not all views are equally worth commanding. Their criticism of life keeps uneven pace with their delight in it. But if we read any one of Mrs. Meynell's collections of essays, or the introduction and notes to her 'Flower of the Mind,' and then turn to her poems, we at once realise that she has, as artist, instinctively and consistently

held true to the standard upon which she has based her judgment as a critic. The influence of a writer so scrupulous and so distinctive, who has given only of her best and in turn exacts some effort of mind and fineness of insight from her readers, is not easy to estimate. Distinction, indeed, complex thing though it be, is in Mrs. Meynell's work—like Coleridge's magic, Francis Thompson's imagery, Donne's intensity—a natural quality.

As she herself has said, 'it is futile hard work to define 'poetry.' And it is futile hard work, too, to talk about it, with any real satisfaction or profit to writer or reader. But 'it is light labour, lovely labour, and not lost to describe it.' And the only unfailing method of description is quotation. Her early poems, 'Builders of Ruins,' 'To a Daisy,' 'The 'Visiting Sea,' 'To the Beloved,' 'Renouncement,' have long been the possession of every lover of verse. Many of the 'later' poems have already proved treasure-trove to the anthologist—the lovely lilting 'Shepherdess,' for instance, and 'Chimes':

'Brief, on a flying night,
From the shaken tower,
A flock of bells take flight,
And go with the hour.

'Like birds from the cote to the gales,
Abrupt—O hark!
A fleet of bells set sails,
And go with the dark.

'Sudden the cold airs swing.
Alone, aloud,
A verse of bells takes wing
And flies with the cloud.'

'The Fold,' 'A Poet's Wife,' 'Maternity,' have in common a like delicate sureness and beauty of cadence and, above all, that hardly-won essential of all true poetry, simplicity:

'Plain, behind oracles, it is; and past
All symbols, simple; perfect, heavenly-wild,
The song some loaded poets reach at last—
The kings that found a Child.'

WALTER DE LA MARE.

THE COMING AMERICAN TARIFF

1. **H. R. 3321. A Bill to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes.** Sixty-third Congress, First Session. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1913.
2. **Tariff Handbook. Statistical Basis for H. R. 3321.** Washington: Government Printing Office. 1913.
3. **Statistical Abstract of the United States. 1912.** Thirty-fifth Number. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1913.
4. **The United States Tariff Act of 1909.**

THE United States of America are about to undertake a fiscal experiment comparable to that of Great Britain when the Corn Laws were repealed and the principle of free trade was substituted for the system of protection. Not that the Americans are immediately to adopt free trade, or to discard, either theoretically or practically, the policy of protection. But the step which is in contemplation is in the direction of free trade; the measure before Congress, which is sure to pass, is framed avowedly with the intention of encouraging the importation of foreign goods by placing domestic and foreign producers on an equality, so far as the power to compete freely is concerned; and it is as certain as any event in the future can be that if the present experiment prove successful, the system of protection of domestic productions by a tariff on imports is doomed.

It is desirable that the present writer should state frankly at the outset his point of view, in order that readers may discount his opinions in such way as seems to them necessary. The facts will be truthfully given. Such inferences as may be drawn from them will be drawn as fairly and with as little prejudice as is possible for one who holds strong opinions on the general question of protection and free trade. Every American who has observed and studied the workings of the tariff at home during a long series of years must have preconceived opinions on that controversy. He could not be a competent observer and a diligent student of economic problems without forming opinions of his own.

The writer is theoretically a protectionist. He believes that the policy of protection as practised in the United States, whatever incidental evils it may have introduced, has been

on the whole enormously beneficial in the past. But he also believes that just as the same policy was—in his judgment—instrumental in placing England in a position to dominate the manufacturing industry throughout the world, and subsequently rendered possible, wise, and indispensable the total abandonment of that policy, so it has served, particularly during the last two decades, to make the United States an efficient and successful competitor, with a great variety of its manufactured products, in the neutral markets of the world, even when the competition was with free-trade Great Britain herself. He recognises, in short, that the need of protective duties has wholly ceased for numerous branches of American industry; that the number of such branches increases year by year; and that there has never been a time in the past when the impending experiment could have been made with so good a chance of success as it has to-day. His point of view, then, is that of one who looks forward without serious apprehension to a time in the not distant future when the United States can safely establish itself on a free-trade basis, and who is not, therefore, greatly alarmed at the prospect of a partial trial of the system.

Certain general facts, with which it is fair to presume that Englishmen are not familiar, need first to be set forth in order to make the present situation clear and to form the basis of conclusions as to the outcome of the experiment that is about to be made.

The policy of protecting domestic industry by a tariff on imports has been a political issue in the United States from the first session of the first Congress, which met in 1789 under the presidency of George Washington, down to the present day. There have always been party leaders with many followers who were in favour of free trade; but at no time has there been a political party which was devoid of a protectionist element; and this statement is true of all the parties of to-day. During practically the whole history of the country the tariffs have been made by and in the interest of protectionists, save in the years from 1846 to 1860.

It is easy to understand why the tariff has been so persistent a political issue. Customs duties were from the first the main reliance of the government for revenue. The Constitution denied to Congress the right to levy direct taxation except in

proportion to population, and it is only in the present year that that prohibition has been removed. All property taxes have been in the control of the State governments exclusively. Excise was universally unpopular, and a whisky tax led to a small rebellion in Pennsylvania during Washington's administration. Taking the entire period from 1789 to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, the total receipts from ordinary sources —that is, excluding loans, etc.—were about $1,845,700,000, of which $1,575,400,000 was derived from customs, and $176,800,000 of the rest came from sales of public lands. The tariff was therefore overwhelmingly the greatest revenue producer, for all other forms of taxation only produced $93,500,000, or barely five per cent. of the total receipts. In such circumstances it was inevitable that the rates of duty should be high. The manufacturing communities of the North naturally asked for, and succeeded in obtaining, such an adjustment of duties as gave them an advantage over possible foreign competitors; the importing interests just as naturally took the other side of the question, and were reinforced by the consumers of the South, who had no manufactures to be protected.

For a few years after the close of the Civil War the agricultural communities of the North-West were anti-protectionist. But the immense development of the wool-growing industry—wool being highly protected—and the shrewdness of the Republican party in taking the farmers under the shadow of its protecting wing, brought that region of the country into line, and during the last two decades no States have sent more resolute 'stand-patters'* to the Senate and House of Representatives than the north-western States.

The agitation and the political revolution that have brought about the impending change in the economic policy of the United States have had a curious history. The McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 was unpopular and led to the election of Mr. Cleveland in 1892. But although the Democratic platform of that year declared it to be 'a fundamental principle

* When the late Senator Hanna, of Ohio, was asked what action he advised the Republicans in Congress to adopt with reference to the tariff, he replied 'Stand pat.' The phrase is used in the game of draw poker to signify that the player who so declares is satisfied with his hand and will draw no more from the pack.

'of the Democratic party that the federal government has 'no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, 'except for the purposes of revenue only,' and although the Republicans 'reaffirmed the American doctrine of protec-'tion,' yet the tariff was not really the controlling or even the chief issue in the canvass. The unpopularity of President Harrison, and the great growth of the Populist party, turned the scale. Mr. Cleveland himself half gave away the platform by saying, in his letter of acceptance, 'We contem-'plate a fair and careful distribution of necessary tariff 'burdens rather than the precipitation of free trade.'

Nevertheless, the party had a real mandate from the people to do what it pleased with the tariff. But it was honeycombed with protectionist sentiment. The 'Wilson Bill,' so called, made quite radical reductions, and the party machinery was powerful enough to pass it through the House of Representatives; but when it reached the Senate it was amended almost past recognition. At the dictation of a group of protectionist Democratic senators no fewer than 428 amendments were made in the Bill, all of them restoring or increasing protection. The coalition of these Democrats with the Republicans was so strong, and they were so determined that their views should prevail, that the House was compelled to take the measure exactly as it was transformed by the Senate or to allow the Bill to drop.

The Act as it passed was neither one thing nor the other. The Democrats never defended it, the Republicans denounced it. Duties were reduced, but a great deal of protection was retained. Whatever may have been the cause of its failure, there is no doubt that it failed. The Treasury had a series of heavy deficits; the silver craze was then rampant, and the apprehension was great that the country would be reduced to a silver basis of currency. The gold reserve melted away; business was bad; wages were reduced; unemployment was rife. The protectionists attributed all the evils of the time to the 'free trade tariff,' and the people listened to them. The political reaction was so strong that in 1896 the Republicans came back to power with an immense majority, pledged to restore the protective tariff and to establish the gold standard of money.

In 1897 another new tariff, known as the Dingley tariff,

was adopted, and whether in consequence of it, or independently of it, or in spite of it, the country subsequently enjoyed the most prosperous period in its entire history. Every branch of business was active, enormous profits were made by employers, wages were increased, labour was fully employed, the government had abundant revenue. In nothing was the expansion of national energy more conspicuous than in the foreign trade. Comparing the year 1897, the last under the Wilson-Gorman Act, with 1908, the last under the Dingley Act, the value of imports increased from $765,000,000 to $1,312,000,000; and in spite of the high rates of duty the value of dutiable goods imported increased more rapidly than that of goods on the free list. The history of the export trade is still more remarkable, for although the total increase in value, from $1,032,000,000 to $1,638,000,000, was but 58 per cent., as compared with 87 per cent. in the case of imports, the actual increase was nearly twice as much, and was most conspicuous in manufactured goods.

It is not easy to determine the chief cause of the agitation that was begun about the year 1906 or 1907 for a revision of the tariff. It seems to have been a phase of the 'unrest' that has prevailed ever since. The demand for revision was not due to any interruption or decline of the prosperity of the country, for nothing of the kind was experienced. Two or three unsuccessful politicians began the agitation by taking up the cause of reciprocity with Canada, dealing with it in such a way as to show that they did not understand the subject, and that they were not even aware of the state of trade between the United States and the Dominion. Many public men, and public journals also, ascribed the high cost of living to the tariff—a general complaint, which was not abandoned when it was pointed out that the important human wants of rent, fuel, food, were affected only indirectly if at all by the tariff. But the complaint found ready hearers. The Democrats were, of course, eager to promote the agitation. The Republicans became so far conscious of the growing popular interest in the subject that in their platform of 1908 they promised a revision of the tariff, and set forth at considerable length the principles on which they held that the rates of duty should be determined. The Democrats ironically welcomed this 'belated promise of reform.'

The Republicans were successful in the election, and Mr. Taft was chosen President. He fulfilled the promise of the platform so far as was in his power, by summoning Congress in extraordinary session for the purpose of revising the tariff; and the tariff was revised. Subsequent events show that the revision was by no means satisfactory to a majority of the people, and that it was a stupendous political mistake. The influence of the manufacturers was too powerful to permit a radical reduction, and the Republican leaders in both branches of Congress were 'stand-patters.' Yet a vast amount of misrepresentation has prevailed as to the character of the tariff of 1909. Tested in any way, it is certain that the rates under the Payne-Aldrich Act are lower than those they superseded. A larger proportion of the total importations consists of free goods, and the average rate of duty upon those which are still dutiable is also lower, as the following statement drawn from the trade statistics proves. Of the total importations during the last three years under the Dingley tariff, the free goods were 44·67 per cent. of the whole; during the three following years, while the present tariff has been in force, the free goods have been 50·96 per cent. of the whole. The average rate of duty upon dutiable goods in those six years, namely 1907 to 1912, both inclusive, was 42·55, 42·94, 43·15, 41·52, 41·22, and 40·12. The government reports exhibit the rates for each schedule of the tariff, and it appears from the official statement that the rates were lower for chemicals, metals, agricultural products, cotton manufactures, wool manufactures, silk manufactures; and higher on earthenware, sugar, tobacco, wine and spirits.

The reduction, then, was real, although it was narrow. It did not satisfy those who had been clamouring for a 'down-'ward' revision, and those persons were Republicans as well as Democrats. A group of men, chiefly in the Western States, but numbering also many in the east, designated as 'insurgents,' denounced the Payne-Aldrich Act in unmeasured terms. The tariff was by no means the only target at which they aimed their shafts, but it was that at which they chiefly aimed. As Republicans they declared themselves to be devoted to the principle of protection, but they maintained that the rates imposed by the existing law were excessive, unnecessary, harmful to the people, and sure to bring the whole theory of

protection into lasting disfavour. There can be little question that if those who controlled the tariff policy in 1909 had been able to foresee what has since taken place, their action would have been widely different from what it was.

There were so many grounds of dissatisfaction within the Republican ranks with the administration of Mr. Taft that it is impossible to say how much the opposition to the new tariff had to do with the *débâcle* of 1912. For the farmers all over the country turned against the party on account of the reciprocity agreement with Canada; the radical social policies of Mr. Roosevelt attracted thousands upon thousands of men who regarded Mr. Taft as altogether too conservative; and then came the unfortunate Chicago convention, which completed the ruin, and resulted in a hopeless division of the party. Probably the triumph of the Democrats was independent of this final catastrophe; probably neither Mr. Taft nor Mr. Roosevelt nor any new man would have been successful, even as the candidate of a nominally united party. At all events, the Democrats were victorious, and they came into power with as valid a mandate to revise the tariff in accordance with their own views as any party ever had. Immediately after the inauguration of Mr. Wilson as President plans were laid for prompt action, and a proclamation was issued summoning Congress to meet in extraordinary session on April 7.

During the whole of the closing session of the sixty-second Congress the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee had been at work upon a complete Tariff Bill, and their labours were continued in the brief recess that elapsed before the sixty-third Congress met, so that the Bill was then practically completed. Having in mind the wrecking of the Wilson Bill in 1894, the Democrats resolved to bring possible dissenters from their measure into line by means of a caucus in each branch of the legislature. It was known that there were such dissenters. Two features of the Bill, which were insisted upon by the President, and consented to by Mr. Underwood, chairman of the committee, and by his fellow Democrats, were especially distasteful to many members in both branches of Congress. Wool, which had been highly dutiable, was to be placed on the free list, a proposition which was stoutly opposed by many senators and members from the West. Sugar, also highly dutiable, was to be made free in

three years, and meantime the duty was to be much reduced. That feature affected two interests—the growers of cane sugar in Louisiana, and the growers of sugar beet in many of the north-western States.

It is a comparatively recent innovation in American constitutional practice for a President to express to Congress, even unofficially, his will as to the details of legislation in advance of the time when it is formally submitted to him for approval in the shape of an Act passed by both Houses. Mr. Roosevelt carried the practice far beyond any of his predecessors; Mr. Taft did not lag far behind; Mr. Wilson has done openly and boldly what the recent Presidents have done in private conferences and in semi-official *communiqués*. He has announced in almost so many words that he will veto any Bill which does not provide for free wool and free sugar; and that he will not treat as a regular Democrat any member who conspires to defeat a bill containing those provisions—that is, that such a man shall have no recognition in the disposal of patronage.

The caucus of Democratic members of the House considered the Bill, section by section and clause by clause, for two weeks. Numerous amendments were proposed and urged, but not one of them was adopted, except those which might be termed government amendments—namely those offered by the Ways and Means Committee itself. When the several schedules had been approved one by one, the Bill as a whole was approved, and the members thus became bound to support it as a whole, for every Democratic member had taken part in the caucus. But, as a matter of grace, a few of them were absolved in advance for votes which they might give in support of amendments to be offered in the House on the wool and sugar duties; but they were still bound to vote for the passage of the measure when those amendments had been rejected, as they were sure to be. There was no political danger in this concession, since the Democrats outnumber their opponents by more than two to one.

The discussion of the Bill in the House was a mere formality. Long speeches were made—most of them prepared in advance. They were not expected to change any votes, and they changed none. There was much fustian oratory on both sides, much perversion of political and commercial history, much that

had no other purpose than to exalt the member in the eyes of his constituents. There were opposition amendments in abundance, designed to expose alleged inconsistencies in the Bill, to represent the supporters of the measure as indifferent to the welfare of their country and the prosperity of American industries. When the weary debate was ended the Bill was passed. The cross-voting on the final passage was unimportant.

The Senate received the Bill on May 9. A futile discussion took place on a motion to require the Committee on Finance, to which it was to be referred, to give public hearings. That proposition was defeated, and the Bill was referred without instructions. The several parts of the Bill were then referred to sub-committees, which have given private hearings to many persons; and a large number of briefs have been submitted. At the time of writing the Bill is still before these committees.

So much for history. All the really important questions are still left for consideration: What is the Bill, in its purpose and its intended effect? What is the prospect of any change from the form in which it passed the House? What is the prospect of its final passage? If passed, what is likely to be its effect upon the immediate and the more distant future of American manufacturing industry, and upon the well-being of the American people? How widely will it open the door for European competition?

The intention of the framers and supporters of the Bill can best be shown by extracts from the utterances of the President, and the chairman of the committee, Mr. Underwood.

President Wilson, in his speech to the two Houses of Congress on the second day of the session, explained what he conceived to be the principles on which the new tariff should be framed in these words:

'We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not and probably cannot produce, and the duties laid upon luxuries, merely for the sake of the revenues they yield, the object of the duties henceforth laid must be competitive competition,

the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world.'

Mr. Underwood, in his report that accompanied the Bill after it had been considered by the caucus, said that the Democrats had attempted

'To eliminate protection of profits and to cut off duties which enable industrial managers to exact a bonus for which no equivalent is rendered;

'To introduce in every line of industry a competitive tariff basis, providing for a substantial amount of importation, to the end that no concern shall be able to feel that it has a monopoly of the home market gained other than through the fact that it is able to furnish better goods at lower prices than others.'

In order to show to the members of Congress how the theory above set forth is worked out, the Committee on Ways and Means prepared and published a 'Tariff Handbook'—a government publication of more than 800 pages—in which the present and the proposed rates of duty are printed in parallel columns; statistics are given of the quantity, value, and duty collected as to each class of merchandise for one year each under the tariffs of 1894 and 1897, and for two years under the tariff of 1909, together with an estimate of the probable quantity that will be imported in a year under the proposed new tariff.

It would not be possible, and if it were possible it would be a trial of the patience of British readers, to go into the details of the Bill. But it is essential that its general features should be noted.

The tariff schedules in which the reductions of duty are greatest—aside from the drastic treatment already mentioned of wool and sugar—are those concerning metals, leather and its manufactures, and the textile manufactures. For example, iron ore is placed on the free list; the duty on pig iron is to be $8 a ton (of 2000 pounds), or one-half the present duty; the duties upon steel ingots and upon a great variety of other steel products are also reduced 50 per cent. In the entire metals schedule about half of the items are reduced 50 per cent. or more, and there are but a few items where the reduction is not at least 33 per cent. Of the leather schedule there is practically nothing left. Hides and skins are to be free, and so are all kinds of leather except such insignificant

items as glove-leather, chamois, and pianoforte-leather. Moreover, the duty is entirely removed from boots and shoes, and from harness and saddlery. On cotton manufactures the highest duty proposed in any case is 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. In the wool schedule there is no duty above 35 per cent. *ad valorem*, except in the case of carpets woven whole, where the duty is 50 per cent. In the flax, hemp, and jute schedule, upon products in which there is little or no American competition, and in the silk schedule—silk being treated as a luxury—the reductions of duty are slight.

Some of the additions to the free list have already been mentioned, namely wool, sugar (in three years), and boots and shoes. The intention to help the consumer appears also in the provisions that coal, fish, and flour shall be free. The southern planter will be duly grateful that cotton bagging also goes on the free list. Republicans have derived not a little amusement from some features of the Bill which seem to them inconsistent with its general purpose, and they profess to detect evidences of a willingness to look after the interests of good Democratic communities. Texas, as everyone knows, or should know, is solidly Democratic. It is largely engaged in the raising of Angora goats; so in this Bill, which makes wool free of duty, a duty is imposed on the hair of the Angora goat. Again, Texas raises cattle in huge numbers which are sent to the shambles in Chicago and other northern cities, to give beef to the people of the rest of the country. The Underwood Bill makes beef free of duty, but it generously lays a duty on beef-cattle, lest Mexican steers should cross the Texan frontier in competition with the home product. No one has suggested any reasonable explanation of the placing of a duty on wheat while taking it off flour. Possibly it was thought best not to offend the farmers of the north-west by letting in the Canadian wheat—a provision of the unlamented reciprocity arrangement with Canada that drove the Republican farmers of all those States over to Mr. Roosevelt.

A prominent and most important feature of the Underwood Bill is its general substitution of *ad valorem* duties for specific. The only plausible explanation of the preference of Democratic tariff makers for *ad valorem* duties is that in the lowest tariff that was ever in force in the country, the Walker Democratic tariff of 1846, all duties without exception were fixed on the

ad valorem system. It seems singular that a party tradition of this character should survive the political shocks of sixty odd years. But so it is. It avails nothing to demonstrate that when a duty varies with the price of commodities, a decline in the price is disadvantageous both to the revenue and to domestic producers who are competing with foreigners; that a rise in price automatically adds to the amount of duty which the consumer pays to the government; and that of all possible frauds on the revenue, undervaluation of imports is the greatest and most frequent, and is made easier and comparatively safer by the *ad valorem* system of levying customs duties.

The Underwood Bill is much more than a revision of the tariff. Since the remission of the wool and sugar duties would involve a loss of something like sixty million dollars of revenue, the deficiency is to be made good by the imposition of an income tax. That is made possible for the first time this year by the adoption of an amendment of the Constitution, the sixteenth, the first change made in that instrument since the years immediately following the Civil War. It is to be a Democratic, but not a democratic tax, for it is to be levied only on incomes exceeding $4000, and will therefore be paid by an insignificant number of persons estimated by the committee at less than half a million, or less than one-half of one per cent. of the population. There is also a provision in the Bill remitting five per cent. of the duties on goods imported in American ships. This seems to be 'protection' of a type quite as objectionable as if it were given in the usual form. It is, moreover, in the opinion of most persons who look at the plain meaning of words, and not beneath them for a hidden meaning, contrary to treaties with foreign nations. But this is not the place to discuss either the income tax or the proposed encouragement, amounting to a subsidy, to American shipping, or the provision, probably to be abandoned, that foreign merchants who sell goods for export shall open their books to the inspection of American consuls.

In ordinary circumstances it would be labour worse than thrown away to speculate in a quarterly review upon the course of events that will surely have come to an issue within two or three months. In this case such speculation may help to an understanding of those events after they have occurred.

In the first place, the probabilities are that the Finance Committee of the Senate will propose a large number of amendments. The most violent opposition is directed against the provisions making wool and sugar free of duty. Washington has seen a great and powerful 'lobby' exerting all its energies, and no doubt spending large sums of money—no one even hints that it has been used corruptly—in order to influence senators and members against these features of the Bill. The lobby was so active that the President issued a fulmination against it. Notwithstanding its activities it is almost safe to predict that the efforts, so far as they are directed against members of the Finance Committee, will fail, and that no Democratic member of this committee of the Senate will vote to reverse the action of the House. It does not follow that the effort will fail when the Bill gets before the Senate itself.

It seems to be agreed that many manufacturers have been able to convince Democratic members of the sub-committees that certain provisions of the Bill as it passed the House of Representatives are crude and inconsistent. All manufacturers understand that the tariff on goods that compete with theirs is to be reduced, and have reconciled themselves to that fact. But they have represented to the sub-committees that there are inequalities that will cause unnecessary hardship, and have found the members ready to listen to them sympathetically and with an open mind. One manufacturer who had, with others, a six-hour session with one of the sub-committees, told the writer that he was treated with more consideration and courtesy, and with less unconcealed suspicion of his motives, than it had been his lot to experience when meeting in former years with committees of Republicans, who are popularly supposed to have allowed manufacturers to dictate tariff rates.

A few of the alleged inequalities may be mentioned. The cotton men complain that the Bill as it left the House of Representatives allows only 2½ per cent. higher duty on coloured cloth fancy woven than is laid on plain uncoloured goods made from the same 'count' of yarn. The wool manufacturers ask that there be allowed an interval of time, say thirty days at least, after the date when wool becomes free, before the drastic reduction on manufactured goods goes into effect, in order that they may dispose of the stocks accumu-

lated under the existing tariff. The millers urge that if flour is to be free of duty, the wheat from which it is made may be free also. The shoe manufacturers are extremely unhappy because the duty on all their products, which now pay only fifteen per cent., is to be removed entirely.

No doubt exists that whatever changes in the Bill are proposed by the Finance Committee of the Senate will be adopted by the Senate itself. It is not so certain that the Senate may not also adopt amendments which have been rejected by the committee. The party majority in the Senate is extremely narrow. Any changes made by the committee which are in the direction of ameliorating the situation of manufacturers would be easily carried, because they would have the additional support of all the Republican senators. But on the wool and sugar duties, which in all probability the committee will leave unchanged, the case is different. The two Louisiana senators and one senator from the extreme north-west, whose constituents are interested in wool, will oppose placing those articles on the free list, and if all the Republicans stand by them the vote in the Senate will be a tie, and the Vice-President will give his casting vote for the free list.

The only thing that may be predicted with full confidence is that the House of Representatives will never agree to a duty on wool, or to a surrender of the provisions relative to sugar. With somewhat less assurance it may be predicted that the House will agree to some if not all the moderate changes made by the Senate, when they are calculated to eliminate crudities and inconsistencies. Further, it may be accepted as well-nigh certain that the two Houses will finally agree upon a measure that differs in minor details only from the Bill as it stands to-day, and that it will receive the President's approval some time in the month of August.

If that is to be the upshot of it all, it leaves us to consider only the final question, What is to be the effect of the tariff of 1913 upon the people of the United States, upon their industry, and upon foreign trade? Although the legislation is avowedly framed in the interest of the whole people, it is manifest that the extent of the benefit they are to derive from it, by a reduction of the price they pay for the necessaries of life, can be known only when it is ascertained what are to be the results of the change of national policy on industry in general, and

on the importation of foreign commodities at a lower price than that now charged for the domestic productions.

There is no doubt that the anticipatory effect of the Bill—namely the tariff agitation, with the forecast of a serious reduction of rates—has been highly injurious to business in every branch. The confident tone with which new enterprises were planned and carried out and old-established plants were enlarged a few years ago began to disappear as the prospect of a Democratic victory grew brighter. It has now given place to a pessimistic and ultra-conservative temper. Money is abundant enough, but it is not to be had except on high terms for such undertakings as would lately have attracted a plethora of capital. Personal economy, dull mercantile business, diminished production by manufacturers, decreased earnings by the railways, heavy decline in the shares of transportation and industrial companies—all these are features of the economic experience of the last year or two in the United States.

But those who are far-sighted do not expect these conditions to be permanent or even of great duration. It is the uncertainty as to what is to happen that has caused them, and the future may not be so bad as the business public fears.

Taking the largest and broadest view of the situation, it will appear that in no important class of merchandise which has been enjoying protection, and on which the tariff is now to be reduced, are foreign communities, singly or all combined, in a position to supply any considerable part of the requirements of America. British and continental manufacturers can, no doubt, greatly increase their production, which is, at present, quantitatively adapted to their own home consumption and a well-ascertained foreign demand; but that will take time. On the other hand, the consuming capacity of a population approaching a hundred millions in number is so huge that it would be absurd to expect or to fear that any large part of the American manufacturer's production for his home market can ever be displaced. It follows that at the worst only a small fraction of the productive plants of the country will be forced to idleness, unless competition should depress prices to an unprofitable basis. That does not seem probable; for it can never be good policy for foreign competitors to lower the prices of their wares unnecessarily. They are far more likely to take advantage of the high prices prevailing in their new

market. There will be many exceptions to the general rule here suggested, but for the most part they will not affect the great commodities in universal use, produced and consumed in large quantities.

It is needless to say that the widest difference of opinion exists as to what is to be the effect of the new tariff. Much of the opinion is purely political. The official and congressional advocates of the new policy predict general prosperity and good times but little short of millennial; the spokesmen of the opposition foretell universal prostration of business, social misery and disorder, to be followed by a speedy political reaction. In the opinion of the writer neither of these extreme views is justified. He believes that neither great harm is to come to the producers of the country as a whole, nor great benefit to be experienced by the consumers as a whole. For he thinks that a study of the industries in detail will confirm and strengthen the statement made above that extensive interference with the American producer in his possession of the home market is out of the question at short notice, and will never be practicable on a large scale.

The three great wants of man are food, clothing, and shelter. We may dismiss at once the idea that there can be any competition from abroad in the building or furnishing of the homes of the people, and also the idea that there can be from anywhere so large an importation of breadstuffs and meat as will cause the farmers and cattle raisers of the country any distress. Laying aside these general wants, the providers of which are protected without any tariff, what are the American industries that employ the largest capital and give employment to the largest number of men and women? They are the iron and steel manufacture, textiles, and boots and shoes. It is unnecessary to mention slaughtering, meat packing, woodworking, printing, smelting and refining, and other occupations, in all of which foreign competition is impossible. So far as the steel manufacture is concerned, the United States need fear no rival, tariff or no tariff. The fact that the exports of the products of steel mills increased from a value of $15,959,000 in 1887 to $268,154,000 in 1912—a period of twenty-five years—is eloquent beyond the need of verbal argument. For the first time in 1911 the value of such exports from the United States exceeded British exports, which, in the last year, 1912, were valued at £48,600,000.

If any American steel men have remonstrated against the Underwood rates they have not done so with a loud voice. Officials of the large companies have expressed themselves as being not at all alarmed, though some of them think that the weak brethren will suffer.

The case of boots and shoes is not identical, but the situation here is less serious than some of the manufacturers think. The United States now ships its boots and shoes to almost every country on the globe. For many years the extensive use of efficient machinery enabled American manufacturers to undersell all competitors, though this condition is disappearing as the American machinery is introduced abroad. As a rule, boot and shoe manufacturers are not particularly apprehensive of competition from across the Atlantic, but from the other side of the Pacific. They foresee that if the Japanese were to endeavour to undersell Lynn and Brockton—our typical shoe towns—they might be successful. But that danger is remote.

Turning to textiles, there is room for serious debate. It is the belief of the writer, and he has much to support it beside the expressed opinion of managers of textile mills, that it would not be possible for Manchester to sell at a profit coarse and medium cotton yarns and piece goods in New York and Boston at lower prices than those which have been fixed by keen domestic competition. If that be true no tariff is needed for protection, and there is no danger of an invasion of the country with any of the fabrics that constitute the great bulk of cotton goods consumed. On the other hand, the managers of mills in Providence and New Bedford, spinners of fine yarns and weavers of coloured and fancy woven goods, are convinced that the rates fixed by the Bill as it passed the House would enable English and continental manufacturers to undersell any prices at which they could obtain a profit. On this point they have apparently persuaded the sub-committee in charge of the textile schedules, and the prospect is that the sub-committee will recommend moderate increases which will be accepted by the Senate and will be part of the Bill when it becomes law.

The situation in respect of woollen and worsted goods is peculiar. The promised advantage of free wool is so great that it goes far to offset the 50 per cent. reduction of the tariff rates on wool manufactures. The United States is

a great producer of wool. It produces an average of more than 300,000,000 pounds per annum, none of which is exported. Yet the imports of foreign wool usually exceed 200,000,000 pounds per annum. The high duty hitherto laid upon wool makes it inexpedient, because too costly, to import some desirable wools. The phrase 'suitable for America' is a well-known designation of certain Australian wools, which implies that some other wools are not suitable. The wool manufacturers of the United States have always supported the demand of the wool growers for a duty, as being a necessary feature of a general system of protection, but now that this duty is to be withdrawn independently of any action of theirs they hail its disappearance as a boon. The proposed reduction of duty on their manufactured goods is very severe, and will surely expose them to much foreign competition—more, perhaps, than will be experienced by any other industry. Yet the large concerns are not wholly despondent. What is to be feared is that the impending changes will close permanently hundreds of small-neighbourhood mills, scattered all over the country, that give the only semblance of life to the villages in which they are situated.

A similar consideration applies to a multitude of small industries. Southern New England is full of little factories wherein are manufactured a great variety of minor articles in which Germany in particular is already a strong competitor, in spite of the high tariff. Articles of brass, and numerous fancy goods and small wares used by tailors and seamstresses might be mentioned as typical of these industries. On them the rates of duty have been cut to such an extent that there is reason to think that some of the small establishments may be driven out of existence.

Practically all the interests that stand to suffer materially from the proposed change of policy have now been mentioned. If the views expressed are sound, it seems to follow that nothing revolutionary is to be expected as the practical result of the new tariff. That there will be larger importations is a matter of course, but it does not seem possible that the increase can be so great as to disarrange the markets except in the few cases specified, and in others of a similar character. If that be so, it follows also that in an extremely small number of cases will prices be affected in either direction to a marked degree. That, in turn, implies on the one hand that labour

will not suffer greatly from lack of employment or from lower wages; on the other hand, that the people for whose supposed benefit the reversal of national policy is undertaken will not realise any substantial relief from the high cost of living. Moreover, it implies that although the door to the American market is to be opened, by at least a crack, the invitation to enter will not, and in many cases cannot, be largely accepted.

The writer frankly admits that this is not the view generally taken, and he also admits that the exceptions to what are here put forward as general rules may prove, in practice, to be more numerous and more important than before the event they seem to be. Possibly the interference with American trade to the advantage of foreign producers and exporters may be more serious, possibly the consequences to American capital and labour may be more damaging, than is here anticipated. There are manufacturers who declare their intention to transfer their plants to Canada, or even across the ocean, if the proposed tariff rates stand. There are many others who declare that they must reduce wages to meet foreign competition or close their works. The publication of these threats has added some unintentionally humorous features to the controversy. The threat to remove established industries to another country moved an indignant correspondent of a New York paper to urge that a law be passed imposing the penalty of a prohibitive duty on the goods of any manufacturer who should commit so unpatriotic an act. In much the same spirit one of Mr. Wilson's Cabinet officers said in a public speech that if any manufacturer should reduce wages, assigning as a reason inability to compete under the new tariff, the government would investigate his business to ascertain whether he was telling the truth or was excusing his own inefficiency.

In spite of the dissent which the views here advanced may provoke from many besides interested politicians, and in defiance of the sententious maxim of one of our humourists, 'Don't prophesy onless ye know,' these views are put forward with some degree of confidence. The accuracy of many of them will be tested in a very short time; others will be justified or disproved only after some years of experience. As to all of them it is best—borrowing a word from your English politics—to 'wait and see.'

EDWARD STANWOOD.

THE FRENCH AND GERMAN ARMY BILLS

1. **Die Wehrkraft Deutschlands,** im Vergleich mit der der anderen europäischen Grossmächte. Von General W. VON BLUME. Berlin: Mittler und Sohn. 1913.
2. **L'Énigme Allemande.** Par GEORGES BOURDON. Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1913.
3. **Rapport fait au nom de la Commission de l'Armée.** Par M. HENRY PATÉ. Paris: Chambre des Députés, annexe au procès-verbal de la séance du 14 mai. 1913.
4. **L'Armée toujours prête.** Par JOSEPH REINACH. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 1913.

IF 1856 is remembered as the year of Peace, and 1870 as the year of War, so in all probability will this year 1913 take its place in the history of Europe, not as that in which the Balkan war ended, not as the year of the Peace of London, but as the year of armaments and of preparation for war suddenly accentuated and pushed to a point new in the experience of the civilised world. Some future historian will note, not without irony, that the centenary of the War of Liberation was marked by the imposition upon the German people of a military burden far heavier than any laid by the victor of Jena upon the bowed backs of the Germans of his day. With the events of the next few years to help him—for our future will be to him the historic past—he will be able to read the German riddle, the purport of the great increase of armaments in 1913, with an assurance to which we cannot pretend. We, groping amid alternative possibilities and plausible hypotheses, can at best only offer conjectures for solutions; he, on the other hand, will be able to say '1913 led 'to the Great War,' or 'ushered in the Great Peace,' or 'brought 'about the Great Bankruptcy.' As for us, whose vision is bounded by the past and limited by the present, our poor, feeble efforts to peer into the future must perforce begin with the attempt to understand to-day by remembering yesterday, in the hope that we may perhaps be able to guess what to-morrow holds in store.

For our present purpose it will be sufficient if we begin our survey of the past with the year 1871, the year of the treaty

of Frankfurt. If we except the Balkan peninsula, the Europe of to-day is Europe as modified by the treaty of Frankfurt. Unstable as the frontiers of the Continental Powers have ever been in the past, the last forty-two years have seen no change in Europe west of the Balkans. It is enough to recall the fate of the frontiers determined with such pomp and circumstance at Vienna during the years which elapsed between 1815 and 1871 to realise that, as one of the great instruments which have shaped the history of Europe, the treaty of Frankfurt marks a stage of greater moment in the march of civilisation than did the treaty of Vienna. So far as the Great Powers are concerned, the forty-two years since the treaty of Frankfurt have been years of peace; not a rifle-shot has broken the stillness of Western Europe, yet rifles have never been better, or more numerous; not a gun has spoken of all the thousands of batteries the Great Powers can put into line. Strained relations between Powers there have been, unrest there has been—Moltke prophesied that the treaty of Frankfurt meant for Germany fifty years of tension with France—but war there has not been; the last great battle fought between Great Powers was the battle of Sedan. Is it extravagant to say that the memory of Sedan has helped to keep the peace of Europe? Perhaps, put thus crudely, it is too much to attribute to fear of the Germans the forty-two years of peace that Western Europe has enjoyed since 1871; but, put in another way, perhaps the proposition may be accepted that the victories of the German Army in 1870–71 gave Europe forty-two years of peace—the longest period of peace she has ever known.

In 1866 and again in 1870 the Prussian Army taught the statesmen of Continental Europe the vital part which preparation for war plays in war itself. Some years after those wars there were published the histories of the campaigns, written as the Great General Staff in Berlin wished the German Army to believe them to have been conducted, and in those histories the great part played by adequate preparation for war was well accentuated. Later again was published the 'Military Correspondence of Moltke,' where we find memorandum after memorandum written for his master before the wars with Austria and with France, in which the result of operations in the field is estimated in terms of national preparation for

war in time of peace. 'We shall have so many men ready 'on such and such a day, on such and such a line; the enemy 'can only have so many; whatever they do they will be 'beaten'—such is the pitiless logic of the thinker who has stamped on all European armies, for their good or for their ill, his own outlook on preparation for war. In the face of Sadowa and Sedan and Moltke's memoranda, who indeed would go to war unless he felt that he had loaded the dice by a superior preparation for war, giving him greater strength than his adversary? If Napoleon taught Europe how to make war, it was Moltke who taught it how to prepare for war. To this extent every responsible statesman and soldier on the Continent is a pupil of Moltke, and not least the soldiers and statesmen of Moltke's adopted country, that Prussia whose armies he guided to such splendid victories. When we think of Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War; of Jena and the years of humiliation, ending in the great struggles of the War of Liberation, of which Germany is now celebrating the centenary; of the disgrace of Olmütz and the triumph of Sadowa; of Sedan, Paris, and the great reckoning—how can we wonder that to any German, be he statesman, or soldier, or simple citizen trained to arms, preparation for war is so vital and so real a factor in national life that all others pale beside it into insignificance? Preparation for war is a Prussian tradition inherited by the German Empire. It is in keeping with this tradition that Germany should meet every change in the grouping of forces in Europe by further accentuating her readiness for war. The years 1872, 1874, 1880, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1893, 1911, and 1912 were all marked by increases in the strength and improvements in the organisation of the German Army, while the present year, 1913, is marked by the stupendous effort which is to give Germany a standing army of 863,000 men at a cost to the nation of fifty millions sterling.

It would seem that the dictum of the Würtemberg Major quoted by M. Georges Bourdon—'L'Allemagne fait du mili-'tarisme comme un individu fait de l'hygiène,' has the story of the last forty years to support it. This same Würtemberg Major, while emphasising the fact that habit, education, and the memories of former disasters have brought every German to accept as an axiom the principle that the German fatherland

should be at all times as strong as it can be, was no less insistent that Europe, and France in particular, are mistaken in assuming that because his country is now arming she means soon to use her weapons.

'Nous sommes militaires, oui, mais nous ne sommes pas 'guerriers,' he tells his French questioner. It is a point of view which has much to be said for it. The Germans have not been an aggressive race; the German child has never been fed on the heady wine of 'glory'—yet no armies have ever reaped more laurels than those of Frederick the Great and the Emperor William the First. To hold high the ideal of duty, and to seek the good in service and in a deep but sober love of country rather than in conquest and adventure, has ever been the keynote of German education. And yet when we remember Frederick's pounce on Silesia and, in our own day, the Ems telegram, and call to mind the 129,700 German officers and men ('militaires . . . mais . . . pas guerriers') who were killed and wounded because Bismarck chose to force a war on France in July 1870, we must be allowed to nurse some doubts whether the latest increases in the German Army are a manifestation of an addiction to militarism as harmless as some full-blooded young man's devotion to dumb-bells before breakfast.

There are two points of view before us: the German, admirably put by the distinguished and well-informed Germans who give us their reading of their own riddle in the pages of M. Bourdon's 'L'Énigme Allemande,' and the French answer which is contained in the Bill, now before the Chambers, imposing upon the manhood of France the great burden of three years' military service.

M. Georges Bourdon visited Germany in 1912, the year after Agadir, with a mission from the 'Figaro' to inquire among Germans of light and leading what they thought of the relations of their country with France, what it wanted, and what it could do. The fruit of his journeyings and conversations is an informing volume written with a freedom from prejudice and a genuine desire to understand for himself, and to make his readers understand, the German view of the European situation of to-day. The balanced mind and sympathetic insight which M. Bourdon has brought to the accomplishment of his difficult task may be commended to a

certain section of our own writers upon Foreign Affairs, whose pens are too often dipped in the gall of national prejudice and mistrust. Such a journalist as M. Bourdon helps us to understand a point of view which is not ours; some of our own journalists, alas! only lead their readers to fear and distrust that which they are unable to explain, since they themselves, from lack of sympathy, cannot understand. M. Bourdon leaves us with the impression that no responsible German desires a war with France. In the words used to him by no less a personage than Prince Lichnowski, before his appointment as Ambassador to the Court of St. James:

'Je ne crois pas à la guerre. Pour faire la guerre, il faut être au moins un à la vouloir: ce n'est le cas ni de la France, ni de l'Allemagne; j'en suis convaincu pour vous, j'en suis sûr pour nous.'

And again:

'Sachez cependant—et sachez le bien—que toute l'Allemagne n'éprouve pour la France que sympathie, que nous n'avons aucun intérêt à compromettre une paix nécessaire à notre expansion industrielle, que M. de Bethmann est un homme pondéré, incapable de se risquer dans une aventure, que l'Empereur porte en lui profondément l'esprit de paix, que tout le pays enfin a le goût et le besoin d'un développement pacifique. Ceci est la vérité stricte.'

To an Englishman it is significant that the present German Ambassador in our country went on to say to his French interviewer:

'Mais ajoutons tout de suite que le secret de la paix est moins dans les relations franco-allemandes que dans les relations anglo-allemandes . . . il est certain que l'Angleterre préoccupe davantage l'opinion que la France, et que l'on s'inquiète de ses menées et de ses armements.'

Perhaps by now Prince Lichnowski has been able to reassure his countrymen as to the purpose of our armaments and the policy of our statesmen. Prince Lichnowski was at one with the Würtemberg Major, to whose opinions we have already alluded, and indeed with every other German with whom M. Bourdon discussed the question, in emphasising the need of militarism in German life, and yet he scouted the idea that the so-called military party carries any weight in the councils of the Empire or can involve the country in war.

From M. Bourdon's on the whole reassuring estimate of the trend of German policy and the purport of German

armaments, it is interesting to turn to General von Blume's pamphlet on the armed strength of Germany in comparison with that of the other Great Powers of Europe. This pamphlet is the report of a lecture given on the 28th of March of this year to the Continuation Course in Political Science in Berlin. It is important as being the appreciation of a well-known writer on strategy formed in Moltke's school and in close association with the master both in peace and war.

General von Blume begins by reminding his countrymen that the great successes of 1866 and 1870 were gained over antagonists inadequately prepared for war as compared with Prussia. In both wars the beaten armies were recruited by conscription, whereas Prussia possessed the great advantage of a truly national system of universal service—an advantage she has now lost, since other countries have followed her example. The geographical position of Germany, hemmed in between three of the strongest military powers, makes her national security and future depend more than that of any other nation on her armed strength and her readiness to use it if need be. The responsibility of declaring war on powerful neighbours is graver to-day than ever, but far greater are the dangers and sacrifices arising out of a war forced upon a country at an unpropitious moment. In this connexion General von Blume reiterates the well-known dogma that a fully satisfactory peace can only be attained by offensive war, since any State which seeks a *positive* political goal by means of the sword is obliged to *attack* and to begin the war, even if no adversary is challenging. Apart from wars of aggression, however, we find him saying:

> 'We have the possibility to reckon with of a simultaneous attack from East and West, while perhaps our allies, owing to the altered political conditions in the Near East and Mediterranean, may have their hands full. At no distant date Russia will be in possession of seven and a half millions of trained soldiers, the result of contingents of 430,000 recruits a year, and even if the efficiency of her organisation and equipment only enables her to make use of half the number of men, still there arises a situation which compels us to a full realisation of our national strength in readiness for war.'

Perhaps the most valuable portion of General von Blume's little book is the table in which he summarises certain statistics as to the armed strength of the five Great Powers of the

Continent. From these it appears that France with a population in 1912 of only thirty-eight millions gives to her army annually 225,000 recruits, whereas Germany with a population of sixty-six millions has been satisfied with a contingent of 270,000. The annual recruit contingent of the Triple Alliance (523,000) falls short of that of the Powers of the Dual Alliance (655,000) by some 132,000. If we consider the totals of field troops and their reserves we find the field armies of the Triple Alliance are represented to be weaker by 807,000 men than those of the Dual Alliance, the figures being: Triple Alliance 5,334,000, Dual Alliance 6,141,000. If we turn to second-line troops (other than Landsturm) the balance is still more markedly against the Triple Alliance, 2,048,000 against a Franco-Russian total of 3,593,000. The totals of men trained to arms in the five Powers in question, including Landsturm, is given as 9,349,000 for the Triple Alliance and 12,067,000 for the Dual Alliance, producing a balance of 2,718,000 men in favour of the latter group. The tale of the Army Corps credits the Triple Alliance with fifty-three to the fifty of the Dual Alliance, but this apparent margin of three army corps in favour of the Triple Alliance is doubtful, since one French corps in Algeria and seven Russian army corps in Asia are not included in the figures given. In all probability some of these formations could be brought up in time to be of use, though of course not in time to meet the first shock.

When we turn to the peace establishments we realise the disparity between the efforts made by Germany and France, since, with a population of twenty-eight millions more than France, the standing army of Germany (630,000) is only 100,000 stronger than that of France (530,000). The Russian Army on a peace footing is given at 1,000,000 for the troops in European Russia alone, those in Asia amounting to another 250,000.

So much for General von Blume's statistics; let us now try to see what the situation is which he has at the back of his mind and is so careful not to define in detail in the paragraph we have already quoted; how do the altered conditions in the Near East and Mediterranean affect the problem of the numbers of troops and of formations which can be brought to bear by the field armies of the two Alliances? As an officer

of high rank and reputation in the German Army, General von Blume has to be guarded in any reflections on the recent policy of his country's allies which may have modified the value of their alliance. No such reticence binds M. Georges Bourdon, whom we find saying:

'L'empire allemand, orgueilleux de sa jeune force . . . se croyait maître de l'Europe, il se voyait maître du monde; il avait près de lui, autour de lui, sous lui, deux alliées, dont l'une, s'il en était besoin, immobiliserait sur les Alpes une armée française, dont l'autre troublerait la mobilisation russe et contiendrait les soldats du tsar; à l'extrémité de l'Europe, la Turquie amie, sinon alliée, la Roumanie affiliée, formaient comme une arrière-garde. . . .

'Soudain, tout change. Il se croyait à la tête d'une trinité: il se trouve seul. L'Autriche, désormais obligée de penser à son salut, de monter la garde sur sa propre frontière et de compter les pulsations des races qui s'agitent en elle, lui manque; l'Italie, toute à sa nouvelle conquête et à l'organisation de son vieux rêve méditerranéen, l'Italie, obligée désormais de ménager l'Angleterre et la France, ne lui donnera pas un soldat, il le sait. La Triplice n'est plus qu'une façade; il est, à lui seul, toute la Triplice.'

As regards Italy, we may perhaps accept M. Bourdon's forecast: the Tripoli commitment in more ways than one does make it impossible for her to be at war at the same time with France and with the strongest naval Power, while that Power has at its disposal an expeditionary force of 160,000 men, uncommitted elsewhere, and therefore free to land on any point of Italy's long and vulnerable coast-line. Provided the British expeditionary force, with its possible reinforcements from the East, has not been committed in some other theatre of operations, it remains a menace to Italy so serious as to make any Italian statesman pause before he ranges the twelve army corps of his country in line with those of the other Powers of the Triple Alliance. If this reasoning is correct we must deduct the twelve Italian corps from the fifty-three corps of the Triple Alliance, thus bringing the figures down to forty-one corps against the fifty corps of France and Russia now in Europe.* But of these forty-one corps, sixteen corps are Austrian, and Austria has now to guard herself on the Drina and the Danube, thanks to a diplomacy which has embittered the Servians and Montenegrins and inflamed against her a very

* We are not counting the one French corps in Algeria (19th Corps) and the seven Russian corps in Asia.

large section of her own Slavonic population. The absolute minimum of troops which Austria can do with on her south-eastern frontiers to prevent war with Servia in the first instance, and, should war come, to hold Bosnia and protect Hungary, is five army corps, leaving eleven army corps for use elsewhere. It is possible, though improbable, that Austria may be able to use all these eleven corps against the Russians: it is more probable that, if Italy is neutral, some of these corps will be concentrated towards the Italian frontier to observe Austria's present ally. The movements of Austrian troops in 1909 during the crisis following the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina repay study: Austrian anxiety as to the conduct of her Italian ally was translated into a concentration in the Trentino of very questionable friendliness. We are entitled to assume, in the circumstances we are considering, a similar concentration of at least two corps on the Italian frontier.

This leaves Austria with nine army corps with which to play her part in Poland. It means that the imposing figure of fifty-three corps we found marshalled against the fifty corps of the Dual Alliance in General von Blume's tables has now shrunk to thirty-four if we are thinking in terms of army corps. If we prefer it in terms of first-line troops and their reserves we find the Triple Alliance putting against the 6,141,000 men of the Dual Alliance not 5,334,000 men but 3,795,000, which gives France and Russia a margin of superiority of no less than 2,346,000 trained men of the kind used to make up the field armies.

If the unexpressed thoughts which General von Blume had at the back of his mind can be correctly translated into the figures we have given, we are not surprised to find him telling his countrymen that, unless they now make a really serious national effort to train to arms and to organise for war the teeming millions of the German Empire, the future looks dark and lowering.

In this connexion it is as well to recall to mind the trend of the more important Army Bills in Germany:

(*a*) The law of the 2nd of May 1874 fixed the establishment at 469 battalions, 300 batteries, 464 squadrons, or some 401,000 men on a peace footing.

(*b*) The law of the 15th of July 1890 raised the establishment

to 538 battalions, 434 batteries, 465 squadrons, or some 487,000 men on a peace footing.

(*c*) The law of 1905 entailed a further increase to 633 battalions, 574 batteries, 510 squadrons, or some 505,839 men (less officers and N.C.O.s).

(*d*) The law of the 27th of March 1911 gave a modest increase up to 634 battalions, 592 batteries, 510 squadrons, or 515,321.

Hitherto army organisation has been dealt with every five years, and to this quinquennial system the German Army has owed much of the homogeneity and steadiness which have marked its progress in strength and efficiency. Hasty legislation masquerading as 'army reform' has been conspicuous by its absence during the period of 1874 to 1911. The summer and autumn of 1911 saw Europe in the throes of the crisis, or series of crises, caused by the Agadir incident. A bye-product of that period of tension was the impression, widely held on the Continent and nowhere more firmly than in Germany, that if war had broken out in 1911 Great Britain would have been found ranged on the side of France, and that British intervention would have taken the form of a reinforcement of the French Army by the six divisions of our expeditionary force. That is to say, the German field armies in Lorraine would have been confronted by twenty French corps and three English, or some twenty-three corps in all. It is possible that this consideration may have weighed with the German War Office in leading it to bring forward the proposals we have now to chronicle, though it is probable that purely technical considerations connected with the method of beginning operations, breaking in the hostile covering troops and protecting the German concentration had more immediate weight with the soldiers who in Germany are alone trusted with the preparation of schemes of army reform. However that may be, the contingency to which we have alluded so impressed the people of Germany and their elected representatives, that Liberals and Conservatives were at one in approving the proposals of the War Minister.

These proposals, in complete disregard of the quinquennial system, were brought forward in May 1912 and became law on the 14th of June. They increase the establishment of the army to 651 battalions, 633 batteries, 516 squadrons, or some 693,222 officers and men.

The point of the Bill lay, however, not so much in the net increase in the number of men under arms which it provided as in the character of the increase and the limit of time fixed within which the increases and changes were to become operative. The fixed date was the 1st of October 1912, only fourteen weeks after the Bill became law. In this brief space not only was the army increased to the extent above noted, but two new army corps were called into being (XXth Corps at Allenstein on the Russian frontier and XXIst Corps at Saarbrücken on the French frontier), an Army Inspection Staff and two Divisional Staffs and twenty-two Landwehr inspectorates were formed, and numerous new medical and engineer units were organised, such as battalions of pioneers and searchlight companies. In short, a great step was taken to increase both the striking force of the army and its capacity to strike rapidly.

The Army Bill of 1912, however, was only the prelude to a yet greater effort, the Bill of 1913. In this Bill, which has just passed the Reichstag, the peace establishments as determined in 1912 are increased by 4000 officers, 15,000 non-commissioned officers, 117,000 rank and file, and 27,000 horses. This entails calling up about 63,000 additional recruits annually and will give the German army a peace strength of about 863,000 men. It is worthy of note that the increase in the number of units is not large, being 18 battalions of infantry, 34 squadrons of cavalry, 7 battalions of foot artillery, 11 battalions of pioneers, 13 units of communication troops, and 1 battalion of train. The real importance of the proposals lies in the strengthening of the peace establishments of existing units in men and horses rather than in the creation of fresh units, thus making the army better able to meet the strain of war and above all facilitating the change from a peace to a war footing—the process called mobilisation—since fewer reservists need to be incorporated in the units to bring them to war strength. An aspect of the German Army Bill of 1913 which has not been lost sight of in France is that out of its new peace strength of 863,000 men, of which the cavalry and the artillery are kept practically mobilised, as far as horses are concerned, a mass of from 350,000 to 450,000 men will be available to move on the second day, perhaps on the first day, of mobilisation, and that the sudden blow of such a mass

will crush the French covering troops, estimated at 175,000 men, before they can be adequately reinforced.

The cost of these proposals will be very large, and how the money is to be found has not yet been determined. The initial cost is estimated at £50,000,000, while the increased annual burden imposed will be some £9,500,000. It is further proposed to increase the war reserve, now six millions in specie kept in the Julius Tower at Spandau, by some twelve millions, which will be held by the Reichsbank.

Just as the demand of General von Blume and Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg for yet greater military efforts from their countrymen turns upon the contention that Germany cannot now depend absolutely and always on the immediate effective support of her two allies, so in France the call for yet greater sacrifices on the part of the manhood of the nation is in the last resource based on the allegation that in the event of war France will have to bear alone the first shock of a well-prepared offensive on the part of numerically superior German armies. It is alleged that, owing to the slowness of Russian mobilisation and the distances which separate the zones of concentration of the Russian armies from the German frontier, the pressure of Russia cannot make itself felt for at least a month. In that month, it is argued, the Germans will seek to overwhelm France utterly and then turn their armies against the slow-moving masses of Russia, if indeed the French disasters have not of themselves induced Russia to draw back. The same train of thought, working on different data, leads an important body of opinion in France to the conclusion that in the event of a war with Germany the latter Power will endeavour to overwhelm the French covering troops by the sudden attack of a body of some 450,000 men kept in a high state of readiness for war, whose onrush will disturb the French mobilisation and break up their concentration if it is in progress.

A consideration of the soundness or otherwise of the intentions attributed to the Germans opens up interesting questions of strategy into which we cannot now enter. For our present purpose it is enough that the opinions noted are held and are advanced by those who advocate the government measure now before the Chamber of Deputies.

The excellent custom which prevails in France, of referring Bills to a Standing Committee, there to be examined and

finally reported on in great detail to the Chamber, is responsible for a comprehensive and considered volume of some 356 pages which is known as M. Paté's 'Report on the Three Years' 'Service Bill.' This report is made in the name of the Army Committee, which comprises thirty-five members, some of whom are among the most eminent of the Deputies in the Chamber, drawn from all parties, since it includes MM. Lannes de Montebello, Joseph Reinach, Augagneur, Jaurès, Comte Hubert de Montaign and Général Pedoya.

The ground covered by M. Paté's report is extensive, comprising the state of Europe, the effect of the two years' service law of 1905, the French birth rate, the influence of weak establishments on training, and the probable financial and military effects of the proposal to restore three years' service with the colours. Those who know nothing of the French Army will find much instruction and information in this report; while those who are so fortunate as already to know something of that great army will feel that they know its officers and men and their difficulties and their trials much better for having read the report.

At the present moment some discussion centres around the question whether or no the Russian Government did or did not bring certain occult influences to bear on the French Government to induce it to strengthen the French Army by introducing a measure raising the colour service from two years to three years. The first inference which presents itself after reading M. Paté's report is that the question of raising the term of service from two years to three years with the colours has been under examination by the French War Office for some considerable time, and that the General Staff of the French Army was not taken by surprise by the German military law of 1913. The French General Staff is in some respects the best informed and most alert in Europe: it is clear from M. Paté's report, if we read between the lines, that from the moment the Germans departed from the quinquennial system in 1912 the French General Staff informed the War Office that France had to face the most serious military danger that has ever threatened a State in time of peace, and further made it clear that in its opinion this danger could only be met by the Three Years' Service Bill. It is quite possible, indeed it is probable, that the Russian General Staff formed the same opinion, and

this may possibly have led to the conclusion that unless France strengthened her army, even as Russia was strengthening hers—by her new distribution of units, her improved concentration, and her new railway policy—it would not be to Russia's interests to join in any non-Russian quarrel. Whether this was so or not is still guesswork, and, given the known facts, the guesses are not worth hazarding.

The facts to be reckoned with are the greatly increased German establishments and the French proposal to re-introduce three years' service with the colours.

In the words of the report:

. . . 'On peut admettre que l'armée allemande sera en mesure:
'1°. De tenter avec plus de rapidité et plus de puissance que jadis une opération offensive dès le début de la mobilisation;
'2°. D'entamer les opérations d'ensemble avec une armée dotée d'éléments plus jeunes que les nôtres, plus entraînés au point de vue physique et moral, parce qu'ils auront moins de réservistes, mieux encadrés en raison de la proportion des sous-officiers de carrière, mieux outillés au point de vue du matériel parce que la supériorité des effectifs de paix permettra de constituer aisément les services techniques. Dans un avenir très prochain, l'Allemagne disposera donc de 863,000 hommes bien entraînés et outillés à la moderne. La France peut aujourd'hui disposer, déduction faite des auxiliaires, des troupes algériennes et des effectifs envoyés au Maroc, d'environ 480,000 hommes de l'armée active pour répondre aux besoins de la couverture et former le noyau actif des corps d'armée mobilisés.'

The French Army which was humbled to the dust in 1870 was a conscript army. After the war and its defeats, France introduced universal military service, with, however, numerous exemptions, a portion of the annual recruit contingent being taken for five years while a portion was only taken for one year. The law of the 15th of July 1889 reduced the term of service with the colours from five years to three years, but young men of education were able to escape the heavy burden laid on their less well-educated or poorer fellow countrymen. This had the effect, between the years 1889 and 1904, of doubling the number of doctors of medicine and of quadrupling the number of doctors of law, since these diplomas carried exemption from two years of service in the ranks.

The French democracy—and no democracy is so jealous and intolerant of any suspicion of inequality before the law—would not tolerate this, and by the law of the 21st of March

1905 a uniform period of two years' service for all classes was established.

During the discussions on the Two Years' Service Bill of 1905 proposals were made to reduce the term of service to one year with the colours. These proposals were vetoed on the ground that one year's service would involve the presence in the ranks of only one contingent annually, with the dangerous drawback that for some months after the incorporation of that contingent the whole standing army would consist of raw recruits. To remedy this it would have been necessary to induce some 200,000 men to re-engage and thus provide some sort of stiffening to the ranks. Further, it would be impossible to draw the necessary number of non-commissioned officers from the recruits of less than one year's service, hence the whole body of non-commissioned officers would have to be specially enlisted men, entailing further re-engagements to the extent of 160,000, or some 360,000 re-engagements in all. The attainment of such a figure was held to be visionary. Thus in 1905, after seven years of discussion, the principle of two years' service was adopted, and the whole male population of France, educated and uneducated, those whose schooling has made them easy to train and those whose lack of it leaves them rough material for the drill instructor to work on, were passed through the mill of two years in the ranks. By Article 32 of that law the twenty-five years of military service exacted from every Frenchman were apportioned as follows:

(*a*)	In the active army	2 years
(*b*)	In the reserve of the active army ..	11 ,,
(*c*)	In the territorial army	6 ,,
(*d*)	In the reserve of the territorial army ..	6 ,,

Obviously as soon as a nation decides to pass the whole of its manhood through the ranks of its standing army the strength of the standing army will vary with the annual contingents produced by the number of male children born and surviving to be healthy men. In the table given on page 27 of M. Paté's report we find that the contingents between the years 1900 and 1930 show, or will show, considerable fluctuation. For instance, the contingent for the year 1900 was 217,000 men, the able-bodied survivors of 478,611 male births twenty years before. The estimated contingent for

the year 1913 is 214,500 men, the able-bodied survivors of 437,770 boys born in 1893. The tables show a fairly steady decline in the contingents estimated until we find that in 1928 the contingents drop below the level of 200,000 to reach the low figure of 192,600 in the year 1930. If we bear in mind the difference in population between France and Germany, thirty-eight millions to sixty-six millions, and the fact that the German birth rate, which rose steadily from 1850 to 1900, has only just begun to drop, we must agree with M. Paté that whatever efforts the French may make, they cannot hope to reach the total number of men maintained by the Germans. The effort to keep pace with Germany in armaments has already imposed on the manhood of France a greater burden than on that of Germany, since we find the following numbers of trained men per hundred thousand of the population in those two countries during the following years:

Year.	France.	Germany.
1880	1403	1044
1900	1680	1109
1910	1823	1118

Quite apart from the urgent need to increase the fighting strength of France in reply to the challenge contained or implied in the German Army Bills of 1912 and 1913, it has been patent to the French Staff for some time that all the consequences of the two years' service law of 1905 have not been entirely satisfactory. When Germany introduced two years' service with the colours she was careful to except her cavalry and her horse artillery, which continued to serve for three years in the active army. It was realised in Germany that a cavalryman and a horse artilleryman cannot be satisfactorily turned out in two years. Responsible French soldiers were just as well aware of this fact as their German *confrères*, but, given the democratic passion for perfect equality which is so strong in France, it was felt that the nation would not tolerate any inequality in the term of service of the various arms: it was felt that France preferred to have a less well-trained cavalry than to see a sacred political principle tampered with. The consequences are serious: in spite of the hard work and devotion of its officers the French cavalry of to-day is not as well-trained, does not ride as well, and does not possess such well-broken horses as the German cavalry.

In the infantry the introduction of two years' service, though not as disadvantageous as in the cavalry, was not an unmixed blessing and did not work quite as smoothly as in the German Army. For one thing, the reduction of service dried up a spring from which the army drew some of its most valuable junior non-commissioned officers. Many of these used to come from the men who had served two years as privates and consequently made excellent corporals in their third year. The two years' system led to the creation of corporals of only one year's service. This drawback does not exist in Germany, where the system of making non-commissioned officers from the ranks does not obtain. The German 'unter offizier' is a specialist, specially enlisted and specially trained for his work, like his officers; he is not a promising private with a stripe on his arm. The German system will only work in an army where it is deemed essential to keep soldiers, non-commissioned officers, and officers in separate watertight compartments, and where the non-commissioned officers are a caste, just as the officers are another caste. Obviously such a system would not be tolerated in democratic France. However that may be, corporals who are little better than recruits are not much help to their officers either in training or in maintaining discipline. The net result of the reduction of service from three years to two years is that the French officer is the hardest worked soldier in Europe. Nobly has that fine body, the officers of the French Army, responded to the appeal made to its spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty, but in spite of every effort we may be permitted to doubt whether the French private soldiers to-day are as well-trained and as well in hand as those who served their three years before 1905. It is no aspersion on the army of our friends across the Channel to note this fact, since it is patent to their own officers, and it is mentioned, though guardedly, in the discussions to which the new Army Bill has given rise. At the time the two years' service law was brought in, it was freely alleged that three years is too long to keep a man with the colours. During his first year, it was said, the recruit learns to be a soldier; during the second year the soldier practises what he has learnt as a recruit; during the third year there is nothing new to teach him. Such was the theory in vogue in the lobbies of the Chamber of Deputies—a pleasing theory to

politicians with seats to lose, since it accorded so admirably with the wishes of their constituents who preferred for their sons, their brothers, and themselves the shorter period of service. But what are the facts?

A unit recruited on a basis of two years' colour service consists of (*a*) non-commissioned officers, (*b*) men in their second year, and (*c*) recruits. Obviously, if the recruits are to be trained, all fatigues and employed men must be found by the second-year men. The effect of this on companies and squadrons is that whereas day after day the squads of recruits are full and with them steady progressive training is possible, on the other hand the squads of second-year men turn out for parade and manœuvre mere skeletons owing to the numbers of employed men who perforce are absent from the instruction. With skeleton squads nothing can be done—for all practical purposes progressive training has ceased with the first year's service. This we find brought out in the Report of the Army Committee (p. 48):

'Par suite de la nécessité où se trouve l'infanterie de demander à une seule classe les gradés et tous les employés, le nombre d'anciens soldats journellement disponibles pour l'instruction se trouve dans chaque compagnie excessivement réduit, 15 à 20 au maximum.

'Le résultat clair et net est que l'on ne continue pas pendant la deuxième année de service l'instruction donnée au cours de la première année. Au bout de douze mois, la période d'instruction est terminée, on recommence l'instruction individuelle avec nouvelles recrues, et les anciens suivent un peu au petit bonheur, trop peu nombreux pour que l'on s'occupe d'eux.'

So much for the infantry. The case of the cavalry is far worse. The *rapport* gives as typical the state of a squadron belonging to one of the cavalry regiments in the East—that is to say, one of the regiments of the covering troops, the shield behind which the French concentration is to be effected. We find that out of a total strength of 154 rank and file on the 25th of December 1911 the squadron in question comprised 22 non-commissioned officers, 29 duty men (second-year men), 67 recruits and no fewer than 36 employed men or men not available for training for one reason or another. When one realises that for a recruit's first few weeks after incorporation in the ranks (1st of October) he is not much use at looking after a horse which he has not yet learnt to ride, and when one

remembers that every squadron has to break in its own remounts, and that it takes a made rider to make a horse, it becomes clear that out of that squadron of 154 sabres practically not one single man of those in their second year of service will be available for parade or training for some considerable time after the incorporation of the recruits. In fact, whether we have in mind the mounted or dismounted man, whether we are thinking of squadrons or companies, to ensure that the soldier shall undergo two years of real training he must be kept in the ranks for three years. It is then possible to find the employed men from among the third-year men, thus allowing the second-year men to repeat progressively the training acquired during the first year. M. Paté renews the wishes expressed in former reports by predecessors of the present Army Committee that something should be done to reduce the number of employed men taken from the ranks by utilising as far as possible the services of men whose bad physique has precluded them from serving as soldiers. Such a reform, if practicable, would do much for the efficiency not only of the French army, but of our own Army, which suffers from the double drawback of weak peace establishments and too many employed men. The Germans, when adopting two years' service for the infantry by their law of 15th of July 1893, were fully aware of the dangers to training inherent in the reduction from three years to two, and took care to minimise the evil effects noted above by increasing the peace establishment of each unit, so as to secure a sufficiently large number of second-year men for training after deducting the employed men. This was possible in Germany because the birth rate has hitherto produced contingents far in excess of the number of recruits required annually. It is an expedient not open to the French since the French Army, as it is, absorbs every single young man of military age who is physically fit.

Apart from the immediate issue of training, and of much greater importance, are the questions of the weakness of the French covering troops during the months immediately following the incorporation of the recruits, and the possibility of a sudden German offensive with an army at peace strength much more powerful than anything France could immediately bring against it.

The weakness of the French covering troops during the months in which the recruits are being given their elementary training is doubly serious since it entails two distinct weaknesses. First of all, under the system of two years' service, in every October the units consist of 50 per cent. of untrained recruits and 50 per cent. of one-year men about to enter upon their second year of training. An outbreak of war, followed by immediate invasion, would put the French covering troops in the delicate condition of exchanging their 50 per cent. of recruits for about double that number of reservists. This is the first danger. The second danger, first pointed out by General Maitrot, is that the actual process of sending back from the front the recruits attached to the units of the covering troops will congest the railways at a critical moment. The greater the proportion of recruits to be sent back is to the number of trained soldiers kept in the ranks, the more acute will this be. Hence from the two points of view—strength to meet a sudden shock, and the reduction to a minimum of movements back from the front—it is desirable to revert to a period of three years' service with the colours.

M. Joseph Reinach, in the book he has published under the title of 'L'Armée toujours prête,' and in the 'Contre-projet' which he and M. Lannes de Montebello have submitted to the Chamber, proposes a somewhat intricate alternative to the Government measure with a view to strengthening the covering troops during the critical days in which a sudden German offensive might find France unready. But there is no need to dwell on this proposal as it seems probable that the Government proposals, which have already been accepted by the Army Committee by a large majority in preference to all alternative schemes, will become law.

The Government Bill amends the law of 1905 in the following respect:

(*a*) Universal service to begin at the age of nineteen instead of twenty as heretofore. (Article 2.)

(*b*) Military service to last for twenty-eight years instead of twenty-five years as heretofore. (Article 1.)

(*c*) Every Frenchman deemed fit for military service to serve as follows: (Article 12.)

In the active army for three years.
In the reserve of the active army for eleven years.
In the territorial army for seven years.
In the reserve of the territorial army for seven years.

It is proposed to allow certain exemptions and furloughs from the third year of service in the case of soldiers with several brothers serving, and fathers of families, etc., which will reduce the net increase of the standing army in peace to some 170,000 men. This important addition to the French Army will admit of increased effectives, notably in units of the covering troops, which in consequence will need to take in fewer reservists on mobilisation and will be much stronger against a sudden attack than they are at present. The training of the whole army will be improved, and its discipline strengthened by the increased time spent with the colours. Finally, in a few years' time when the improved discipline and training have had time to permeate the reservists, the French Army will have at its back a vast body of reserve troops better in quality than any reserve troops in Europe, other than those of the German cavalry.

The sacrifices the new law will entail are very real: it is no small burden to lay upon a country to keep its young men for one more year away from the trades and avocations which increase the country's wealth and well-being; it is hard on the youth of France and it is hard on France herself. But France is a great democracy, mistress of her own destinies. If she accepts this burden it is with her eyes open and not blindly; it is not lightly but gravely and with a due sense of the import to this and succeeding generations of the decision she is taking. Perhaps it is because she remembers an incident of the year 1868 when Jules Favre, criticising in the Chamber a proposal to increase the army, exclaimed 'Vous voulez donc faire de la France une caserne,' to which Marshal Niel replied: 'Et vous, prenez garde d'en faire un cimetière.' Two years later came Sedan!

THE LLOYD GEORGIAN LAND TAXES

1. **Hansard's Reports of Parliamentary Debates.**
2. **Reports of the Inland Revenue Department.**
3. **Land Union Journal.**

IN the session of 1909 Mr. Lloyd George signalised the first Budget that he had the honour of introducing into the House of Commons by proposing an entirely new system of land taxation. He placed the new taxes in the forefront of his Finance Bill, and advocated them in Parliament and on the platform with all the abundant wealth of rhetoric that nature has placed at his command. Their discussion in the House of Commons occupied by far the greater part of the time devoted to a Budget of abnormal magnitude; they were the prime cause of the rejection of that Budget by the House of Lords; and when the Government decided to appeal to the country, it was on the cry of 'Tax the Land of the Dukes' that the victory was won. Four years have since elapsed, and it is now possible to examine some of the results of this new system of taxation and to compare them with the prophecies so freely made when the 'People's Budget' was under debate.

At the risk of appearing old-fashioned, it is desirable first of all to deal with the financial results of the Lloyd Georgian land taxes. Until Mr. Lloyd George went to the Treasury English Chancellors of the Exchequer have acted on the principle that the primary purpose of a tax is to raise revenue. Many have even gone so far as to declare that this is the exclusive purpose of taxation, and unquestionably theirs is the safer view. The moment a Chancellor of the Exchequer begins to think of other purposes than the raising of revenue he runs the risk of getting no revenue at all, without acquiring the certainty that he will accomplish the other purposes he has in mind. It is not, however, here necessary to argue this proposition, for though Mr. Lloyd George in inventing this new system of taxation did hope to accomplish collateral objects, he certainly desired revenue and he certainly expected to get it.

On no point has there been within the past few months a more persistent misrepresentation of facts than with regard

to Mr. Lloyd George's expectations of revenue from the land value duties of 1909. The instant the public began to grow conscious that these duties, even after four years, were yielding no revenue, statements were circulated to the effect that Mr. Lloyd George had never expected an appreciable revenue in the first few years. These statements have been, and are being, repeated with such persistence that quite a number of people have begun to believe them. Therefore the first step to be taken in our examination of these taxes is to see what Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues did actually say when he was proposing these taxes to the House of Commons and defending them against his critics.

Let us begin with his Budget statement on the 29th of April 1909. After dealing at some length with the growth in the value of land in the neighbourhood of towns, he said: 'Is it 'unfair, is it inequitable, that Parliament should demand a 'special contribution from these fortunate owners towards the 'defence of the country and the social needs of the unfortunate 'in the community?' He added: 'My present proposals 'are proposals both for taxation and for valuation. Although 'very moderate in character they will produce *an appreciable* '*revenue in the present year* and more in future years.' These deliberate statements, made in his Budget speech, were emphasised with various picturesque embellishments in subsequent speeches. For example, on the 7th of July 1909, in resisting an amendment to exempt from undeveloped land duty land occupied by market gardeners, he said:

'What does it matter to the market gardener? He has got to pay a sum of money as rent, and he would naturally prefer that the State should get some part of it. At any rate he will get his Old Age Pension secured and he will get Dreadnoughts to secure his garden from being trampled upon by the German artillery.'

His colleagues apparently shared his belief that Old Age Pensions and Dreadnoughts were to be paid for by the new land value duties. At any rate they echoed his speeches with parrot-like fidelity. On the 9th of August Mr. (now Lord) Haldane in a debate on the undeveloped land duty said:

'You are going to have eight Dreadnoughts, and you want money for other things. You want social reform. We have made an estimate and we find that the taxes this year must be heavier

than in the year gone by, and this tax is a contribution, and a modest contribution, towards the amount we are going to raise.'

On the following day, the 10th of August, Sir John Simon joined in the debate:

'The real justification for this and for every other tax, so far as I am concerned, must be that it is calculated to raise money, and to raise money fairly.'

Mr. Asquith, also on the 10th of August, spoke in the same sense:

'I defend this tax and all the taxes contained in this Finance Bill as fiscal instruments, and if anyone can demonstrate to me that they are not, I agree that they ought to be excised from the Bill.'

It may be suggested that possibly these ministers were all looking far ahead—with that power of prevision and that anxiety for the future which are so characteristic of party politicians—and were thinking of the needs of the Exchequer in 1919 or 1929. This suggestion is disposed of by their own speeches. On the 11th of August Mr. Asquith dealt more fully with the question of the probable yield of the new taxes. He was compelled to admit that the net yield in the first year would be very small, but, he said:

'The real cost of the Dreadnoughts arises not this year but next year, and the year after, and it is quite as important—indeed it is even more important—when you are unsettling and as it were resettling your system of taxation with a view to the ultimate responsibilities of the country to look forward to the liabilities you may be called upon to incur *next year and the year after* as it is for the expenditure of the current year.'

Almost identical language was used by Mr. Lloyd George on the 29th of September 1909:

'Even in the case of the Dreadnoughts which you are laying down this year the real expense will be next year, so that when the revenue comes in from the land taxes next year it will be revenue which will be used just as much for Dreadnoughts as for Old Age Pensions.'

These quotations make it abundantly clear that in 1909 the authors of the new system of land taxation estimated that there would be a small, but appreciable, revenue in the year then current, and that in the following year and the year after

there would be a very substantial contribution to the cost of Dreadnoughts and Old Age Pensions.

Now let us turn to the figures. The estimate made by Mr. Lloyd George in his Budget statement is of no surviving importance, because the scheme of taxation was very largely modified in its passage through Committee. In particular the proposal to levy a tax on the assumed capital value of ungotten minerals was abandoned, and there was substituted in place of it an entirely different tax on the royalties yielded by minerals which were being gotten. This mineral rights duty is in effect an extra income tax on persons whose incomes are derived from the ownership of worked minerals. It has nothing whatever to do with the general scheme of land value duties, nor does it necessitate any new system of valuation. It is levied upon the actual receipts of the mineral owners, and yields a small but steady revenue of about 300,000*l.* a year. To treat this revenue as part of the yield of the land value duties—as is habitually done by Mr. Lloyd George and his apologists—is merely to throw dust in the eyes of the public. If the whole system of land valuation which the other duties entail were swept away, and the whole of the Land Valuation Department abolished, the mineral rights duty could still be levied without trouble and with no greater expense than attends the levying of any item of the income tax.

Putting aside this totally irrelevant tax, we have to deal with the three land value duties, namely increment value duty, undeveloped land duty, and reversion duty. After the Finance Bill had passed through the House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George presented, on the 5th of November 1909, his revised estimate of the yield of these taxes for the remainder of the financial year 1909–10. A fortnight previously he had issued another statement showing the estimated cost of valuation for the same period. An examination of these documents * shows that the two figures exactly balance, so that the estimated net yield was nil. As everybody knows, the Finance Bill was rejected by the Lords, and did not become law till nearly the end of the financial year. But its provisions were made retrospective, and the revenue due for the year 1909–10 has been included in the Estimates for subsequent

* House of Commons Papers, No. 316 and No. 297 of 1909.

years. We have therefore in effect only three years' Estimates to deal with, though it is strictly accurate to say that the new taxes have been in operation for four years.

ESTIMATED YIELD OF LAND VALUE DUTIES ACCORDING TO SUCCESSIVE BUDGET STATEMENTS.

—	*1909–10 Statement Nov. 5 1909 (Collection suspended).*	1910–11 Budget, June 30 1910.	1911–12 Budget, May 16 1911.	1912–13 Budget, April 2 1912.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£
Increment value duty .	*20,000*	20,000	50,000	30,000	100,000
Undeveloped land duty .	*140,000*	280,000†	200,000	100,000	580,000
Reversion duty . .	*90,000*	90,000	50,000	125,000	265,000
	250,000	390,000	300,000	255,000	945,000

† Including £140,000 arrears for 1909–10. Answer by Mr. Lloyd George to question in the House of Commons October 22, 1912.

In passing it may be noticed that Mr. Lloyd George's estimate in April 1912 of the gross yield of his three taxes for a whole year was practically identical with his estimate in November 1909 of their yield for less than half a year. Yet the estimate of November 1909 was accompanied by the confident footnote: 'There will be a progressive increase in 'the yield of these duties (i.e. the three land value duties) 'in 1910–11 and future years.'

It will be seen that the three successive Budget estimates for the yield of the three duties during the whole period they have been in operation aggregate £945,000. That is not a very large contribution to three years' expenditure on Old Age Pensions and Dreadnoughts. Let us next compare this modest estimate with the results actually achieved. Towards the end of April of the present year (1913) the Chancellor of the Exchequer circulated the following reply to a question by Mr. Pretyman: *

'The total yield of the land values duties up to the 31st of March 1913 is as follows:

	£
Increment value duty	23,254
Reversion duty	70,878
Undeveloped land duty	129,298
Mineral rights duty	1,234,483

* Times, April 29, 1913.

'The total cost of valuation (including cost of collecting above duties and of certain incidental services, and cost of issuing Form IV. and of offices and stationery) up to the same date has been £1,393,000.

'The total number of officials engaged in the Land Valuation Office on the 31st of March 1913 was 4153, and the total figure of their annual salaries was £492,626.'

It will be seen that up to the 31st of March last the total yield of the three duties with which we are here concerned was £223,430. In other words, not only have the original vague prophecies as to the bounteous yield of these taxes proved to be without foundation, but the three careful estimates made after the land valuation had been started show a discrepancy in comparison with the actual receipts that no rhetoric can bridge. *The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated for a sovereign; he has received* 4*s.* 8¾*d.*

But that is only the beginning of the story. We have so far only dealt with gross revenue; but from the point of view of paying for Dreadnoughts and Old Age Pensions what really matters is net revenue. The necessary figures for dealing with this point are provided in the answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Mr. Pretyman above quoted. It will be seen that the total cost of assessing and collecting the three land value duties and the mineral rights duty is set down at £1,393,000. As already explained, the mineral rights duty has nothing to do with the other three taxes except for the historical accident that it was substituted in the course of the debates on the Finance Bill of 1909 for an intended land value duty. It ought to be collected with the income tax and super tax and treated as part of that tax. But as Mr. Lloyd George here implies that it is collected by the same branch of the service that collects the three land value duties, allowance must be made for the cost of its collection. If the Reports of the Inland Revenue Commissioners be examined it will be seen that of recent years the cost of collecting the revenue dealt with by that department has averaged in normal years something under 2½ per cent. of the gross receipts. In 1911–12, which was a normal year, the figure was as low as 2·32 per cent. There is no reason why the mineral rights duty should be particularly expensive to collect, but to be on the safe side we will take 3 per cent. on the sum yielded.

This gives in round figures £37,000. Deducting this from the total cost of valuation, etc., as given by Mr. Lloyd George, we have left £1,356,000 as the cost of valuation and collection of the three land value duties from the time they came into operation down to the 31st of March 1913. It has already been shown that the yield of these taxes during the same period was £223,430. Thus the final result of four years' working of Mr. Lloyd George's brilliant contrivance for paying for Dreadnoughts and Old Age Pensions is a *net loss* to the Exchequer of £1,133,000.

It is however frequently suggested that the cost of valuation ought not to be debited entirely to the present yield of the land value duties, first because the valuation is in the nature of a capital expenditure which will bear fruit in future years, and secondly, because it has produced a collateral advantage in increasing the yield of the death duties. As regards the first point we are brought back again to the realm of prophecy. Let us therefore, before proceeding further, study another example of Mr. Lloyd George's prophetic powers. In November 1909, after the Finance Bill had passed the House of Commons, he estimated, as above shown, that the net yield of the three taxes for the remaining months of the year would be precisely *nil*. In answer to a question in the House of Commons on the 25th of April 1913, he stated that the estimated receipts for the three duties for the year 1913–14 were as follows:

ESTIMATES FOR 1913–14.	£
Increment value duty . . .	20,000
Undeveloped land duty . . .	325,000
Reversion duty	100,000
	445,000

In answer to another question in the House of Commons on the 17th of April 1913, he stated that the estimated total cost of the Land Valuation Office for the current year was £680,000. Allowing 3 per cent. as before for the cost of collecting the mineral rights duty, estimated to yield £305,000, the £680,000 is brought down to, roughly, £670,000. Deducting from this the estimated yield of the three land taxes, namely £445,000, we get £225,000 as the prospective *net loss* on these taxes in the current year. Thus while the author of these

taxes estimated their first year's yield at exactly nothing, he himself estimates their fifth year's yield at £225,000 less than nothing. Even if in defiance of common sense we add the mineral rights duty to the three land value duties, the estimated net yield of all four taxes in the current year—the fifth year of incidence—is only £70,000. Was ever so much pother for such a miserable result? Did ever a Chancellor of the Exchequer before so grossly miscalculate the yield of his own pet instrument of revenue?

Taking a general view of the problem, it is difficult to discover any reason for ever anticipating a large revenue from any one of the three land value duties. It is true that undeveloped land duty shows, as far as the last estimate is concerned, an appreciable increase on previous years—namely an estimated £325,000 this year as compared with an estimated £100,000 last year. But this estimated increase—which is still *in nubibus*—is based on the calculation that a considerable sum of arrears of duty—no less than £240,000*—will fall to be collected in the present year. As a matter of fact the land value officials are this year demanding from many people undeveloped land duty for the four previous years. This method of swelling the Estimates will necessarily cease in the course of a few years, and the area of land still remaining to be valued will not add any great sum to the yield of this tax. As regards reversion duty, the ultimate prospects are equally poor. This duty is an arbitrary impost upon those landowners whose predecessors in title, in order to meet the convenience of builders, let land at low ground rents hoping to recoup their estate when the reversions fell in. Since this very convenient form of letting is now penalised, as if it were a crime, landowners will avoid it for the future; so that though reversion duty may yield a substantial sum while old leases are falling in, it cannot be regarded as a permanent source of revenue.

Finally we come to the increment value duty. This duty is founded on the assumption that the value of the land in the United Kingdom is necessarily going to rise very greatly. That is the kind of assumption that politicians make and

* Answer to question in the House of Commons on the 24th of April 1913.

business men question. While Mr. Lloyd George and his friends are staking their political reputations on the prospect of a rise in the value of British land, English landowners are quietly selling here and buying land in Canada. In view of the heavy emigration now in progress the latter speculation seems likely to prove the more profitable. At any rate it is most improbable that land in the United Kingdom will rise so greatly in value in the course of the next twenty years as to yield any appreciable revenue in the way of increment value duty. It is noticeable that Mr. Lloyd George's estimate of the gross yield of this tax for 1913–14 is only £20,000. His estimate for 1911–12 was £50,000.

Nor is there any prospect that the cost of assessing and collecting these taxes will be greatly reduced in the future. There must be a periodic revaluation for undeveloped land duty, and there must be a valuation for increment value duty on every occasion on which that duty might conceivably become due. Over 4000 officials are now at work, and when—if ever—that huge staff is reduced there will be heavy charges for pensions and compassionate allowances. Finally, if the valuation is to be treated as a capital outlay interest must be charged, and that alone will soon amount to a considerable sum.

We pass to the suggestion that, though the new valuation is a costly failure as regards the particular duties for the sake of which it was instituted, it pays for itself in the increased yield of the death duties. This suggestion was first put about when ministers began to realise what a serious business it was to value the whole of the land of the kingdom on a new and entirely artificial plan for the sake of discovering if a few scraps here and there had gone up in value or could conceivably be sold for building purposes. Mr. Asquith laid stress upon the point in August 1909, when introducing a resolution to authorise the payment out of the Exchequer of the cost of land valuation. The conclusive answer was supplied two months later by Mr. Lloyd George himself, who, on Oct. 29th 1909, referring to the death duties, said:

'One of the very first things we did this year was to reorganise the Valuation Department. It is part of the permanent staff and has at its head a very able and experienced officer, who has reorganised this Department. And the mere fact that we have not

accepted too freely some of the accounts submitted to us has had a very appreciable effect. . . . Land which has been passed as agricultural land we have discovered is valuable building land, and that has made a difference in the death duties, and a very substantial portion of the £1,300,000 is attributable to the fact that we have got an efficient Valuation Department.'

From this speech it is clear that the increased yield of the death duties is attributable not to the system of land valuation set up in 1910 under the authority of the Budget of 1909, but to a reorganisation of the Estate Duty Office which took place before that Budget was even introduced. As far as can be gathered from the estimates of the Estate Duty Office,* this reorganisation was estimated to cost £5000 a year. The improved valuation department for death duties, created at this moderate expense, formed the nucleus of the vast staff set up a year later to work the land value duties. Hence has arisen in many minds a quite honest confusion, and defenders of the Lloyd Georgian land taxes have pointed proudly to the increased yield of the death duties as the result of 'the land valuation.' Even Mr. Lloyd George himself as recently as April of the present year contributed, unintentionally no doubt, to the maintenance of this confusion. Dealing in his Budget speech with the death duties, he gave an illustration of the 'effect of land valuation on death duties,' and many of his hearers assumed that he meant the special land valuation set up in 1910. The next day he was challenged on the point in the House of Commons by Mr. Royds, who reminded him that according to his own statements in 1909 the increased yield of the death duties was due to 'the depart-'ment set up in 1909 before the passing of the People's 'Budget.' Mr. Lloyd George replied: 'Certainly, that is 'the department which is doing the work.' This clear statement ought finally to dispose of the persistent legend that the increased yield of the death duties is due to the grotesque and costly system of land valuation established as the result of the Budget of 1909. It is really due to a common-sense and inexpensive reform of the Estate Duty Office, undertaken before that Budget was introduced.

There is therefore nothing to offset against the heavy annual loss which Mr. Lloyd George's taxes now entail upon the

* Estimates for Revenue Departments, 1909–10, p. 47.

country. From the fiscal point of view they are a sheer waste of our national resources.

This alone, according to Mr. Asquith himself, ought to be a conclusive reason for abolishing these Lloyd Georgian land taxes; but it is only part of the case against them. In addition to imposing a heavy burden upon the Exchequer they inflict grave injustice upon individuals. Take as a sample of the way they work the procedure now followed with regard to property passing at death or by sale. Until these taxes were introduced the inland revenue officials had no special motive for delaying business, but now transactions in land are regularly held up until the department is satisfied that no increment value duty is payable. The consequent delays involve a vast amount of inconvenience and indirect expense. Direct expense must also be incurred to secure an acknowledgment from the Land Values Department that no duty is payable. In answer to a question in the House of Commons on the 22nd of October 1912, Mr. Lloyd George stated that up to the 30th of September 1912 there had been 403,527 valuations on occasions when increment value duty might conceivably have been due. In each of these cases the owner had to pay a fee to a solicitor for getting his papers passed through Somerset House, and in many cases he had also to employ a valuer to contest the Government valuation. The cost to landowners under this head alone cannot be put at less than £250,000, and may have amounted to twice that sum. As the outcome of this huge expense to private owners—in addition to the expense incurred by the Government—it was established * that increment value duty was payable in 798 cases, yielding something under £20,000.† Worked out in proportion, this means that out of every thousand valuations made by the Department only two showed duty to be payable, and to secure this miserable result private individuals were involved in a useless expenditure of more than a quarter of a million sterling..

It is well to note a few of the particular results of the new taxes. These taxes were based, it will be remembered, on the

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* See answer to question on the 24th of October 1912.

† The total yield of increment value duty up to the 31st of March 1913 was £23,254.

theory that the bare value of land in the form in which the Creator was supposed to have given it to mankind should alone be taxed. Everything added to the land, every improvement brought about in its condition by the labour of man, was to be treated as exempt. This is the sacred principle laid down by the late Henry George, and adopted by his namesake and follower. Even at the outset the principle broke down, for the reversion duty, levied on the falling in of long leases, was clearly charged upon the value of the house as well as the land. In the case, however, of the other two land value duties the pretence was maintained that the tax was only to be levied on the bare value of the land. In practice this pretence has been abandoned and the officials of the Inland Revenue Department have claimed the right, under the text of the Act, to levy increment value duty in cases where admittedly there has been no increase in the value of the land.

The most notorious instance under this head is the Lumsden case. Mr. Lumsden—a builder in the north of England—was approached in 1908 by a colliery company, and invited to build a considerable number of houses for the employees of the company. He built the houses at his own expense and when they were finished leased them, according to agreement, to the company. In addition he built a corner house conveniently situated for the purposes of a shop. So far as this shop was concerned the enterprise was entirely his own. It was he who foresaw that the occupants of the houses which he had built for the colliery company would be glad to have a general shop on the estate; it was with his money and at his own risk that the shop was built. He sold it for £750 to a Mrs. Stobie in August 1910. In February 1911 a provisional valuation was served showing what was supposed to have been the value of the site of the shop in April 1909, and a few months later Mr. Lumsden was presented with a demand for increment value duty on £125. He appealed to the referee, and when the case was argued the *Inland Revenue Department made the frank admission that the site of the shop had not risen in value between the 30th of April 1909 and August 1910 when the shop was sold.* Their case was that the wording of the Act compelled them to charge duty. They appear, however, to have thought that something more than this verbal justification was needed for a proceeding which violated the

principle upon which the increment tax was supposed to be based. They therefore put forward the proposition that Mr. Lumsden was liable to be taxed because he had sold the shop 'for more than it was worth.' It is desirable to quote the actual words used by Mr. Finlay, the Government counsel, as reported in the 'Land Union Journal' for April 1912:

'Therefore in substance, divested of all complications caused by the inevitably complicated processes of the Act, in substance what we are claiming to tax here is an increment of £125. We are claiming that Mrs. Stobie gave £125 too much for the property and we are claiming to tax that. . . . If my case is right, we are not taxing value here; there is no value in this thing beyond £625. There would have been no tax whatever if the property had fetched its value. It did not; it fetched something more than its value. My friend Mr. Allen put it to one of the witnesses that this was a legitimate profit of Mr. Lumsden's. I perfectly agree. If Mr. Lumsden is so fortunate as to find a Mrs. Stobie who will give more than the place is worth it is perfectly legitimate. . . . I hope that Mr. Lumsden will find many other Mrs. Stobies; and I hope that when he does find them, he will not in the future, after the explanation which has been given in this case, object to share a little of his most well-deserved and ingeniously won profit with the Government.'

The claim here put forward is far more important than any legal technicalities involved in the clauses of the Act. It will be seen that Mr. Finlay's argument amounts to the proposition that a piece of property is worth, not what it fetches when sold, but what the Government valuers declare it to be worth. The Government valuers said that this shop with its site was worth £625, and in Mr. Finlay's reading of the law that figure consequently became the true market value, and the fact that the property was actually sold for £750 only proved that the owner had received an extra profit on which he could be taxed. This view was subsequently accepted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Writing to a builder at Bath,* Mr. Lloyd George said:

'The increment of £125 on which duty was charged represented the excess of the sum obtained for the composite property over and above its market value, including builder's profits—an excess of price over value which the owner could not reasonably have expected to obtain, and which was a fortuitous windfall coming to Mr.

* Architects' and Builders' Journal, April 2, 1913.

Lumsden not through his skill as a builder but as a chance gain, incident to the monopoly of land ownership.'

There is a discrepancy of view here as to the nature of the profit made by Mr. Lumsden. By Mr. Finlay this profit was described as 'most well-deserved and ingeniously won'; by Mr. Lloyd George it is described as a 'chance gain, incident 'to the monopoly of land ownership.' But apart from this discrepancy the position taken up is the same. Both the Government counsel and his employer the Chancellor of the Exchequer contend that the market value of a piece of property is determined not by what it fetches in the market but by what a revenue official thinks it ought to fetch or to have fetched. This is a totally new doctrine both in law and in economics, and its constitutional importance can hardly be exaggerated. If this doctrine is to be upheld no man's property will be safe; taxation will become as arbitrary as it was in the days of King John. It is a curious position to have reached seven hundred years after Magna Charta; still more curious is it that such a position should be upheld by the leaders of a party which has always professed to accept the canons of taxation laid down by Adam Smith.

It may be asked how it comes about that such a far-reaching issue as this should be raised by means of a tax which in theory is only concerned with the growth in the value of the bare land between two different dates. The answer is that the Finance Act which embodies the Lloyd Georgian taxes is so drafted, whether through carelessness or of *malice prepense*, that it apparently permits the revenue officials to ignore the principles on which the tax was supposed to be founded and to apply quite other principles of their own devising. Their crude proposition is that if a man sells a piece of property for more than they choose to declare it to be worth he is liable to increment value duty. It is only necessary to add that in practice the Land Values Department constantly refrains from making a provisional valuation of property until after the property has been sold. The rest is easy.

A case in point was furnished by an old man employed as a road-sweeper at 24*s*. a week by the Willesden Urban District Council. This man was formerly a horse-keeper in the employ of the London General Omnibus Company;

but when motors came in he lost his job, and was for many months out of work. He had previously purchased a leasehold house for £280, borrowing part of the purchase-money from a building society. When he lost his job he was unable to keep up his payments, and sold the house early in 1911 for £250. Legal expenses on the two occasions brought his loss up to £54. In December 1912, nearly two years after he had parted with the house, he received from the Inland Revenue Department a demand for £4 15*s.* 1*d.* increment value duty. The claim was based on the fact that he had not challenged within sixty days the provisional valuation made by the Department, and was consequently liable to be taxed on the difference between the actual price realised and the arbitrary value which the officials had chosen to put upon his property. A road-sweeper earning 24*s.* a week does not easily meet a sudden claim for £4 15*s.* 1*d.* This old man, who had apparently failed to study the text of the People's Budget, did not even understand the claim, and answered that he had long ago paid up all the accounts connected with the property. He received in reply a letter from the Commissioners threatening legal proceedings if he did not pay at once. A few weeks were allowed to elapse and then a second threatening letter was sent to him. Luckily the Land Union then took up the case. Without a moment's delay the Inland Revenue Commissioners climbed down and offered to cancel the provisional valuation and accept as a 'substituted site value' the original purchase price of the property. This offer appears to have been entirely irregular, if not illegal, for the three months allowed by the Act for claiming substituted site value had expired. But the Department preferred to extend the time rather than run the risk of having to appear in court to claim increment value duty from a road-sweeper who had invested the savings of a lifetime in buying a house, and had lost £54 on the transaction.

This is a peculiarly flagrant example of the methods of the Land Values Department. But the possibility of similar wrongs on an extensive scale is inherent in this system of taxation. In numbers of provincial towns working men have invested their savings in house property, often at times when prices were higher than they now are. Landowners of this class cannot be expected to understand the complexities of

the valuation forms sent out from Somerset House, and in scores of cases they have accepted provisional valuations which put their property at a low figure. When then the property is sold above that figure the owner becomes liable for increment value duty even though the price he gets may mean a heavy loss on his original purchase. This is one of the practical results of the People's Budget which was to tax the Dukes to pay for Dreadnoughts.

Similar practical results have been experienced in connexion with the undeveloped land duty. This duty was represented as a device for hitting the great ground landlords who were wickedly holding back land which was wanted for the people's homes. The following are samples of what it means in practice.

In the neighbourhood of Bedford fifty-six acres of land belonging to a charity are let for allotments. This is, for the present at any rate, the most publicly useful purpose to which the land could be put, for there is no other equally convenient allotment ground available. But the land could conceivably be used for building suburban villas, and therefore becomes liable for undeveloped land duty. The actual duty charged is £16 19*s.* 8*d.* a year, and as the trustees of the charity are not justified in placing this charge upon their funds they have added it to the rents of the allotment holders.

A closely similar case has occurred at Finchley, where the trustees of a charity have been informed by the Inland Revenue Department that if they continue to let land for workmen's allotments instead of breaking it up into plots for suburban villa residences they will—under the authority of the People's Budget—have to pay undeveloped land duty.

At Cherry Hinton, near Cambridge, there is an equally interesting example of the working of the Lloyd Georgian land taxes. The vicar of the parish is the life tenant of glebe land which was valued some years ago at £250 an acre for building land. It is no longer saleable at that price, and the Lloyd Georgian valuers themselves put a lower figure upon it; but the vicar is forbidden by the Board of Agriculture to sell it for less. The best he can do with it is to let it for agricultural purposes at 30*s.* an acre. Out of that 30*s.* he is required to pay 8*s.* 4*d.* an acre for undeveloped land duty which is equivalent to a tax of 5*s.* 6*d.* in the £ on this portion of his income. This is

what Mr. Lloyd George in his Budget debates called a tax of 'only a halfpenny.'

In another interesting case undeveloped land duty is being charged upon a hole in the ground, the property of Messrs. Wm. Ward and Sons, brickmakers in the neighbourhood of Leeds. Clay for brickmaking has for many years been dug out of this hole, till now it covers a considerable superficial area, and is about 50 feet deep. Recently work has been suspended owing to the falling off in the demand for bricks, but the machinery has been left in position, and local rates and Schedule A income tax have been paid on a reduced assessment. The Land Values Department now demands undeveloped land duty upon this hole for four years. The hole is obviously useless for building purposes until it has been filled up, and, even if a builder could be found to incur the cost of filling it, the probability is that the local bye-laws would forbid building upon fifty feet of filled-in earth.

That such results should ensue from the Lloyd Georgian taxes is not altogether surprising; for the taxes are based upon principles which are essentially unsound. Their first fatal blunder is the attempt to lay hold of an abstraction known as prairie value. In a new country, like the State of California at the time Mr. Henry George wrote his book, or like New Zealand at the present day, prairie value is a reality, for there are in such cases vast areas of land untouched by the hand of man. In England no such land can be found except a few odd acres on mountain-tops. Broadly speaking, all the land of England has been brought into its present condition by human industry. The land that God gave to England consisted of trackless swamp and forest; man has drained the swamps and cut down the forests; man has built roads and fences, and by cultivation converted sour clay and barren sand into rich crop-bearing soil. It is impossible even in thought to divest a modern English farm of all that man has done to make it. Even to allow accurately for the value of improvements of recent date is an impossible task, and in practice the People's Budget—in spite of all the talk about the bare value of the land—does not attempt this impossibility.

On this point Mr. Lloyd George is the best witness against his own theories. On the 24th of October 1912 Mr. Royds asked in the House of Commons: 'Why the site value of

'agricultural land is not the bare value of the land, but is taken 'to include a large proportion of value attributable to owner's 'improvements?' Mr. Lloyd George replied: 'I refer the 'hon. member to the provisions of sec. 25 (4) (*b*) of the Finance '(1909–10) Act, 1910, which precludes allowance being made 'in respect of improvements which only enhance the value 'of the land for agricultural purposes.'

Thus the theory of prairie value, which furnished a quasi-theological basis for the People's Budget, is admittedly not applied to the greater part of the land of England. In the case of urban land an attempt has been made to apply the theory and the attempt has failed. The Inland Revenue Commissioners, backed up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, are now claiming, as shown above, to ignore the value of the bare land and to calculate duty on the value of the composite property consisting of house and land. Of necessity they have been driven to this course because they wanted revenue, and they found that a fictitious basis of taxation did not yield real revenue. To separate a house from the site upon which it stands is to get away from reality into the realm of fiction, for except in cases where the immediate destruction of the house is contemplated the house and the site are sold together as one thing. It may be assumed that most of the houses existing in the United Kingdom are intended to be used as houses on the average for a hundred years, therefore it is sheer midsummer madness to try to establish a system of taxation and valuation based on the assumption that every site is forthwith to be cleared of the house standing upon it.

Another fundamental blunder in the Lloyd Georgian system of land taxation is the assumption that land is only 'developed' when built upon or used for some manufacturing industry. The whole vast industry of agriculture, including fruit-growing and market-gardening and the important business of the nurseryman and seedsman, is treated as if it involved a criminal waste of the resources of the country. Though the industry of agriculture with all its branches probably employs more persons than any other single industry, though it requires increasing millions of capital, and though many of the best brains in the country are devoted to its improvement and expansion, land used for the purposes of agriculture is stigma-

was of no consequence in comparison with the vast boons that his valuation would yield to local authorities.

This ingenious scheme is however doomed to failure; for the Lloyd Georgian valuation is based neither upon old-fashioned English common sense nor upon the pure wisdom of the prophet of San Francisco. It is a jumble of conflicting ideas expressed in language which no one can with certainty construe. For example, after four years it is still uncertain whether growing grass, which may have cost £10 an acre to establish, is a deductible improvement or is to be treated as part of the prairie value of the land. In the passage quoted above Mr. Lloyd George took the view that his system of valuation makes no allowance for improvements which enhance the value of land for agricultural purposes. Yet to ignore these improvements is to fly in the face of the theories taught by the land tax group. A similar difficulty arises with regard to urban land, for here many owners—especially poor owners—have through negligence omitted to claim allowances which the Act permits. Consequently some properties have been valued at one figure and adjoining properties, similar in every respect, at another figure. These divergent values are now recorded in the Lloyd Georgian Domesday Book, but any attempt to levy local rates upon them would arouse that passionate sense of indignation which a particular injustice excites even among people who are sluggish to observe general wrongs. Nor has anyone yet explained how to deal with the minus values which have already formed the subject of much litigation. The mind reels at the idea of a minus value as a basis for local rating. Finally, any system of local rating must be based upon contemporary values, even if they be hypothetical site values. The community would not tolerate the levying of rates, say, in 1920 upon the values recorded for 1909.

The truth is that the Lloyd Georgian valuation is absolutely useless except for the exclusive purposes of the Lloyd Georgian land taxes; and they are useless for any purpose whatsoever.

EDITOR.

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THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY AND THE SWISS SOLUTION

1. **The Swiss Democracy.** By H. D. LLOYD and J. H. HOBSON. T. Fisher Unwin. 1908.
2. **The Rise of the Swiss Republic.** By W. D. MCCRACKAN. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1908.
3. **The Swiss Republic.** By BOYD WINCHESTER. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1891.
4. **The Referendum in Switzerland.** By SIMON DEPLOIGE. Longmans, Green. 1898.
5. **Blue Book No. 3, 1911, respecting the Referendum.**
6. **Blue Book respecting the Initiative.**

IT may be accepted as an axiom that a truly democratic government should first and foremost express as far as is humanly possible the will of the people of the country. An ideal democratic Constitution should make it impossible for parliamentary representatives to impose on the country laws which the people do not want. Further, it should be very difficult, if not impossible, for a small majority to impose constitutional changes to which nearly one-half of the electors are opposed. Yet these obvious requirements of democratic government are conspicuously absent in most so-called democratic countries to-day, and there consequently exists

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a very widespread discontent with parliamentary government both in Europe and America.

It is often uncertain on both sides of the Atlantic how far laws, which are easily carried through parliament, are really wanted by the people, and whether, if put to the popular vote, they would have even a bare majority in their favour. This doubt necessarily provokes bitterness among minorities in legislative assemblies, and from that state of mind it is but a step to obstruction, followed by the closure, and in turn followed by increased discontent, and finally by indifference to parliamentary proceedings. A further consequence of the present methods of legislating is that attempts are made to defeat governments by trickery, by snap votes, by plots and counterplots and all the mean and meaningless paraphernalia of party intrigue. The expression of the will of the people as an aim of government is altogether lost sight of, and party opportunity and party necessities become the sole motives of political action.

The first requirement of democratic government being the expression of the real will of the people, the second requirement is that the political machine should work as smoothly as possible. For this end care should be taken so to constitute the legislative and executive bodies as to avoid as far as possible the political crises consequent upon sudden changes of government and to minimise the turmoil and excitement caused by general elections.

The object of this article will be to show that these two fundamental requirements of democracy—the frank and sure expression of the people's will and the smooth working and stability of government—are obtained to a far greater extent by Swiss political institutions than by those of England.

The Swiss Confederation is made up of twenty-two sovereign States or Cantons which have united and delegated to a Central or Federal Government the right to deal with certain matters of common interest to all. Any matters not specially declared by the Constitution to be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government remain within that of the Cantonal Governments.

For present purposes we are not concerned with the Cantonal Governments or with their relations to the Federal Govern-

ment; our sole object is to describe the Federal Constitution and its working. That can best be done under the following heads:

The Executive. — The executive body is called the Federal Council and consists of seven members. Each member is at the head of one of the principal government departments; he may sit and speak in either Chamber, but may not vote. The members of the Council are separately elected by both Chambers sitting together in joint session. Each member is elected for a period of three years, but can be re-elected, and it is the habit to re-elect members unless there is some very strong reason for not doing so. The late Mr. A. Dencher, who, at the time of his death at the age of eighty, was 'doyen' of the Federal Council, had been upwards of thirty years a member of the Council and had been three times President of the Confederation.

Thus, unlike the British Cabinet, the Swiss Executive is not renewable all at once but only gradually as the term of office of each member (three years) comes to an end. Nor is it dependent for its existence (and this is a highly important point) on the vote of a majority in the Federal Assembly. Yet the Swiss Executive, like the British Cabinet, but unlike the American Cabinet, has the right and duty of initiating legislation; but if a measure introduced by it, or having its support, is rejected by the Assembly, that measure merely disappears for the time being. Nothing else happens. There is no political crisis and no general election.

The President.—The President is a member of the Federal Council and his function is to preside over its sittings. He is only *primus inter pares*, the Sovereignty of the State being vested not in the Presidency but in the whole Council. He and the Vice-President are also elected by the Chambers in joint session and retain these offices for one year only. It has become the habit of the Assembly to elect members of the Federal Council to the Presidency in the order of their seniority on the Council, and for years past Swiss Presidents have succeeded each other as easily and as surely as if they followed one another by right of heredity.

The Legislature.—The Legislature consists of two Chambers known together under the name of the Federal Assembly. These are equal and co-ordinate bodies performing the same

functions. The Upper Chamber is called the Council of States and the Lower the National Council. In considering the working of the Swiss Constitution it is very necessary to keep the names of these three bodies quite distinct in one's mind:

The Federal Council, or Executive Committee, consisting of seven members; the Federal Assembly, or Legislature, consisting of an Upper Chamber, called the Council of States; and a Lower Chamber called the National Council.

Council of States.—This body is made up of forty-four members, two for each of the twenty-two Cantons. The length of their term of office, the manner of their election, and the amount of their salary are left entirely to the discretion of the Cantons whose special representatives they are. The Council of States is obviously modelled, though with differences, on the American Senate. But while the American Senate has some special powers, notably as regards the ratification of Treaties, which are not possessed by the House of Representatives, the Swiss Council of States is in every respect the equal of the National Council and performs the same functions.

The National Council is composed of 189 members, elected on the basis of one representative to every 20,000 inhabitants. Every male from the age of twenty is entitled to the suffrage. Members of the National Council receive from the Federal Exchequer a salary of twenty francs (16*s.* 8*d.*) a day while the Assembly is sitting, and a small allowance for travelling expenses. General elections for the National Council take place every three years.

Poll of the People (*'votation populaire'*).—Besides these legislative and executive bodies, there is also, for purposes of legislation, the whole body of the electors throughout the country. They act by means of the 'Referendum' as a check upon their elected Representatives in the Federal Assembly, and they can, by means of the 'Initiative,' if necessary also act as a spur.

The Referendum.—The 'Referendum' enables, and in certain cases requires, measures passed by the Assembly to be referred for final ratification to the vote of the whole electorate. The Referendum is obligatory in the case of proposed constitutional changes, and voluntary with regard to ordinary

legislation. In the latter case the law is set in motion, on the demand of 30,000 electors or of eight Cantons, with regard to any measure within three months of its passing through Parliament. Not only the Federal Constitution but all the Cantonal Constitutions recognise a Referendum in some shape or form.

The Initiative.—The 'Initiative' is the right of 50,000 electors to insist either in general or specific terms on certain constitutional amendments being submitted to the electors.

There is a movement now on foot to authorise the application of the Initiative to general legislation. Such an unrestricted Initiative already legally exists in certain Cantons; but the Initiative, while unquestionably a logical part of direct democratic Government, is on the whole rarely used. It stands to reason that any large body of electors sufficiently organised to demand special legislation can almost invariably find some members of Parliament to introduce the required measure in one Chamber or the other, and so obviate the necessity for an Initiative.

Let us now compare the working of this system of government with our own parliamentary practice. Members of the House of Commons are constantly placed in the dilemma of having to choose between voting for their party and following the guidance of their own conscience and reason. If they follow conscience and reason against party, they are sure in any case of a black mark from the whips, while if their party happens to be in office they risk becoming the cause of a general election with all its attendant consequences.

What member of Parliament cares to face that risk? He may throw out of office the party which he, on the whole, believes to be the best; he may put off for years the realisation of measures which he feels to be of the highest necessity; he may help on to the Government benches men whom he entirely distrusts; he may involve himself in all the worry and expense of a general election, with the risk of losing his seat and sacrificing his political prospects and his four hundred pounds a year! In such circumstances it takes a superman to listen to the still small voice of conscience; nor is it difficult to imagine how easily after the first few months in Parliament

a member grows to be like the famous Ruler of the Queen's Navee, who

> 'Always voted at his Party's call
> And never thought of thinking for himself at all!'

This attitude of mind becomes a second nature, so that the average member cheerfully tramps through the lobbies at the bidding of the whips, fully believing himself, good soul, an honest man engaged on accomplishing the whole duty of a legislator. He is sent to parliament to give his best brains to the service of his country, and he contents himself with giving his two feet to the service of his party.

That is the effect of our system on the individual. On the affairs of the community it is equally disastrous. The fate of every measure introduced by Government is a foregone conclusion, and yet Government measures may often be desired only by a small minority of the Government supporters, who have to be humoured for some party purpose. In such cases there is probably no real majority either in the Commons or in the country in favour of the measure, yet it is forced through parliament by party pressure and becomes the law of the land. One may call the present British system by any name one pleases, but it is certainly not democratic. It is rather an 'oligarchy of superior persons' who are themselves the slaves of any group or fraction within the ranks of their own majority.

The English parliamentary system, with its Cabinet depending on a majority vote in Parliament, must inevitably lead to one or other of two results, both equally deplorable.

Either, first, as in England, the placing of all power in the hands of a small body of men during a period of considerable duration, modified by the equally unfortunate fact that their position is often only maintained by concessions to different groups among their followers.

Or, second, as in France, the cleavage of Parliament into various irresponsible groups without cohesion and only acting together to wreck Governments but unable to keep any Government in power for any length of time.

In the Swiss Federal Assembly on the other hand, owing to the fact that the rejection of a Government measure entails no political crisis and no general election, there is far greater

freedom of action on the part of members. They are not the slaves of any party and may speak and vote like free men.

For example, in the case of the important debate of last spring on the ratification of the St. Gothard Railway Convention, it was impossible to foresee up to within a day or two of the close of the debate how the issue would be decided. The question was one which had stirred Swiss public opinion to its depths. Never in the memory of man had there been such agitation in the country on any subject. The Executive Government, or Federal Council, were solid for the ratification of the Convention, but this did not cause all the Radicals, who formed the majority of the two Chambers, to support it. On the contrary some leading members of that party hotly opposed ratification and voted against it. The debate was nevertheless by no means a personally bitter one, as must have been the case in any Parliament where the fate of the Government depended on the vote. It was conducted throughout on a singularly high level, and the discussion was so calm and so reasonable as to extort admiration from all foreign hearers. The same can be said of all debates in the Federal Assembly. Party fury and bitterness are practically eliminated, and the nature of the measure before the House is—generally speaking—the only thing that counts.

But, it may be objected, in America also the Executive is not dependent for its existence on the vote of a majority of Congress and yet Party feeling is as predominant there as in England. The answer to this is that the election of the President and of the legislative bodies is organised on a party system which maintains its hold upon the country through the 'spoils system.' The man who is loyal to his party hopes to receive his reward in the shape of some office for himself or patronage for the benefit of his friends. Therefore though the evil takes a different form, it is essentially the same as the evil from which England suffers.

In both America and England, happily, there are hopeful signs that people are becoming wearied of the Party System. In England they have acquired a habit of turning from one party to another every few years as a sick man turns in bed from one side to another and yet finds no relief. According to Dante, Florence tried the same ineffectual remedy for the same disease:

'E se ben ti ricordi, e vedi lume,
Vedrai te simigliante a quella inferma,
Che non può trovar posa in su le piume,
Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma.'
Purg. Canto VI.

'And if thou recollectest well and seest the light,
thou wilt see thyself to be like a sick woman
who finds no rest upon her cushions of down
but seeks to escape pain by turning from side to side.'

The trouble is that up to now there are not many who see the light; the majority are so befuddled with the wine of party spirit that loyalty to party, which is surely a mean thing, passes with many as a virtue of a high order. Who has not heard it said over and over again in England, and said with pride:

'My grandfather voted blue' (or yellow, or red as the case may be) 'and my father voted blue and I'll never vote another 'colour'?

The very fact that such sentiments can be expressed by electors who are legally assumed to be intelligent, and whose votes can determine the government of the whole Empire, shows the importance of establishing a system under which the electors will be called upon to think of something more than the colour of a party ticket. This end is attained in Switzerland, first by making the tenure of office of the Executive Government independent of the fate of particular legislative proposals, and, secondly, by the institution of the Referendum or the Poll of the People. That institution is indeed the very touchstone of democratic government. There can be no such thing as government of the people, for the people, by the people, without the Referendum. The best existing description of its working is given in Messrs. Lloyd and Hobson's 'Swiss Democracy,' pp. 81–83:

'The institution of the Referendum for ordinary legislation involves a certain machinery not merely of voting, but of education. All ordinary laws and decrees, therefore, which have been passed by the Assembly are forwarded to the Federal Council, which publishes them and sends copies to the Cantonal Governments for circulation among the communes. Thus the people have brought directly to their notice the bills and decrees which are amenable to a Referendum. The method of demanding and applying the Federal Referendum is as follows: . . .

'The party or interest opposed to a law and desiring to defeat it on a Referendum must within ninety days of its passing the Assembly secure the personal signature of 30,000 electors. This, of course, implies organisation and canvass, and every signature must be attested by the communal authorities of the place where the demand is signed, as a guarantee of validity. When the petition is sent in, it is submitted to examination by the Federal Council, which is empowered to cancel the votes where there is any informality in the declaration or the attestation. If the required number of valid signatures is obtained, the Federal Council organises the popular voting, fixes and announces the day, informs the Cantonal Councils, and secures the prompt circulation of the law or decree to be voted on.

'The bare text of the law is placed in the hands of every voter with no report of the debates or other explanatory matter.

'The voting takes place simultaneously throughout the whole country and every male citizen over twenty years of age and qualified according to his Cantonal Law is entitled to vote.

'The voting paper simply contains the question: "Do you accept the Federal Law relating to (here the Federal title of the Law)? 'Yes' or 'No.'"'

'The voter has simply to write his "Yes" or "No." In order to save time and trouble it is usual for several votes to be taken at the same time and upon the same voting paper.

'The following is a copy of a Federal Referendum taken in 1896, containing as its second item the important law on Railway Accounts designed to lead up to the nationalisation of the railroad system:

VOTATION FÉDÉRALE. BULLETIN DE VOTE POUR LA VOTATION POPULAIRE DU 4 OCTOBRE 1896.

I	RÉPONSE.
Acceptez-vous la loi concernant la garantie des défauts dans le commerce des bestiaux ? .	Oui ou Non.
II	
Acceptez-vous la loi fédérale sur la comptabilité des chemins de fer ?	Oui ou Non.
III	
Acceptez-vous la loi fédérale sur les peines disciplinaires dans l'armée suisse ? . . .	Oui ou Non.

Remarque.—On doit répondre séparément à chaque question.

'After voting, each electoral district or commune draws up its report, containing four columns, in which are recorded:

'(1) The number of registered voters.

'(2) The number of actual voters.

'(3) The number of those voting "Yes."
'(4) The number of those voting "No."
'These reports are sent to be examined and corrected by the Cantonal Government, which forwards them within ten days to the Federal Council, which calculates the general result of the vote.
'If a majority of the voters has approved of the law or order, the Federal Government forthwith puts it into force, inserting it in the official Statute Book of the Confederation. The results of the voting are in all cases published in the "Feuille Fédérale" (the Official Gazette) and the Federal Council reports them to the Chambers at the next session.'

No one can say that the machinery above described is complicated or difficult, and if more English people were familiar with the smooth working of the Swiss Referendum little would be heard of the somewhat fanciful objections which are often brought in England against this salutary institution. There is, for example, the High Tory who objects to direct democracy because he declares that the mass of the people will never be intelligent enough properly to understand their own interests, and there is the doctrinaire Radical who believes the same thing but dares not say so openly. Both critics of the Referendum will find their answer in a study of what direct democracy has achieved for Switzerland. No one who has studied social conditions in that country will deny that it is, with some defects—for people are human after all—one of the most prosperous, the most contented, and the most satisfactorily governed countries in the world.

Mr. McCrackan in his book 'The Rise of the Swiss Republic' says:

'It will always remain the chief honour and glory of Swiss statesmanship to have discovered the solution of one of the greatest political problems of the age: how to enable great masses of people to govern themselves directly. By means of the Referendum and the Initiative, this difficulty has been brilliantly overcome. The essence and vital principle of the Popular Assembly has been preserved from perishing miserably before the exigencies of modern life and successfully grafted upon the representative system.'

In addition to the objection in principle to direct democracy of any kind—an objection which, if the Swiss example has any weight, is of no real substance—there is the sentimental and to some persons very strong objection that the Referendum will diminish the importance of the House of Commons, or

put an end to the Representative system 'which has made England what she is.'

It is true that the Referendum will put an end to the Representative system as we know it—a system based on the struggle of two parties for the prizes of office. It will, however, enable the country to enjoy a true representative system under which the feelings and wants of the people are really expressed and represented. With reference to this point Messrs. Lloyd and Hobson say:

'That party systems and party spirit have been of immense value at certain epochs of national development no one will dispute. But when the dominant idea or principle which formed the cleavage or inspired the party has died or departed, leaving the living organism to lapse into the form of a machine, each sort of service Party is capable of rendering becomes a vice. . . .

'Indeed quite apart from the perversion of the party system a really intelligent democracy is inconsistent with strong party adhesion.'

'Party names or organisations have not indeed entirely disappeared in Switzerland, but their meaning and importance are slight. Under the dominion of the Representative system the hierarchy of influence runs: Party, men, measures. Under the dominion of a sovereign people it runs: Measures, men, party. Not that there is less political organisation in Switzerland than elsewhere. There is more. But citizens group themselves in leagues, societies, or purely temporary associations for the promotion of particular acts or lines of policy. In Switzerland the initiators of, or enthusiasts for, an idea which they wish to embody in a public policy can devote the whole of their energy to the single task of educating the electorate. They cannot hope to carry through their project by cajolery or menace or log-rolling in the lobby of the Party Convention or of the House. In order to succeed they must convert the people.' . . .

'Under Swiss democracy the fangs of political corruption, operative through the "machine," are drawn. Trusts, railroads, and other great capitalist organisations cannot control politics. It is possible to "influence" or even "buy" Legislatures, but it is impossible to buy the people.

'Concrete proposals, not party, become the basis of organisation and of education under direct democracy. The political machinist can no longer pump his will down the machine and convert a notion or an aspiration into a law which the people is bound under penalty to obey.

'Thus the Party system inevitably withers under the growth of direct democracy. If the vote of the entire people must confirm every important and contested act, if the people can force any measure to the test of a vote which has legislative validity, the

despotism of the machine is broken and party resumes its modest place as a loose voluntary association of like-minded citizens working for a common policy which is wider and more continuous than that of separate Leagues that devote themselves to ripening some one concrete proposal for legislative action.

'The Referendum and Initiative have broken party government in Switzerland.'

Another argument on which much stress is laid by the opponents of the popular vote is that the Referendum and Initiative would so detract from the importance of Parliament as to make membership of Parliament no longer attractive to first-class men. It cannot be too emphatically stated that this is not the case in Switzerland. Indeed although the prizes to be gained in public life are meagre compared with those in other countries it would be difficult to find in any country a body of men more sincerely patriotic, more single-minded and more clear-headed and business-like than the members of the Federal Assembly, while they are at the same time in their conduct of affairs as dignified as the most aristocratic Assembly in Europe. It would require something akin to a miracle to produce a scene in either of the Swiss Chambers, such as we frequently read of as taking place even in the Mother of Parliaments.

In the same spirit the fear is often expressed that direct democracy in Government would lead to the principal places in the Government being filled by second-rate men. Yet, as one who has come into contact with the leading men of Switzerland, the present writer has no hesitation in saying that they will compare favourably with the Cabinet Ministers of much larger countries.

With regard to this point Mr. McCrackan in his 'Rise of 'the Swiss Republic' writes (page 344):

'Democracies have been justly reproached for the fact that their political offices are not always filled by men of recognised ability and unstained honour; that the best talent of the nation after a while yields the political field to adventurers. That is not the case in Switzerland under the purifying working of the Referendum and Initiative. Nowhere in the world are Government places occupied by men so well fitted for the work to be performed. These institutions strike a blow at party government in the narrow sense, in the sense in which offices are distributed only to party workers, irrespective of capacity for peculiar duties.'

Praise could hardly go further and yet there is no doubt

in the mind of the present writer that anyone making a careful and impartial study of Swiss political institutions would arrive at a similar conclusion.

One objection to the Referendum of which much has been made in England is the expense it would entail. This is no doubt true if we were to go on pouring out money as hitherto on parliamentary-elections. The heavy cost of elections in England, which is a legacy of the old corrupt pre-Reform Bill days, though it may not mean as a rule real corruption now, can only be considered as fundamentally undemocratic and requiring radical reform. If the expenses of elections were reduced to the Swiss level the ordinary English candidate whose election now costs from £500 to £1000 would find that he had to pay £20 sterling at the outside. It is not difficult to prophesy that the party wire-pullers and caucus men who want to put candidates under obligation to the party by paying part of their expenses, that the millionaires who supply the funds and hope for peerages and other honours, and that the rich and incompetent candidates would regret the change. To the poorer and self-respecting candidates of independent character the change would be the greatest possible boon, and the admission of such men in considerable numbers to Parliament would be an immense boon to the country as well.

A recent Referendum in Switzerland which dealt with Proportional Representation cost the Federal Government exactly £196 sterling. This represented simply the cost of printing the necessary documents. All other services connected with a Referendum are carried out by permanent officials either of the Federal or Cantonal Governments. Except for printing there is no expense incurred at all. The papers are prepared in the Federal Chancery which forwards the various documents by post, free of charge, to the Cantonal Governments, which in turn send them on, in the requisite numbers, to the Communal Authorities. These latter distribute the papers to the electors within their Commune by means of a 'Huissier' (messenger)—a permanent officer who might correspond to the former parish beadle. The voting papers when filled in are sent back by the Communes to the Cantonal Governments and by the latter to the Federal Chancery free of charge. There are no expenses connected with the actual polling. No paid officers are appointed for the purpose,

nor do any special polling booths have to be hired. All matters connected with elections in Switzerland, where elections for one matter or another are fairly frequent, are carried out at the Communal Offices by officials who receive no special remuneration for their services in this connexion. The only additional allowance they get for their day's work is perhaps some refreshment to support themselves during the day.

Here again then in the matter of the expenses incurred for elections we have much to learn from Switzerland. One cannot but wish that Mr. Bryce, now that he is once more at leisure, would do for Switzerland what he did for America and give us a clear picture of the daily working of Swiss political institutions.

There is yet another objection that is constantly made to adopting Swiss institutions, namely that Switzerland is so small that what suits her would probably not be practicable in a larger country. If this objection is intended to refer to the actual operation of voting by Referendum one can only say that it is not more difficult to carry out such a vote than that of an ordinary Parliamentary election—perhaps a good deal less difficult because there would be as a rule less party excitement. To argue otherwise would be to fall into the error of the ancient Greeks who believed that no Commonwealth could maintain its liberty whose electors were so many in number that they could not all hear one speaker at one time.

The objection in question arises rather from the doubt whether the larger British electorate could be so easily and so well educated about any public question coming before them as the smaller Swiss electorate can be; also whether there are not many questions, which the British Government has to decide, of too complicated a nature for the ordinary elector's understanding.

Let us admit that there are questions—such as those dealing with foreign affairs and the annual budget—which as in Switzerland had better be excluded from the action of a Referendum. As to the rest, it is probable, or even certain, that the electors will from time to time make mistakes—they would not be human if they did not—but their mistakes will at least be less serious in their consequences than those of oligarchies

or despotisms, which are apt to bring riots or revolutions in their train. No one cares to rebel against the recorded vote of the majority of the people, the only thing to do is to ' bow ' the head and silently acquiesce.'

There can be no doubt that the country would settle down much more peacefully and contentedly to such measures as Home Rule or Tariff Reform if they had first been submitted to the people as a whole and finally ratified by them. It is worth noting that on two separate occasions Swiss Tariff Bills have been submitted to the people before becoming law.

That at least is the result in Switzerland. When a measure has been ratified by the people at large, it is accepted by all because all are really democrats and the rule of democracy is, for better for worse, that the majority wins. So what the democrat has to do is find out as accurately as possible the views of the majority—their verdict is his law, and unsatisfactory or mistaken though it may be at times it is probably the best rule of Government that has been found up to now.

One lesson the working of the Referendum in Switzerland is constantly teaching is that Representative Assemblies very often do not accurately represent the feelings of the people. It has not infrequently happened that proposals carried by large majorities in both Swiss Chambers and backed by all the influence of the majority press have been rejected by a large number of votes when put to the test of the Referendum. In Cantonal affairs this is frequently happening. It does not mean in the least that the people of the country are on the whole discontented with the Chambers or with the Government, or that they desire any change: it merely signifies either that the Government is trying to legislate ahead of the people, or else that there is some mistake, or possibly considerable injustice, in the measure in question, which has escaped the superior intelligence of the politician.

Mr. McCrackan states that between 1848 and 1898 the Referendum was used forty-eight times. Twenty-nine bills were rejected by the people and only nineteen accepted, and yet the Radical Party has remained in power by an overwhelming majority in both Chambers since 1848 up to the present day.

As an example of the way the Referendum works it is particularly instructive to follow the history of the Workman's

Sickness and Accidents Insurance Act. In 1890 the people passed by a very large majority an amendment to the Federal Constitution empowering the Federal Government to legislate for insurance against sickness or accidents while taking into due account the existing Mutual Benefit Societies. Ten years later the Federal Council introduced a Bill with that object which had been prepared with great skill and care. The Bill passed the National Council with only one vote recorded against it. A Referendum was asked for, and on being taken the Bill was rejected by a very large majority. The fact of the matter was that too little account had been taken of the Benefit Societies whose membership amounted to about 500,000, of whom nearly 400,000 were insured against sickness. These formed no small fraction of a total population of three and a half million and commanded many votes. Last year a new Insurance Act against Sickness and Accidents was submitted to a Referendum and came out triumphant. It had taken into account the Benefit Societies and was drawn and passed in conjunction with and not against them. The lesson to be learned from this is obvious. The Swiss people had, on account of the Referendum, to wait eight years, for their Insurance Act, but when they got it, it was one they liked instead of being one they disliked.

On large questions the Swiss people have almost invariably shown themselves equal to the occasion or ready to make sacrifices when called on to do so in the interests of the country. Proof of this is the acceptance on Referendum of the Army Reorganisation Act of 1907 which greatly added to the strength of the Army while it imposed increased burdens on the population.

So far we have considered the merits of Swiss political institutions from the point of view of the accurate and clear expression of the will of the people regarding legislation. Let us now turn to the secondary but yet highly important question of whether these institutions ensure stability of Government, and the elimination of political crises.

Owing to its institutions Switzerland has now for over sixty years been blessed with a total absence of political crises. No Government has 'fallen' because no Government could fall. General elections have taken place at stated

intervals and produced remarkably little change in the constitution of the membership of the Assembly. It is probable that in no country in the world are there as a rule so few changes in the membership of the Representative House at a General Election as in Switzerland. Before the last General Election, which took place in 1911, the National Council was composed of 167 members. Twenty-two new seats were added at the time of the Election, bringing the total present membership up to 189. The interesting point about these elections lay in the fact that of the 167 members of the previous House only twenty-four were not re-elected, and of these about one-half retired voluntarily and did not offer themselves for re-election.

In most constituencies there was no contest at all, it being a very general rule that if a sitting member honourably represents his constituency his re-election is rarely opposed. The ' Journal de Genève,' one of the principal papers in the country, whose tendency is rather conservative than radical, commenting on these elections, declared that in Switzerland the re-election of the sitting member is, in the great majority of constituencies, little more than a formality. This stability, according to the ' Journal,' is the result of very extensive popular political rights. The people know that if their representatives pass a law which the electors disapprove, they can always fall back on the Referendum. This being the case it is foolish to change deputies unless there is some very serious charge against them, which is a very rare occurrence.

It would be interesting to know whether anyone can cite the example of one other country in the world with such a record as that of Switzerland since she entered the path of direct democracy and adopted the Constitution of 1848, which was finally remodelled in 1874—a record, that is, of unbroken and, on the whole, satisfactory administration by one party in the State for a period of over sixty years. Has anyone ever seen paragraphs in the papers describing Swiss political crises? Is there ever any violent dissatisfaction expressed by a large section of the population on account of legislation which is not supposed to be wanted by the majority of the inhabitants?

These things happen in other countries, both small and great, and occupy the attention of the press from time to time, but they never happen in Switzerland. Surely the

reason must be sought not only in the political wisdom of its inhabitants, which is undeniable, but also in the excellence of the political institutions which they have set up.

There is one other democratic institution necessary for the fair expression of the people's will which has not yet been adopted as part of the Federal Constitution, and this is Proportional Representation. An Amendment to the Constitution to that effect was rejected by a small majority on Referendum in 1910. But it is highly probable that it will be carried before long. Its greatest opponents are generally to be found among the older members of the Radical party who do not wish to see their party weakened in the Federal Assembly by a more extensive representation of the minorities. But it looks as if the Swiss people as a whole were rapidly coming to see that Proportional Representation is the fair thing, that it alone makes for a square deal, and that the square deal makes for stability in Government, and in general helps to establish the reign of common sense, which is what the mass of the people really want. A large number of Cantons and of municipalities have already adopted Proportional Representation in different forms, and in no case have they gone back upon it. It appears generally to work smoothly and satisfactorily.

Although Proportional Representation has not been actually recognised by law as part of the Federal Constitution, it has been to some extent adopted in practice by the Federal Assembly in electing the Federal Council. Thus for some years past it has been the habit to give one seat on the Federal Council to the Catholic Conservative Party. Signor Motta, who to-day represents this party in the Federal Council, is also a citizen of the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino. In spite of both sides of the Chamber being thus represented in the Federal Council, there seems to be rarely a serious division of opinion in the ranks of that body. Even if there were, it would not produce a political crisis or necessarily lead to the resignation of any member of the Council, since two members may perfectly well take different sides in a debate in the Assembly. The duty of the Council, as of the Assembly, is to get at what is best respecting every measure proposed, and therefore no member of either is required to suppress his convictions for any consideration whatever. Every member

of the Federal Council, like every member of the Assembly, is free to take what view he likes and to express that view openly. The following extract from the introduction to M. Deploige's 'The Referendum in Switzerland' will help better than anything to make clear the situation as regards the composition of the Federal Council:

'The Federal Council represents no one body in the Federal Assembly. It is usually composed of members of the Left and Centre groups—that is to say, of Radicals and Liberal Conservatives—but in 1891 a member of the Extreme Right, Dr. Zemp, the clerical representative of Lucerne, was elected councillor, and in 1894 was promoted by a three-to-one vote of a dominantly Radical Assembly to the office of President. Nor is it even necessary that the majority of the Council should share the opinion of the majority of the Assembly. From 1876 to 1883 four of the seven members were Liberals and three Radicals, although the majority of the people's representatives were Radicals.

'It follows from this non-party character that the federal executive is not expected to be unanimous. No measure, it is true, may be brought before the Assembly unless it has received the votes of the other ministers, but it is a mere matter of form, and a councillor feels himself in no way bound to support a bill of his colleague because he has been obliging enough to give it his vote in order that it may be debated in the Assembly. What is more, he has no hesitation in opposing it openly, and members of the Council have even been known to argue against each other in the Assembly.

'To Englishmen it would seem impossible that an executive made up of persons of different political views, and unconnected by any ties of party loyalty should constitute a strong and efficient administrative body. One would expect such a casual coalition to spend its time in quarrels and fruitless discussions. As a matter of fact, however, it works very smoothly. This is partly due to the placid dispositions of the Swiss councillors and their willingness to accept a compromise. But such a result could not be possible if the Federal Council were in any sense a "responsible "Cabinet" obliged themselves to lay before Parliament and the country a distinct policy and expected to resign collectively or individually if that policy or any part of it were defeated. No idea of responsible leadership enters into the relationship between the Federal Council and the Federal Assembly. Each minister is elected as an executive official to carry out within his own Department the will of the Assembly and ultimately of the whole electorate.'

It is surprising how few of the Englishmen visiting Switzerland yearly in their thousands ever take the trouble

to inquire into the political institutions of that country. If one speaks of the immense interest which Swiss experience in the art of governing has for us in England, one constantly meets with the answer: 'Switzerland is so small a country and has really no great matters to settle. How can its affairs interest us?'

This is a common mental attitude towards that most interesting political phenomenon the Swiss Confederation. Most people know little of the romantic history of the Cantons, of their struggle for freedom, of their splendid military achievements, and, generally speaking, of their astounding political wisdom. That curious form of snobbery which respects mere size, and is to be found implanted in the Anglo-Saxon breast the world over, rejects with a certain childish contempt the idea of learning lessons from so small a country. Yet Switzerland is there, set like a beacon light on the Alps in the midst of Europe, for those who want to see. It had been well for those countries which have revised their constitutions within the last sixty years if they had taken Switzerland rather than England as a model.

Switzerland is for her size perhaps the most divided country in the world from the ethnological, linguistic, religious, and geographical points of view. Within her borders are three distinct races—some would even count four—and three official languages. The country is almost equally divided between Catholicism and Protestantism, and between the partisans of these religions there was up to sixty years ago so much bitterness as to lead to civil war. The country is divided geographically by the highest mountain chains in Europe, so that some parts, until the piercing of the Alps, were practically farther apart than any two neighbouring but politically separate countries of the Continent.

Yet Switzerland has surmounted all these difficulties and has overcome the separatist tendencies arising out of the strong nationalistic sentiment which has been so marked a feature of European politics for the last hundred years. There are no doubt people, even among the Swiss themselves, who take account of recent events and symptoms fear for the maintenance of Swiss unity. The present writer has failed to discover any serious grounds for this fear. On the contrary, the large majority of Swiss citizens are filled with an unbounded

love of their country and of their political institutions. But until the introduction of real democratic Government throughout the Confederation in 1848, Switzerland was seriously in danger of disintegration. It is by the application of free and direct democracy to her Government, combined with that just recognition of and consideration for local character and opinion which the Cantonal system implies, that Switzerland has been able to overcome difficulties and racial differences, which in other countries have proved insuperable obstacles to unity. And it is not without some spark of reason that certain prophets, looking far ahead into the pale dawn of the future, regard her as the political embryo of the United States of Europe.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE IRONSIDES

1. **The Souldiers Pocket Bible.** Imprimatur, EDM. CALAMY. Printed at London by G. B. and R. W. for G. C. 1643.
2. **The Souldiers Catechisme.** Imprimatur, JA. CRANFORD. Printed for J. Wright in the Old-Baily. 1644.
3. **Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I.** 1858–1891.
4. **Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.** Various years.

EDGEHILL Battle is usually described as a Cadmean victory, yet on the testimony of one of the shrewdest of the Parliamentary officers engaged in that fight the advantage rested with the Royalist army. The officer in question was Captain Oliver Cromwell, who, years later, admitted that his comrades were 'beaten at every hand.' That was not an afterthought, inspired by a desire to glorify his own achievements; on the contrary, he said as much to his cousin, Colonel John Hampden, on the morrow of the battle itself. Nor did he stop at the admission of defeat; he pleaded with Hampden to use his influence in recruiting the Parliamentary army with new regiments, and offered his own assistance to bring in soldiers different in spirit from those who had been found wanting. 'Your troops,' Cromwell added, 'are most of them 'old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of 'fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, 'and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such 'base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentle-'men that have honour and courage and resolution in them?' Captain Cromwell was, in fact, already convinced that unless recruited by men who 'had the fear of God before them and 'made some conscience of what they did,' the army of the Parliament would never be victorious. That opinion, it should be remembered, was expressed in the October of 1642 in connexion with the first serious conflict between the rival forces. It anticipated in a surprising manner the frank admission of 'The Souldiers Catechisme' of two years

later that there were 'many lewd and wicked men in the 'Parliament's army.'

Yet the Parliament had been preparing for war for many months. It was on the fourth day of January of 1642 that Charles Stuart committed his fatal blunder of attempting to arrest the Five Members; six days later the tumult raised by that infringement of parliamentary privilege had become so threatening that the King fled from Whitehall, never to return till he was brought back to die. For a few weeks Charles hovered in the vicinity of his capital, now at Hampton Court, anon at Windsor; but by the early days of March he had begun that northward pilgrimage which with each lengthening stage became more and more symbolical of the growing estrangement between him and his Parliament.

King and Parliament were alike conscious that reconciliation was impossible, though for several more months the farce of friendly negotiation was kept up. The petitions and messages and letters which passed to and fro crowd the ample pages of the Lords' and Commons' Journals, yet between the lines the spectre of imminent civil war becomes ever more tangible. Neither was ready to take the field in arms; King and Parliament were both manœuvring for the possession of the military forces; 'the Devil hath cast a bone,' said a broadside of the day, 'and raised a contestation between 'the King and Parliament touching the Militia.'

Now it should be remembered there was no standing army in 1642. Feudal service by knight's tenure was nearly extinct; organised militarism had yet to be created. London, it is true, had its trained bands of citizen soldiers, but for the rest of the country the duty of preserving internal peace devolved, when necessary, upon a nebulous force known as the Militia, a body theoretically comprising all the able-bodied men of each county between the ages of fifteen and sixty who were liable to be called to arms by the authority of the lord-lieutenant. The functions of the lord-lieutenant, as a military officer, were a creation of Mary's reign; prior to that period the sovereign had issued Commissions of Array by which the addressee was empowered to muster and command all capable of bearing arms. The only other provision made for the preservation of domestic peace consisted in those magazines of arms and ammunition which were provided

in most of the counties. The problem, then, for Charles and the Parliament alike was, how could an army be raised in the most legal and least suspicious manner?

With that scrupulous regard for the forms of legality which characterised all the early proceedings of the Long Parliament, the Commons at first tried to get control of the Militia and the magazines of arms by an orderly process. They proceeded in fact by ordinance and petition. The former of these documents, like an Act of modern reformers of the Constitution, became famous for its 'preamble,' which, in brief, set forth how there had been a 'most dangerous and desperate design 'upon the House of Commons,' the effect of the 'bloody 'counsels of the Papists and other ill-affected persons.' Upon that premise, and to ensure the 'safety of his Majesty's person, 'the Parliament, and the Kingdom,' the ordinance went on to declare, in the name of the King and Lords and Commons, that so-and-so should be appointed lord-lieutenant of blank county with power to muster all who were 'meet and fit 'for war.' Nor did the ordinance stop there; it gave to the lord-lieutenant authority to appoint a deputy, and empowered either of the two to commission such colonels and captains and other officers as they thought necessary. This specious ordinance was duly forwarded to Charles with a petition that it might pass under the Great Seal, the plea being that for the safety of his person and the protection of his subjects it was necessary that forts and Militia should be committed to men recommended to his Majesty by his 'faithful' Lords and Commons!

But the King met guile with guile. To gain time for his own preparations he returned a half-favourable answer to the petition, though with an ironical reference to the alarming 'preamble' of the ordinance. In a month, however, the crisis was reached: hard pressed for a specific answer as to the Militia he affirmed that he would agree to the ordinance only on such safe-guarding conditions as he knew the Parliament would not accept. That message was read in the Commons on the 2nd of March, and the same day the House resolved that 'the Kingdom be forthwith put into a posture 'of defence.' From that date the journals of both Houses bristle with records of militant preparations.

Not that the Parliament had delayed until then taking

what precautions were possible. A few days after the attempt to arrest the Five Members an effort was made to supplant the Royalist governor of the Tower of London; messages were hurried off to Hull to prevent the magazine of that town falling into the hands of the King's friends; the trained bands of London were encouraged in their enthusiasm for the Parliament; ships laden with ammunition for Ireland were stayed till further orders; and a committee framed a declaration advising all the lieges to provide themselves with arms. It was not, however, until the 1st of April that the Parliament definitely decided to enforce its ordinance for the Militia, the delay having been partly caused by the care taken in the selection of such lord-lieutenants as were favourable to the Puritan programme. Of course the King was not idle in those days: his activities in raising an army are recorded in many pages of the State Papers; but it was not until late in June that he began issuing Commissions of Array, a recourse which the Parliament attempted to forestall and nullify by a resolution that it was illegal for the King to muster his people in warlike array. In brief, it came to this: the Parliament was within its right in creating an army, but the King had no right to assemble a force for that army to fight.

What kind of an army did the Parliament create? The general conception of the soldiers who opposed the Royalists in the Civil War is so highly coloured by the fame of Cromwell and his Ironsides that few are aware of the actual facts of the case. In the popular idea Cromwell dominates the pre-Cromwellian period. It is the old story of the average cathedral verger over again. Wherever there is an empty niche, or window bare of glass 'richly dight,' or an altar despoiled, or a tomb desecrated, the ogre of 'Oliver Cromwell' is summoned in explanation. Thus is it, also, with the soldier literature of the period; what in 1643 was simply 'The Souldiers 'Pocket Bible' becomes in a modern reprint 'Cromwell's 'Soldiers' Bible,' while 'The Souldiers Catechisme' of 1644 suffers a change into 'Cromwell's Soldier's Catechism.' Few of the editors of reprints of Civil War tracts take even so little trouble as to collate dates with events. Everything is put down to Cromwell's credit or discredit without a thought as to fact or probability, just as every soldier who fought for the Parliament becomes *ipso facto* an Ironside.

But in truth not all the Parliamentary soldiers were Ironsides in faith or courage or character. It took the anti-Royalists of the seventeenth century even longer to create their army than it did Lord Roberts to shape an efficient fighting force out of C.I.V.'s and colonial volunteers. Yet from the earliest days of the conflict all the advantages were with the Parliament. The King made a profound mistake when he deserted his capital; however imminent his personal danger, his flight, while disheartening his friends and encouraging his foes, gave the Parliament the command of the chief resources of the kingdom. The Tower of London, with its large stores of arms and ammunition, was soon seized; the trained bands almost to a man declared for the Parliament; there was a large and sympathetic population to draw upon for further recruits; provisions and clothing were plentiful; most of the preachers used their pulpits as a 'drum 'ecclesiastic'; the houses and possessions of the Royalists were available for plunder, and no sooner was an appeal made for money than the citizens offered generous gifts and loans of cash and plate, while the women cast their 'wedding-'rings, thimbles, and bodkins' into the treasury.

With all these advantages it might have been imagined that the pious parliamentarians would have exercised some discrimination in the composition of their army, especially as they had appealed to the sword in the 'cause of God and 'His people.' They were resolved, they declared, to expose their lives and fortunes for 'the defence and maintenance 'of the true religion,' and implored the help of all who had 'any sense of piety and honour.' It was, in fact, a 'holy 'war' upon which they were entering, but that did not deter them from employing instruments of unrighteousness.

How unrighteous, Cromwell's criticism has hinted. His phrases of 'old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such 'like fellows' were applied to the army under the command of the Earl of Essex at Edgehill, an army largely composed of the soldiers recruited by the Parliament in London. Modern eulogies of the pious Ironsides are of no assistance in attempting to decide how far Cromwell was justified in his description; the only resort of the dispassionate inquirer is to seek the illumination of contemporary evidence. One volume of such evidence is preserved in a series of nine letters written

by one Nehemiah Wharton between the 15th of August and the 7th of October 1642 while on the march with that army which Cromwell characterised so bluntly. Wharton, whose Old Testament Christian name betrays his Puritan descent, had been a confidential employee of a London merchant named George Willingham, and had volunteered for the war because he 'made some conscience' of what he did. He is an excellent witness for the present purpose because there is no questioning either his religious fervour or his devotion to the Parliamentary cause, qualities which no doubt account for his having been given a commission as one of the sergeants in a company of foot in the regiment of Colonel Bridgeman.

So far as his fellow officers were concerned, Wharton seems to have been content with all save his colonel. In his first letter, written when but eight days out from London, he declared that the third day of the march had convinced the soldiers generally that Bridgeman was 'a God-dam blade,' and doubtless hatched in hell'; and, he added, 'we all 'desire that either the Parliament would depose him, or 'God convert him, or the Devil fetch him away quick.' Thrice he returned to the subject, his last word being an appeal to his late master that he would endeavour to 'rout' Bridgeman from his command. Nor did he appeal in vain; ten days later the 'ungodly' colonel was recalled, the Parliament having intervened to forestall Divine conversion or Satanic interposition. The strange case of Colonel Bridgeman was not an isolated example of an ungodly officer serving in the ranks of the Lord's people, or the sole illustration of the inconsistencies which might be laid to the account of the reformers of the Long Parliament. That the Lord's battles should have been fought by a 'God-dam blade' was hardly more incongruous than that the men who abolished the Star Chamber set up their own Press censors, that the opponents of Ship-money enforced a compulsory levy for the Militia, that the champions of the Five Members expelled a hundred and forty members by the sword, that the destroyers of Episcopacy laboured to establish Presbyterianism, and that the men who proclaimed the illegality of the Commissions of Array were the creators of the Militia press-gangs.

However satisfied Wharton may have been with the walk and conversation of his other fellow officers, he evidently held

a poor opinion of the rank and file, the 'ruder sort of soldiers, 'whose society, blessed be God, I hate and avoid.' Yet that they were such could not be attributed to the Parliament's neglect of their spiritual welfare. If, two years earlier, the King had been so regardful of the soul sustenance of his soldiers as to add a preacher to 'the list of entertainments for the 'army' at four shillings a day, the champions of 'the true 'religion' could hardly send forth their fighters without a supply of 'godly and painful' divines. Nor did they. Wharton's letters are profusely sprinkled with the names of such divines and records of their 'famous' and 'worthy' and 'heavenly' discourses. Within less than eight weeks he sets down the names of nine divines who preached before the army not only on the Sabbath but on any weekday not occupied by military duty. The march was an orgy of sermons, two and three being delivered at a sitting. Now it was Christopher Love who favoured the company with a 'famous 'sermon,' the same divine who was to lose his head for plotting against the Commonwealth; anon it was Obadiah Sedgwick, he who used to unbutton his doublet in hot weather that his breath might be longer, who entertained with 'two 'heavenly sermons'; or the pulpit was pre-empted by the militant Samuel Keme, that 'saint in the pulpit and a devil 'out of it' who was credited with preaching in the morning and plundering in the afternoon.

Keme was not alone in alternating religious exercises with secular freebooting. On the second day out from London several of the soldiers 'sallied out to the house of one Pen-'ruddock, a Papist, and, being basely affronted by him and 'his dog, entered his house, and pillaged him to the purpose.' The precedent thus early established was faithfully followed all through the march. Every day, Wharton wrote, the soldiers raided Papists' houses and 'constrained from them 'both meat and money,' returning triumphantly to camp with great loaves and cheeses on the points of their swords. Now it was the park of a malignant which was pillaged of its fattest bucks, so that venison became as common in camp as beef in London; other days the victims were ministers who were robbed of all their possessions, or absent Royalists whose country seats were rifled of their contents down to the family portraits. The thieves even stole from each other. 'There

'is great dissension between our troopers and foot companies,' Wharton wrote, 'for the footmen are much abused, and some-'times pillaged and wounded.' He testified whereof he knew, for he himself had been robbed of more than three pounds' worth of his property. How the freebooters preyed upon each other is delightfully illustrated by the following passage from one of Wharton's letters, for the full enjoyment of which it is necessary to remember that the regiment of Colonel Cholmley and the troopers of Colonel Fiennes were all members of the Parliament's 'holy' army:

'Monday morning I was informed by a countryman of a base priest six miles distant, which had set out horse for the Commission of Array, and had arms in his house, and I immediately got twenty musqueteers and marched out to search the house. The countryman I clothed with a soldier's red coat, gave him arms, and made him my guide. But having marched two miles, certain gentlemen of the country informed me that Justice Edmonds, a man of good conversation, was plundered by the base blue-coats of Colonel Cholmley's regiment, and bereaved of his very beds; whereupon I immediately divided my men into three squadrons, surrounded them, and forced them to bring their pillage upon their own backs to the house again; for which service I was welcomed with the best varieties in the house, and had given me a scarlet coat lined with plush, and several excellent books in folio of my own choosing. But, returning, a troop of horse belonging to Colonel Fiennes met me, pillaged me of all, and robbed me of my very sword; for which cause I told them I would either have my sword or die in the field, commanded my men to charge with bullet, and by divisions to fire upon them; which made them with shame return my sword, and it being toward night, I returned to Northampton threatening revenge upon the base troopers. This night and the day following our company by lot watched the South gate, where I searched every horseman of that troop to the skin, took from them a fat buck, a venison pasty ready baked, but lost my own goods.'

If neither the mansions of the Royalists nor the homes of men of 'good conversation' were sacrosanct, the Parliamentary freebooters were little likely to respect those temples of faith wherein the 'true religion' was not preached. Attempts are sometimes made to absolve Cromwell from the wholesale charges of desecration laid to his account, and it has been admitted above that in certain instances these efforts are justified; but the evidence against the soldiers of the Parliament is too overwhelming to be explained away. In the early days of the Civil War the desecration of churches seems

to have been carried out as one of the essential duties of that 'holy' conflict. Wharton's letters would be sufficient proof, for they tell how hardly a day passed that 'holy rails' were not burnt, 'ancient and sacred glazed pictures' smashed, service-books destroyed, and surplices rent to 'make us 'handkerchiefs.' They relate, too, how on occasion the soldiers made their quarters in churches, how the strains of the organ in Worcester Cathedral set the troopers 'dancing in the holy 'quire,' and how from one raid the pillagers 'returned in 'state, clothed in surplice, hood, and cap, representing the 'Bishop of Canterbury.' Wharton set down all these details in the most matter-of-fact way, with never a word of reprehension; in fact, he seems to have thought it excellent fun when the parson of one village was haled into Coventry and 'led ridiculously about the city.' Towards the end of the march the Earl of Essex did issue an order that no soldier should plunder 'church or private house upon pain of death,' but the 'ruder sort,' whose company, 'blessed be God,' Wharton hated and avoided, treated that order with contempt. As he appears in the letters of the earnest Wharton, indeed, the Tommy Atkins of the Parliament's 'holy' war was a disgrace to his uniform and a scandal to his godly employers: he drank 'strong beer, called old hum' whenever opportunity offered, indulged in equally strong language, mutinied for an increase of pay, stole everything he could lay his hands upon, and generally behaved as the worst of sinners. He even succumbed to the weakness of the flesh, for if the 'whore 'which had followed our camp from London' was at length pilloried and ducked and banished, it is to be noted that she had been allowed to ply her ancient profession for nearly a month ere she was cast into outer darkness. Truly there must have been many 'lewd and wicked men' in the army Essex captained at Edgehill.

Nor were they singular in that respect. It was not until the second week in September that Essex left London to take command of the chief army in the midlands, but several weeks earlier other detachments of the Parliamentary forces had been despatched east and south and west. In fact, for two or three months the rival parties had been in collision in most districts, and August was hardly half spent ere the bad behaviour of the Roundheads was so marked as to occasion

serious discussion in the Lords and Commons. On the 17th of that month the Upper House passed two orders which tell their own tale: one referred to the 'divers com-'plaints' made to their lordships of 'many disorders com-'mitted by the soldiers in their marching and in such places 'where they have been quartered or billeted'; the other charged all officers and county authorities to take special precautions against 'breaking into or robbing of houses, 'breaking into churches, taking away the goods of any person, 'or taking victuals without due payment for the same.' The first of these orders was homologated by the Commons two days later, but a day earlier the Lower House had sent a message to the Parliamentary general requesting him to inflict 'exemplary punishment' on 'the soldiers that do 'pillage the houses of divers of the King's subjects in and 'about London.' The Commons returned to the subject on the 26th of the month by passing a severe order against those soldiers who had 'in a tumultuous and violent 'manner' broken into and pillaged various houses under the 'pretence and colour' that they were the abodes of Papists and disaffected persons.

In the early stages of the conflict, indeed, the behaviour of the Parliamentary soldiers was deplorable. The troops despatched into Kent in the late days of August took forcible possession of the keys of Canterbury Cathedral, and then, 'entering the church giant-like began a fight with God himself,' overthrowing the communion table, defacing the screen, violating the monuments of the dead, spoiling the organ, rending the surplices and gowns, tearing the prayer-books and bestrewing the pavement with the leaves, destroying the arras in the choir, and firing some forty bullets at a statue of Christ in a niche over the south gate. It is true the commander of the troops expressed himself as 'overwhelmed 'with sorrow' for this desecration, but the subordinate officers 'seemed to justify themselves.' There is no evidence, however, that any punishment was inflicted on the culprits.

From the military point of view the conduct of the soldiers in the west of England was even more reprehensible. At the beginning of September the Earl of Bedford had been sent to Sherborne to capture the castle there, he having under his command an overwhelming force of 3300 men as compared

with the less than 500 Royalists who held the fortress. But three days' experience of his army convinced Bedford that with such material his task was hopeless. Discipline was non-existent; with two or three exceptions, the officers refused to do their duty; it was impossible, even when the alarum was given, to draw the companies into action; if a bullet went over their heads the soldiers 'fell flat on their 'bellies'; and 'some four or five being slain hath made about 'half of them run away.' In fact, when Bedford counted up his men at the end of three days he discovered that out of his 3300 not 1200 were left! 'The short of all is,' he reported, 'we have no army, nor can possibly with these men do this 'work.' Two or three officers were doing their duty, but the remainder were cowards and 'heathen beasts.' Even while he was writing his letter to the Parliament many more men stole away from the camp. Thus more than a month ere Cromwell passed his opinion on the morale of the Parliamentary army one of its commanders had had bitter experience of the 'base and mean fellows' who formed the majority of its ranks.

All the counts in the indictment represented by the foregoing incidents might be illustrated many times over from the testimonies of those who sympathised with the Parliament. There is no necessity to cite the interested and often suspicious evidence of the Royalists; a comparison of letters and reports penned by Puritan hands in different parts of England gives a cumulative picture of the rank and file of the Parliamentary army entirely corroborative of Cromwell's criticism at Edgehill. Pillaging, insubordination, desertion were of common occurrence; even those who were 'good stout 'fighting men' were also 'licentious, ungovernable wretches.' The frequency with which the Commons passed orders giving Essex power to punish his unruly soldiers bears sufficient witness to the general condition of the army.

Perhaps the best proof that in those early days the Parliamentary soldiers made no 'conscience' of their calling is provided by their insistent clamour for money. For the infantry the scale of pay was eightpence a day, for the cavalry half a crown, and in the State Papers there are many references to the wagons with 'chests of money' which were despatched to the various commanders from time to time.

On their first marching out the soldiers were equipped with coats, shoes, shirts, and caps to the value of seventeen shillings per man, thus leaving them with their eightpence or half a crown a day for the rations of themselves and horses. But as soon as that pay was not forthcoming the results were disastrous. 'Hasten the money down,' implored one commander, 'that we may be able to pay the soldiers and prevent 'their committing outrages'; another declared that his men would mutiny unless they were speedily paid; 'without 'monies,' wrote a third, 'there is no good to be expected of 'the soldiers'; 'many of the soldiers are hirelings,' was Sir William Waller's testimony, 'and their money being spent 'they begin to think of their return'; 'want of money,' added the same general a few days later, 'has produced want 'of obedience and want of health, I had almost said want of 'heart, in this army'; and, to cap these illustrations, a fifth commander penned this bitter complaint: 'I may preach my 'heart out to the soldiers of the danger they are and put us all 'in with their proceedings, they cry "Money, money, money!" 'that is all the answer I get.' One company in demanding 'ten weeks' pay at the least' warned their officer not to attempt putting them off 'with the cocking of a pistol, or 'stern threatening, as upon like occasion hath been formerly' —an admonition which surely justified that commander in remarking that his men 'could not choose but fight with 'extraordinary courage' seeing they had just captured some Royalists with well-lined purses. That windfall, he drily added, 'will make men fight if they intend to fight.' All these testimonies, in short, are conclusive evidence that it was not 'the Cause' but cash which was the inspiring motive of the bulk of the Parliamentary soldiers. They help to explain, too, why in the early engagements of the war the advantage rested in the main with the Royalists, with the men who were swayed by 'honour and courage and resolution.' Cromwell and Bedford truly divined that it was impossible 'with these 'men to do this work.'

But even from the first there were honourable exceptions. From Hull, where the unruly soldiers were giving a world of trouble, came the report that 'the gentlemen that command 'them are men of sober condition'; and all along as between the foot and horse soldiers the latter were the better behaved.

In the Eastern Association, too, a leaven was at work which was destined to transform the whole army.

For when, on the morrow of Edgehill fight, Captain Oliver Cromwell passed his severe verdict on the Parliamentary army, he spoke from the warrant of conviction and experience —conviction which had controlled him in the enlisting of his own troop, and experience which had justified his decision. Swayed by his personal feeling, assured that 'nothing will 'give like courage as the knowledge of God in Christ will,' he from the first chose his troopers because they 'made a 'conscience of what they did.' When it fell to him to nominate a captain for a company he elected 'an honest, religious, 'valiant gentleman'; if recruits were needed he implored that they might be 'honest godly men'; 'be careful,' he urged, 'what captains of horse you choose; if you choose 'honest godly men, honest men will follow them'; and by the time the conflict was nearly a year old he was able to pen this paean of his own regiment: 'My troops increase. I have 'a lovely company; you would respect them, did you know 'them. They are no Anabaptists; they are honest sober 'Christians.' Some four months earlier, however, the reputation of Cromwell's men for sobriety and piety had spread beyond the eastern counties.

'As for Colonel Cromwell [wrote an annalist in the May of 1643] he hath 2000 brave men; well disciplined, no man swears but he pays his twelvepence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other Roundhead, he is cashiered: insomuch that the countries where they come leap for joy of them, and come in and join them. How happy were it if all the forces were thus disciplined!'

Nor did that testimony stand alone. The news-sheets of the early years of the war returned to the subject again and again, now lamenting that Cromwell and his 'godly 'soldiers' were so little heard of, or paying tribute to their exceptional discipline and bravery.

Although there is no contemporary evidence, it has long been a tradition that each of Cromwell's soldiers was supplied with a copy of the Bible. Bulstrode Whitelocke, in describing the Ironsides to the Queen of Sweden, said it was their habit to encourage one another 'out of His word who 'commands all' and averred that those scriptural quotations

had 'more weight and impression' with them than any other exhortations. This accords with the testimony that Cromwell seldom fought 'without some Text of Scripture to 'support him,' a habit which made somewhat superfluous the plea of the pious Harrison that he would 'run aside 'sometimes' from his company 'and get a word with the 'Lord.' Besides, he was all along convinced that 'he that 'prays and preaches best will fight best.' Altogether, then, there is nothing improbable in the legend which credits him with supplying his Ironsides with a copy of the Bible apiece, though that legend does not date further back than the end of the eighteenth century. In one important particular, however, that tradition is palpably in error. One story goes that it was a Bible printed by John Field in 1658 which was specially prepared for the use of the army, while there are variants to the effect that Bibles printed respectively in 1653 and 1654 were the actual editions commissioned by Cromwell. Those dates are fatal to the story; as Cromwell fought his last battle in 1651, it is obvious that neither of the editions named could have been used by the Ironsides in their militant days.

Besides, remembering that most of the Bibles of those days were formidable quartos or folios, it is extremely improbable that the soldiers, especially the cavalry, would have had so serious an item as a whole Bible added to their kit. The cost of such Bibles, too, would surely have been prohibitive, the average price being some twelve shillings. Consequently, granting that it was thought desirable to equip each soldier with 'the Sword of the Spirit,' this was clearly a case for an anthology of suitable texts. And such a Bible in brief duly made its appearance in 1643 with the title of 'The Souldiers 'Pocket Bible,' the sub-title of which specifically mentioned that it was designed to 'supply the want of the whole Bible, 'which a Souldier cannot conveniently carry about him.'

By whom this 'Pocket Bible' was compiled, or who instigated its preparation, are unsolved problems. There is no iota of proof to connect Cromwell with the transaction or warrant the amplification of the original title into 'Cromwell's Soldiers' Bible,' though it is unquestionable that the anthology is fully representative of the Old Testament spirit of the Ironsides. The editor of a modern reprint, misreading the

'Imprimatur, Edm. Calamy' of the title-page, has hastily concluded that that joint author of 'Smectymnuus' was responsible for the compilation, whereas, of course, his name is given merely as the licenser of the little book. The fact that Calamy authorised the publication, however, is of importance in deciding the date of issue, for it was not until the 20th of June 1643 that he and eleven others were appointed as a committee to 'license all books of divinity.' That fact, taken in conjunction with the date of 3rd of August which the careful George Thomason inscribed upon his copy, makes it certain that 'The Souldiers Pocket Bible' was issued between the 20th of June and the 3rd of August, a period which accords remarkably with those summer months of 1643 when Cromwell was most earnest in insisting upon the recruiting of 'honest godly men.' It agrees also with the date which Carlyle assigns to the winnowing of the Ironsides.

Consisting of but sixteen pages, this little tract, of which only two copies are known to be in existence, begins with an explanatory title-page in these terms:

'The Souldiers Pocket Bible: Containing the most (if not all) those places contained in holy Scripture, which do shew the qualifications of his inner man, that is a fit Souldier to fight the Lords Battels, both before the fight, in the fight, and after the fight;

'Which Scriptures are reduced to severall heads, and fitly applyed to the Souldiers severall occasions, and so may supply the want of the whole Bible, which a Souldier cannot conveniently carry about him:

'And may bee also usefull for any Christian to meditate upon, now in this miserable time of Warre.'

In fulfilment of the promise of the title-page, the 'severall 'heads' under which the texts of Scripture are grouped do roughly correspond to the compiler's classification. Those eighteen captions are also suggestive as revealing the spirit in which the anthology was made:

'A Souldier must not doe wickedly. . . . A Souldier must be valiant for Gods Cause. . . . A Souldier must denie his owne wisedome, his own strength, and all provision for war. . . . A Souldier must put his confidence in Gods Wisedome and strength. . . . A Souldier must pray before he goe to fight. . . . A Souldier must consider and beleeve Gods gracious promises. . . . A Souldier must not feare his enemies. . . . A Souldier must love his enemies as they are his enemies, and hate them as they are Gods enemies. . . .

A Souldier must crie unto God in his heart in the very instant of the battell. . . A Souldier must consider that sometimes Gods people have the worst in battell as well as Gods enemies. . . . Souldiers and all of us must consider that though Gods people have the worst of it yet it cometh of the Lord. . . . For the iniquities of Gods people they are delivered into the hands of their enemies. . . . Therefore both Souldiers and all Gods people upon such occasions must search out their sinnes. . . . Especially let Souldiers and all of us upon such occasions search whether we have not put too little confidence in the Arme of the Lord, and too much in the arme of flesh. . . . And let Souldiers and all of us consider, that to prevent this sin, and for the committing of this sinne the Lord hath ever beene accustomed to give the victory to a few. . . . And let Souldiers, and all of us know, that the very nicke of time that God hath promised to helpe us, is when we see no helpe in man. . . . Wherefore if our Forces be weakened, and the enemy strengthened, then let Souldiers and all of us know that now we have a promise of Gods helpe which we had not when we were strangers, and therefore let us pray more confidently. . . . And let Souldiers, and all of us know, that if we obtaine any victory over our enemies, it is our dutie to give all the glory to the Lord.'

A hundred and twenty-two verses of Scripture are cited as arguments under those 'severall heads.' What is remarkable about the selection, however, is the preponderating tribute laid upon the books of the Old Testament, there being only five quotations from the New. Yet that was thoroughly characteristic of the Puritan's objective preference for the harsh legalism of the Old Testament, strange though it was that the men who laid so much stress subjectively on the grace of the New Testament should have yielded themselves, in the practical affairs of life, so completely to the bondage of the Old. This dualism is conspicuous in Cromwell's letters: when writing of his enemies he adopted the Old Testament view; when referring to his spiritual state he just as naturally used the language of the Gospels and Epistles. Thus if the Ironsides, as saints, nurtured their souls on the grace of Christ, as fighters they were ruled by the stern spirit of the Hebrew prophets.

So far, then, as 'proofs' of the 'severall heads' were concerned, the compiler could have accomplished his task as successfully if the New Testament had not existed. His most amazing omission is his complete ignoring of Paul's famous military-metaphor passage in his epistle to the Ephesians. A modern compiler of a 'Soldiers' Bible' would probably fasten

on that passage first, for with its 'breastplate of righteousness' and 'shield of faith' and 'helmet of salvation' it is redolent of the language of the camp; but such tropes evidently had no appeal for the serious anthologist of the Civil War; they were too ethereal for his grim purpose, which was better served by the martial records of the battles and conquests of the Chosen People. The Hebraic idea of war as a duty religious in its inception and execution dominates the pages of 'The 'Souldiers Bible,' for most of the New Testament texts cited are either conveniently truncated or wrested from a spiritual to a militant interpretation. Indeed, the exegete might complain of like violence done to some of the Old Testament texts, as where Samson's supplication for strength that he might satisfy personal revenge is used as an argument to prove that 'the souldier must pray before he goe to fight.'

In one particular the 'severall heads' quoted above help to date 'The Souldiers Pocket Bible.' They are suffused with that gloom of possible defeat which hung like a cloud over the Long Parliament during the first year of the war. Hence the iteration and reiteration of the comforting doctrine that God's people sometimes had the worst of the battle, etc. Cromwell subscribed implicitly to that doctrine; a retreat was 'due to God' no less than a victory, and it was 'the 'goodness of God' which mitigated the mortality of an engagement. Wharton, too, was persuaded that 'the Lord had 'given' a 'small victory' to the Royalists that they might 'in the day of battle come on more presumptuously to their 'own destruction'; while a terrible rout in the west was thus piously explained: 'We must needs looke upon this as 'the hand of our God, mightily agaynst us, for 'twas he only 'that made us flye.' Such a belief was not merely an inspiration against despondency or doubt as to the righteousness of 'the Cause'; it provided an ample safeguard against recriminations of cowardice or military incompetence. Happy officers to have such an excuse for 'regrettable incidents'!

If the 'severall heads' were somewhat lacking in robust confidence as to the ultimate issue of the war, no such timorousness afflicted the author of 'The Souldiers Catechisme,' a twenty-four paged tract which was published in 1644. 'Com-'posed for the Parliaments Army,' as the title-page testifies, and expository of the justification and qualification of the

soldier, this trenchant statement of the Puritan position was expressly offered for 'the Incouragement and Instruction of 'all that have taken up Armes in this Cause of God and his 'People.' That it was regarded in the Royalist camp as a dangerous publication seems the natural inference from the fact that a scribe on the King's side plagiarised the exact title for a tract charging the Parliament with rebellion and treason. Whoever was the author of 'The Souldiers Cate-'chisme'—the only clue to his identity is the phrase 'a 'Lincolnshire minister' used by the printer of the book in his petition to the House of Lords against the disseminator of the rival publication—he was eminently successful in giving virile expression to the views of the Independent party. Indeed it does no violence to probability to suppose he may have been inspired by the leader of that party, especially as by the time the tract was published Cromwell had become something more than the chief figure of the Eastern Association.

What gives these tracts a supreme importance above most of the voluminous literature of the Civil War is that to the understanding eye they reveal the germ of the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model, those two vital factors in the creation of Cromwell's indomitable army; for while 'The 'Souldiers Pocket Bible' enlisted the authority of the Scriptures on the side of the Parliament, 'The Souldiers Catechisme' gave emphatic utterance to Cromwell's conviction that without 'honest godly men' ultimate victory was impossible. To the question why there were so 'many lewd and wicked men 'in the Parliaments Army' the catechism gave a four-fold answer, the chief counts of which were that commanders-in-chief were 'not more careful in choosing godly officers,' and that officers were content to 'press the scumme and 'refuse of men' because it was easier to enlist such. All of which reads like an anticipation of Cromwell's impeachment that the members of Parliament were more concerned to preserve their 'great places and commands' than end the war by efficiency, and his assertion that if the army were not put 'into another method' the struggle would end in defeat. Had there been no Self-denying Ordinance there would have been no New Model; had there been no New Model there would have been no Protectorate.

For Cromwell carried out his programme—the programme

he had outlined to Hampden on the morrow of Edgehill. That fact militates somewhat against Carlyle's view of his character, a character essentially simple according to the judgment of that hero-worshipping biographer. Doubtless the 'vulgar historian' is mistaken in crediting the fen-farmer of Cambridgeshire with formulating a scheme of life of which the objective was the governorship of England, yet it is hardly a smaller blunder to regard him as a passive instrument in the hands of destiny. Great men do not achieve fame on such a simple plan, any more than a general wrests victory from fortune without strategy and tactics. One clearly defined purpose may at least be postulated of Cromwell—the overthrow of the papistical Royalist party. And when, from the vantage ground of triumph, he looked back over the road which had led to that summit, he was keenly conscious of the most important factor in his conquest. 'You very well 'know'—he was speaking to the members of the Little Parliament—'it pleased God, much about the midst of this War, 'to winnow the Forces of this Nation, and to put them into 'the hands of other men of other principles than those that 'did engage at first. By what ways and means that was 'brought about, would ask more time that is allotted me to 'mind you of it.' Four years later, too, he recalled his conversation with Hampden at Edgehill and boasted how he had 'raised such men as had the fear of God before them,' adding as his justification that from that day forward 'they were 'never beaten.' Surely these are proofs enough that Cromwell did map out the method by which he hoped to shape the instrument of his triumph. He had, in fact, a clear vision of his Ironsides from the beginning of the conflict.

And it was the Ironsides who were the deciding factor in the struggle with Royalism. The 'lovely company' of 1643 became in the New Model a little army of 11,000 irresistible cavalry. At Marston Moor, at Naseby, 'they 'were never beaten,' and when, with Fairfax resigned, their leader became the general-in-chief of the entire army, their spirit so infected all ranks that the triumphs of Dunbar and Worcester were inevitable. 'Religion!' was the battle-cry of the Cromwellians in their first victory at Winceby; 'God 'our Strength!' their watchword at Naseby as they broke the Royalist centre; 'The Lord of Hosts!' the talisman of

foot and cavalry alike at Dunbar and Worcester. The leaven had leavened the whole lump.

To realise that religious faith did once have such a practical issue seems an insuperable task for so different an age as this, unless indeed the Covenant of Ulster shall make credence possible. Such words as 'election,' 'conversion,' 'day of 'grace,' 'coming to Christ,' which, as Froude reminded us, were in Cromwell's days radiant with spiritual meaning, have been so 'pawed and fingered by unctuous hands' as to have lost their bloom. Try as we may, we cannot fully realise what the Bible was to the Englishmen of the seventeenth century. To that generation the pages of that book were blackened with the smoke, and charred with the flames, and stained with the blood of martyrdoms. It came, too, in an age of poignant spiritual tension. The old faith had crumbled to dust, and the eyes of earnest men were straining into the darkness to discover a new temple for the soul. Nor should it be forgotten that those were days when lofty verse and stirring tragedy had created a new hunger in the hearts of men. Coming as the Bible did to a people practically without books and yearning for the accents of the voice of God, it is little wonder that the speech of those people became compact of its very words and phrases, or that to them the volume was not only a lamp to their feet in the narrow path to heaven, but also a beacon to their wanderings in the world that now is. It is unthinkable that a modern general should add an anthology of Scripture to his soldiers' kit, or hope, did he do so, that such a book would increase his chances of victory; but that 'The Souldiers Pocket Bible,' or what it stood for, inspired the Ironsides with dauntless valour admits no denial.

HENRY C. SHELLEY.

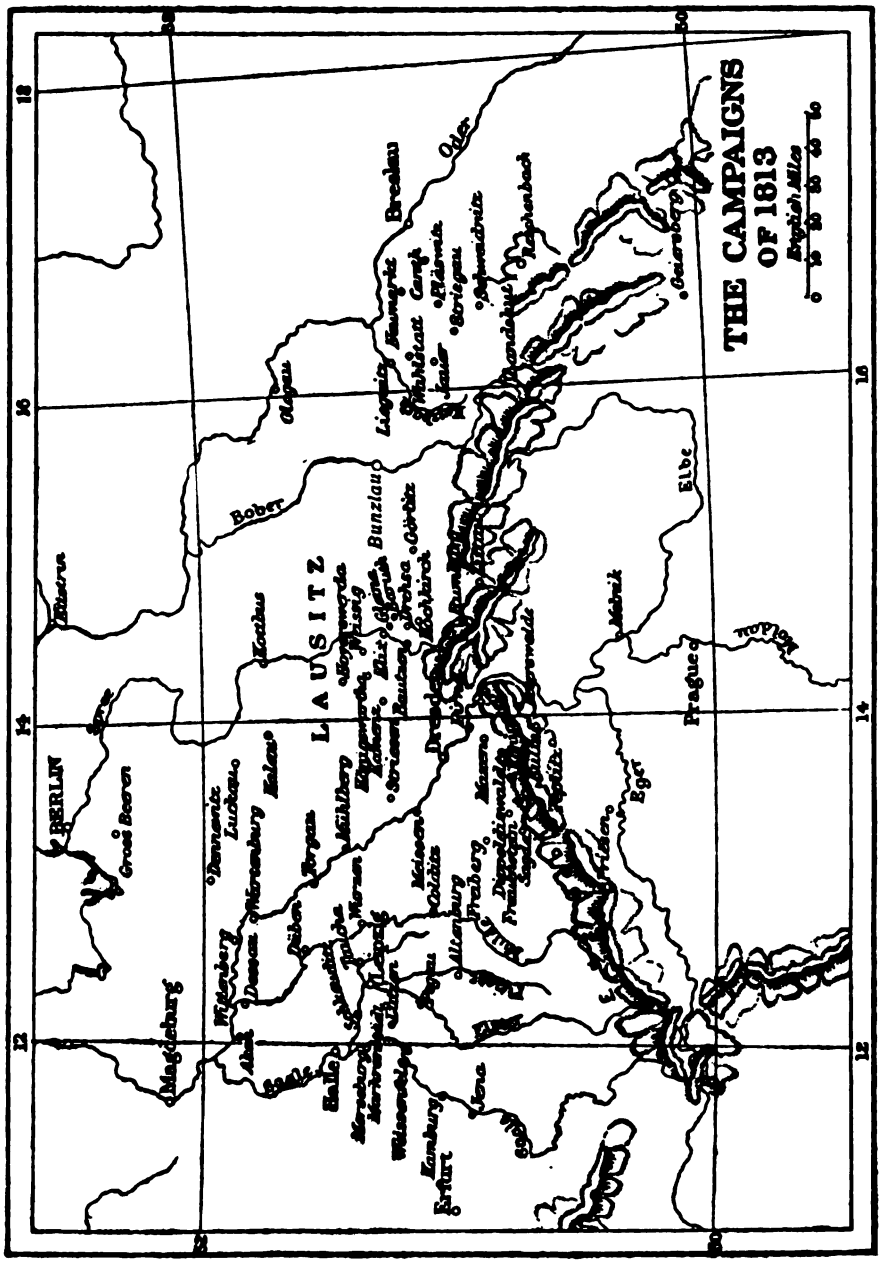
NAPOLEON'S LAST CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY

1. **Napoleon's Last Campaign in Germany.** By F. L. PETRE. Lane. 1912.
2. **Napoleon as General.** By COUNT YORCK VON WARTENBURG. 2 vols. Eng. edit., Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1902.
3. **Lettres inédites de Napoléon.** By L. LECESTRE. 2 vols. Paris: Plon. 1897.
4. **Memoirs of Baron Thiébault.** 2 vols. Eng. edit., Smith, Elder. 1896.
5. **Correspondance du Maréchal Davout.** 4 vols. Paris: Plon. 1887.
6. **Correspondance de Napoléon I.** 32 vols. Paris. 1858–70.
7. **Mémoires: Maréchal Marmont.** 9 vols. Paris. 1856–7.
8. **Mémoires: Maréchal Gouvion Saint-Cyr.** 4 vols. Paris. 1856–7.

TALLEYRAND'S prophetic comment on the Moscow campaign—'C'est le commencement de la fin'—is equally applicable to the events of the autumn of 1813. For in the spring of that year Napoleon restored the prestige of his arms and drove the armies of Prussia and Russia to the upper part of Silesia. By uniting vigour in the field with moderation in the Cabinet he would probably have imposed terms upon those Powers and retained his hold over central Europe. Therefore none of his wars merits closer attention than that which ended in the disaster of Leipzig, and Mr. Petre has done well to continue his studies of the Napoleonic wars by a survey of the two campaigns of 1813. Though marked by care and good sense, his work unfortunately lacks the imaginative insight and literary qualities which would ensure it a wider public; but students of the Napoleonic wars will welcome it as a well-balanced description of very complex movements. The sketch-maps of the chief battle-fields are also, in general, adequate. It is impossible here to discuss the subject as a whole; and it may be well to concentrate attention on the chief points of interest [at [the beginning of the autumn campaign.

The conduct of Napoleon in according the armistice of Poischwitz (June 4, 1813) to Prussia and Russia has been

pronounced by Jomini the greatest mistake of his military career. This censure seems open to qualification. True, in the month of May, the Emperor had pushed the Allies eastwards as far as Schweidnitz and Breslau. But, seeing that they held firmly together and near the Austrian border, his position, as he admitted, was dangerously in the air. A blow dealt by the Hapsburg Power at a dozen points in the long curve of his communications with France would have placed him in great peril. Further, he needed to reconstruct his cavalry, and he looked forward eagerly to the arrival of 12,000 veteran horsemen drawn from his armies in Spain. But his letters reveal another motive for granting the armistice—namely the need of constructing a fortified depot to serve as a base for further operations. In May he had no base nearer than Torgau, a small fortress of the second rank. Wittenberg, also on the Elbe, was still weaker and more distant. One place alone fulfilled his requirements. Dresden was as necessary to him as it had been to Frederick the Great; and in 1813 the Saxon capital scarcely deserved the name of fortress. The same remark applied to Hamburg; and, as will soon appear, the need of strengthening the Hanse city partly accounts for Napoleon's wish to prolong the armistice to the 10th of August. Further, on the 4th of June, at the time of granting the armistice, he was not aware of the recovery of Hamburg by Marshal Davout, and he agreed to forgo the acquisition of Breslau if he might acquire the key of the lower Elbe. Therefore on military grounds much can be said in favour of the armistice. Moreover, it is practically certain that, if he had conceded Austria's terms, which were by no means extravagant, he could have inflicted a decisive defeat on Russia and Prussia. His plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Prague, Caulaincourt and Narbonne, begged him to conclude a general peace, even if it were merely a truce; for in that case he would regain the services of 200,000 French troops held in durance in Russia, Poland, and Spain. This, surely, was true policy. Or, at least, he should have satisfied the demands of his father-in-law, the Emperor Francis. In that case the armistice, far from being a blunder, would have enabled him to renew the war on most advantageous terms. There was the more reason for his adopting this policy; for in the last hours of June came the news of Vittoria.


THE CAMPAIGNS
OF 1813
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40
LAUSITZ
BERLIN
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Breslau
Dresden
Prague
Elbe
Oder
Bober
Neisse
Katzbach
Eger
Erfurt
Jena
Halle
Bautzen
Bunzlau
Hagenau
Wittenberg
Torgau
Freiberg
Kulm
Nollendorf
Peterswalde
Teplitz
Aussig
Leitmeritz
Gabel
Zittau
Görlitz
Lauban
Goldberg
Liegnitz
Jauer
Schweidnitz
Reichenbach
Frankfort
Posen
Custrin
Stettin
Zittau
Kottbus
Luckau
Hoyerswerda
Elster
Saale
Weimar
Eisenach
Gotha
Coburg
Bamberg
Würzburg
Fulda
Hanau
Mainz
Koblenz
Cologne
Aachen
Liège
Namur
Brussels
Ghent
Antwerp
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Arnhem
Nimeguen
Zutphen
Deventer
Groningen
Emden
Leer
Oldenburg
Bremen
Hamburg
Lübeck
Rostock
Stralsund
Stettin
Custrin
Posen
Glogau
Sagan
Guben
Cottbus
Luckau
Wittenberg
Dessau
Zerbst
Brandenburg
Potsdam
Spandau
Berlin
Frankfort
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Brunswick
Wolfenbüttel
Hanover
Minden
Osnabrück
Münster
Lippstadt
Paderborn
Detmold
Arnsberg
Siegen
Wetzlar
Giessen
Marburg
Kassel
Göttingen
Eisenach
Erfurt
Gotha
Weimar
Jena
Naumburg
Merseburg
Halle
Dessau
Wittenberg
Torgau
Leipzig
Lützen
Weissenfels
Zeitz
Altenburg
Chemnitz
Freiberg
Dresden
Meissen
Pirna
Königstein
Peterswalde
Teplitz
Aussig
Leitmeritz
Gabel
Zittau
Görlitz
Lauban
Goldberg
Liegnitz
Jauer
Schweidnitz
Reichenbach
Frankenstein
Glatz
Neisse
Ottmachau
Brieg
Breslau
Oder
Bober
Katzbach
Elbe
Eger
Prague
Moldau
Beraun
Pilsen
Budweis
Linz
Passau
Ingolstadt
Munich
Augsburg
Ulm
Stuttgart
Heilbronn
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Karlsruhe
Rastatt
Strasbourg
Nancy
Metz
Trier
Coblenz
Bonn
Cologne
Düsseldorf
Elberfeld
Barmen
Hagen
Iserlohn
Soest
Arnsberg
Paderborn
Detmold
Minden
Hanover
Celle
Lüneburg

Successive couriers brought tidings which portended the loss of Spain; and it might be of interest to speculate as to the course of events in central Europe if Napoleon had promptly withdrawn his troops from the Peninsula and restored Ferdinand VII. to the throne at Madrid. Not until the close of 1813 did he resolve on this tardy act of justice, which, it is known, Wellington greatly dreaded. For the present, he sent Soult to re-conquer the north of Spain, and withdrew thence some 12,000 horsemen.

His neglect to come to terms with Austria may probably be explained by his now ingrained habit of under-estimating the strength of the enemy. In a letter of the 8th of July to Maret he confessed his utter ignorance respecting the finances and the forces of that Empire. A week earlier he informed Eugène, Viceroy of Italy, that, with her utmost efforts, Austria could not muster more than 100,000 men for her three frontiers; and he ordered him to alarm her by demonstrations on the Illyrian border. On the 4th of August he expressed the hope that in the forthcoming war the Italian troops would soon penetrate as far as Grätz. Indeed, his letters at that time bear unmistakeable signs that he expected, probably even welcomed, the outbreak of hostilities against Austria. On the 29th of July he wrote to Caulaincourt respecting the intentions of the Allies: 'Si l'on veut continuer l'armistice, 'je suis prêt; si l'on veut se battre, je suis prêt.' Finally, on the 8th of August he heard news that Austria had in all some 200,000 men in the field, half of whom were ready to march against Dresden; but his confidence was in no way lessened, witness these words (August 8): 'Quelque accroisse-'ment de force que cela donne aux alliés, je me trouve en mesure 'd'y faire face.' Again, on the 9th of August, to Jérôme Napoleon: 'J'ai ici [Dresden] de telles forces que j'espère 'faire repentir l'Autriche de ses folles prétentions.'

This was the spirit in which he framed his plans for the campaign. It was one of absolute confidence in his ability to beat three great military Powers and also to re-conquer the north of Spain. The description of him given by the Saxon colonel Odeleben reveals a nature in which bravery has become recklessness. The Emperor would take no advice, and sarcastically replied to every warning 'Ah! on ne peut 'pas!'

The original plan of campaign was to hold the line of the River Elbe from Königstein near the Saxon frontier to Hamburg. On its banks were three fortresses—Torgau and Wittenberg of the second class, Magdeburg of the first class. Odeleben describes the small fort on the Königstein as impregnable, while that on the Lilienstein, on the opposite side of the Elbe, was also of great natural strength. The plateau of Pirna, celebrated in the Seven Years' War, was not fortified but was easily capable of defence. Not until the 16th of September did Napoleon order the construction of a small work there. Despite the weakness of Dresden and Hamburg, even at the end of the armistice (August 10), Napoleon had the greatest confidence in the defensive capacity of the Elbe line; and undoubtedly it formed an excellent base of operations against Russia and Prussia. Odeleben, Cathcart, and others deemed the line of the River Saale, further west, to be preferable, its rear not being dominated from Bohemia. That is a just criticism. But there was no fortress on the Saale; and a retirement so far to the west would have seemed a confession of weakness, and therefore, in Napoleon's view of things, the worst of blunders. True, the line of the Elbe was open to an Austrian attack in the rear from the central and western passes of the Erzgebirge; and it is one of the insoluble problems of the crisis why Napoleon paid so little heed to this danger. In the latter part of the armistice the attitude of Austria became more independent, not to say defiant; and she, occupying those passes, held the interior lines, fortified by nature, which dominated the long exterior curve of the French communications from Görlitz in Silesia to the Thuringian hills. If he did not mean to humour her, why did he not protect his communications against the strokes which, in the event of war, she was certain to deal from her mountain-bastion, Bohemia? Apart from the strengthening of the southern outworks of Dresden, he did little or nothing to meet this new danger. Indeed his voluminous correspondence with the French marshals shows an increase of confidence during the armistice. With astounding hopefulness he developed his plans at both extremities of the Elbe line. To Dresden and Königstein he now paid increased attention. But he seems scarcely to have considered the contingency of an Austrian attack on his communications at Chemnitz or

Freiberg. This omission is the more singular in view of the successful defence of the positions above Freiberg by Frederick the Great during the winter of 1759–60. The opinion may be hazarded here that if in October 1813 Napoleon had had Davout with the 13th corps at Freiberg, instead of near Hamburg, the course of events would have been very different.

Napoleon considered the possibility of Austria and the Allies cutting off his communications with France by inroads into Thuringia or Bavaria; but he dismissed that contingency very lightly as enabling him to deal a blow at their base of operations, Prague, from his position at Zittau in the chief Lusatian pass. In a letter of the 17th of August to Saint-Cyr he declared that, if the Austrians and Russians invaded Bavaria, he wished them *bon voyage*; they would soon come back quicker than they went. 'Ce qui m'importe, 'c'est qu'on ne nous coupe pas de Dresde et de l'Elbe; peu 'm'importe qu'on nous coupe de France. . . . Ce qui est clair, 'c'est qu'on ne tourne pas 400,000 hommes, qui sont assis 'sur un système de places fortes, sur une rivière, et qui peuvent 'déboucher indifféremment par Dresde, Torgau, Wittenberg 'et Magdeburg.'

Dresden is here described as a fortress; but, strictly speaking, it was only half fortified. The chief part of the city, the *Altstadt*, on the south side of the Elbe, was almost defenceless, its old wall having been blocked by large suburbs. The *Neustadt*, on the north bank, was in a better state of defence, and, with external works, might in a month or two become a fortified *tête-de-pont*, protecting Dresden from the north and east. To this part of the city Napoleon early paid much attention. On the 18th and 24th of May he ordered the construction of *lunettes* around the *Neustadt*, and after the armistice caused them to be pressed forward. On the 28th of June he drew up a long and interesting Note on the future defences of Dresden. He suggested strengthening them by sixteen *lunettes*, palisades, etc., which must be finished by the 25th of July, in order to form an entrenched camp. Even so, he was far from satisfied. He concludes the Note thus: 'Tout cela fini, il paraît évident qu'on pourrait regarder 'Dresde comme une place forte, non en abandonnant l'Elbe, 'mais tant que l'armée serait en avant de ce fleuve.' Thus,

even the *Neustadt* needed the support of an army. Alone, it could not hold out long.

Still weaker was the *Altstadt*. On the 5th of July he wrote another Note, stating that until the works around the *Neustadt* were more advanced and gave real protection, he could not undertake to protect the *faubourgs* of the city proper. But he proposed to protect them by loopholing the walls of the outer houses, barricading most of the exits, and, in course of time, constructing *lunettes* before the avenues left open. At this time he did not expect an attack in force on the south side; for he says 'Je ne dois, ni ne peux, prévoir le cas où 'je serais obligé de défendre la rive gauche en me jetant sur 'la rive droite.' Probably he then hoped to keep Austria neutral; otherwise he would not have postponed the southern fortifications of Dresden, which, if she made war, would invite attack, distant, as they were, only two days' march from her frontier. As her tone hardened, under the influence of the news of Vittoria, he became anxious about the southern side of Dresden; and it is highly probable that his anxiety led him at the end to try to spin out the negotiations, but this the Allies had equally cogent reasons for preventing. On the 7th of August he ordered the governor of Dresden to construct three more redoubts on the south side, in addition to the five already begun. Even the new ones must be ready in eight days. At that time the northern redoubts were not finished; and he warned the governor to keep all the artillery and baggage wagons ready for removal without delay to Torgau, 'qui est une véritable place forte.' Thus, whatever he might write to Davout and Marmont, he admitted that Dresden was only provisionally a fortress. Later on, Saint-Cyr strengthened the defences on both banks, but too late to affect the chief issues of the war. The course of hostilities at the opening of the campaign was determined very largely by the dependence of Dresden on the support of a considerable army.

It is therefore needless to discuss whether at the outset Napoleon decided rightly on keeping to the defensive in that quarter. He could do nothing else. An army which cannot march more than five days from its base must remain on a strategic defensive. If the enemy comes up to attack that base, the defenders may assume, and ought to assume, a *tactical* offensive, as Napoleon did with so brilliant a success

south of Dresden on the 26th of August. But, even apart from the disaster at Kulm, he could not have pursued the Grand Army of the Allies far into Bohemia, unless Blücher's army of Silesia was also held at a distance.

Here was the crux of the whole problem. The Emperor must decisively overthrow both the Silesian and Bohemian armies before he could move far from his base. This consideration seems to have prescribed his first detailed plan of operations. It took definite form on the 12th of August, the day on which he received authentic news of a forthcoming attack by Austria. He then issued the following instructions to Ney and Marmont, who with the 3rd and 6th Corps were near the rivers Katzbach and Bober respectively. They were to fall back a distance of some forty or fifty miles to positions west of the river Neisse, where the Emperor intended to mass some 300,000 men. He admitted that the number was large for the comparatively small space between the rivers Neisse and Spree; but there, only four or five days' march from Dresden, he would await the advance of the Austrians against Zittau (their easiest line of march), or of an attack from the east by the chief army of the Allies, which he then believed to be in Silesia. He reckoned the Austrians in front of Prague at 100,000, the Prussians and Russians in Silesia at 200,000. He himself, mustering some 300,000 in the central position just named, would await further developments which promised to lead to a great battle near Bautzen. These instructions of the 12th of August are instinct with prudence. Despite his desire to hold positions as far east as Liegnitz and Bunzlau, he resolves to give them up in order to concentrate nearer to Dresden.

But now there came a sudden and perplexing change in his plans. In a second letter, also of the 12th of August, he inquired of Marmont, then at Bunzlau, whether there was a good position for an army beyond that town. Clearly, he feared that the Allies in Silesia would detach a force northwards for the protection of Berlin from his northward movements soon to be described. By the 13th of August that fear seems to have obsessed him. Without waiting for the advice which he previously requested from Ney and Marmont, he orders them to hold their advanced positions. The imperial headquarters are also to be moved forward to Görlitz. Obviously,

Napoleon had now resolved to exchange the defensive for the offensive, pressing hard the Silesian army of the Allies in order to prevent a divergence of part of it towards Berlin. Meanwhile he had laid his plans for the defence of Dresden in case the Austrians in front of Prague should advance by the Kulm-Peterswalde road; and a remarkable proof of his boundless activity is his short visit to Zittau before he advanced into Silesia. It is possible that that visit to his outposts in Lusatia may have been prompted by a desire to tempt the Austrians forward on the Peterswalde road against Dresden; or else by a desire to find out as soon as possible the numbers and whereabouts of the allied forces.

On these questions his letters of the 12th and 17th of August betray a degree of uncertainty which contrasts with the rapid hardening of his plans. His estimate of 100,000 for the Austrians in Bohemia was a mere guess: he also thinks the total Russian and Prussian forces cannot exceed 200,000; and, on the 16th of August, after hearing of the march of Russian columns into Bohemia, he credits Blücher and Sacken with only 50,000 men in front of Breslau. It is not surprising that he expects to crush them, and writes to Macdonald: 'Je 'conçois d'assez belles espérances de tout ceci.' On the morrow his hopes are even more buoyant. According to the moves of the enemy, he will either assemble 160,000 to 180,000 men for the defence of Dresden, or with nearly 140,000 will overthrow Blücher. The Guard, which he reckons at 50,000, will assist in either enterprise. After disposing of Blücher, he will strike either at Berlin or Prague. He admits that the situation is not yet clear; but, assuming a great superiority of force in the central position which he then occupies, he feels certain of success. The northern army of the Allies is in his eyes merely a rabble to be swept from Berlin and cut off from the Baltic by Davout's irruption on its rear.

But that army, albeit a motley array led by that unenterprising commander, Bernadotte, was not a rabble, as the event proved. Mustering about 155,000 fighting men, it was far too strong for the attacking force under Oudinot. The Grand Army of the Allies in Bohemia numbered 230,000 sabres and bayonets; and Blücher in Silesia disposed of about 100,000. Thus, the Emperor underrated the hostile

forces by about one-third; and in this misconception lay the chief cause of his failure. Yet it was not the only cause. He expected the enemy to play into his hands by ill-concerted attacks. 'Profiter de ses bêtises' was the thought uppermost in his mind. Thus, when he marched eastward to crush Blücher, and 'the hussar leader,' in accordance with the general plan of the Allies, retreated in order to draw him further afield, that action was interpreted as a sign of weakness. Therefore, at Görlitz on the 24th, the Emperor bade Macdonald with four corps conduct the pursuit and drive Blücher beyond the Katzbach. The selection of Macdonald was unfortunate, for hitherto he had not undertaken a task of this magnitude; and Ney's jealousy of this honour probably accounts for his failure to support Macdonald at the crisis. The consequences of this disunion and of the extended plan of operations were seen at the disastrous battle of the Katzbach (August 26).

Very different was the result where the Emperor himself was concerned. As has been shown, he had laid his plans with great skill so as to thwart the enemy's offensive from Bohemia. He resolved either to strike through the Zittau pass at Prague; or, if the attack on Dresden proved to be formidable, he would concentrate on that city the forces echelonned west of Görlitz. The latter proved to be the case; but on the 25th he wrote to General Rogniat at Dresden that, if the defences of Dresden city had been stronger, he would have marched on Prague, a course consonant with the Napoleonic strategy. The weakness of Dresden compelled him to the safer and more ordinary course of action; and the correctness of his calculations as to the concentration on that city won a brilliant triumph. An alternative scheme had for a time taken form in his untiring brain, namely to allow the Allies to advance from Peterswalde on Dresden, while he took them in the rear by a rapid march from Stolpen and Pirna. Nothing came of the scheme; but it survives as a proof of the versatility of the Emperor's conceptions at a crisis which would have bewildered ordinary leaders.

In the meantime his lieutenants had suffered severe defeats, Oudinot at Gross Beeren (August 23), Macdonald at the Katzbach (August 26). These events justified the remarkable prophecy of Marmont, in his letter of the 15th of August to the

Emperor, that Napoleon, while himself victorious, would hear of two defeats sustained by his subalterns. Marmont, after his sharp lesson at Salamanca, knew the risk of prolonged pursuits and diffuse operations. He therefore begged his master to call in the advanced corps in Silesia behind the river Spree at Bautzen, so as to concentrate within easy reach of Dresden, the strength of which city he begged him not to over-estimate. He also urged him to postpone the concentric moves on Berlin until the fate of the campaign was decided in Saxony. For the present, a few demonstrations in front of Torgau, Magdeburg, and Hamburg would keep Bernadotte and the northern allied army quiet at Berlin. Meanwhile Napoleon, holding in force the central position at Bautzen, would dominate the whole arena and control all the operations. No better advice ever reached Napoleon; but, long before its arrival, his columns moved against the Katzbach and Berlin.

The facts now surveyed surely tend to modify the received account of Napoleon's plan for the autumn campaign of 1813. It is described (and Mr. Petre accepts the description) as based on a defensive near Dresden and a limited offensive against Berlin. But the schemes drawn up on and after the 13th of August comprise an offensive towards the Katzbach and Breslau, a possible dash at Prague, and concentric moves on Berlin which can scarcely be termed limited. Marmont ascribes them to passion; but clearly they aimed at the relief of the French garrisons besieged in Stettin, Küstrin, and Danzig, towards which the occupation of the Prussian capital was the first step. It is a misuse of words to term operations so far afield as Breslau and Stettin a limited offensive. Marmont, who knew Napoleon well, believed that his innate impetuosity was overcoming the dictates of prudence which the movements of the Austrians prescribed; and Wellington's remark to Stanhope, that the Emperor lacked the patience needful for carrying out systematically a defensive campaign, is no less applicable to August 1813 than to March 1814. No crisis of his career is more important than that of the 12th–13th of August, when he changed a cautious defensive around Dresden to a diffuse offensive which speedily collapsed at all points where his presence did not exert its magical effect.

Attention has not been sufficiently directed to the part played by Davout at Hamburg in the development of

Napoleon's schemes. The war of 1813, far from being a defence of the Elbe line, may rather be termed a series of movements, from that line as base, for the recapture of that of the Oder, and, if possible, of that of the Vistula. The relief of the French garrisons named above and the prospect of securing the help of the Poles drew Napoleon eastwards, even though the centre of gravity of the war had shifted towards the Bohemian frontier. The note of passion is observable in his letters respecting Hamburg. That city (French since December 1810), having admitted a force of Cossacks in March 1813, was to be severely punished. On May 7 he ordered Davout to levy a fine of 50,000,000 francs, shoot the ringleaders of the rebellion, send the less guilty to the galleys, and confiscate the property of all disaffected landholders in the neighbourhood. With the funds thus raised he was to strengthen the old fortifications and construct a citadel on the left bank of the Elbe, near Harburg, for a garrison of 4000 or 5000 men. Napoleon also framed an alliance with Denmark, subsidising a force of 6000 to 8000 infantry and 5000 to 6000 cavalry. On the 15th of June he insisted on the extreme importance of Hamburg; Davout must make it a fortress provided with food and stores for several months. Recognising that it was too far distant from Magdeburg, the Emperor proposed to construct a small fortress at the confluence of the Havel and Elbe. Davout was also warned to prepare for an advance against Stettin and Berlin with 38,000 troops, including 15,000 Danes.

Napoleon's plans for Hamburg now expand apace. On the 18th of June he orders the construction of a great dockyard and arsenal at that city. On the 22nd of June he fixes its garrison at 10,000 men; on the 30th of June, at 15,000; he also orders the construction of twelve sail of the line at the newly ordered dockyard: their keels must be laid in July 1814, so as to form part of a great naval operation against England. On the 1st of July he states that, if he prolongs the armistice, it will be in order to gain time for completing the fortifications of Hamburg. On the 8th of August he orders Davout to advance against the rear of Bernadotte's army to compel it to retreat to the Baltic and facilitate Oudinot's entry into Berlin. Then Davout will push on to relieve the French garrison at Stettin, possibly also those of Küstrin

and Danzig. Obviously these designs were influenced by political and personal considerations which were alien to the original plan of campaign.

Probably no other marshal than Davout could have even partially kept pace with the accelerating march of the Emperor's ideas. By dint of ruthless exactions and pitiless energy he extemporised a fortress and an army corps in some two months. That he did not move more rapidly against Bernadotte's rear was due to the veto of the Danish Government on the export of horses from Holstein. Napoleon had counted on the providing of 10,000 horses from that quarter. Nevertheless, Davout assembled his raw conscripts and Danes at Schwerin by the 22nd of August. There he heard of the disembarkation of British and Swedish contingents at Stralsund; and a week later came news of the defeat of Oudinot at Gross Beeren on the 23rd of August. For Napoleon, with his usual eager optimism, had allowed no margin for unavoidable delays in the operations either of Oudinot or Davout. But the inexperience of Davout's troops, the lack of transport, and the opposition of Walmoden's corps, so far hindered the marshal's advance as to leave Oudinot exposed to the onset of the entire army of the Allies at Berlin. The reverse at Gross Beeren compromised Davout; and a defeat of Girard's division at Hagelberg on the 27th of August severed the weak link connecting the two marshals. Cut off from all news of Napoleon, and deeming Schwerin unsafe, Davout fell back to a position covering both the Hanse towns, and thence, early in November, to Hamburg, where he held out until May 1814. Thus the outcome of the far-reaching plans of Napoleon for Davout was the loss of that marshal and 38,000 troops during the autumn of 1813 and the spring of 1814. At a later time the Emperor implicitly censured his plans for Davout by declaring that an army should have but one line of communications, and that movements conducted far apart were essentially faulty. The opinion may be hazarded here that Magdeburg—'un véritable dépôt d'armée' Napoleon called it—would have been a far better base than Hamburg for Davout's operations. The Emperor had directed Girard with 15,000 men in front of Magdeburg to connect the advance of Davout with that of Oudinot; but he also cautioned him not to move far from that fortress so as not to endanger its safety.

The disadvantage of parcelling forces along the immense front, Wittenberg to Hamburg, a distance of nearly 200 miles, is sufficiently obvious. Neither Davout, Girard, nor Oudinot was strong enough for the task assigned to him, unless the concentric moves on Berlin took place with the precision of the parade-ground against an inert enemy.

Too late, also, the Emperor realised his mistake in allotting a small force to Davout and one nearly twice as large to Oudinot, who (as he wrote bitterly on the 2nd of September) attacked the Prussians with only part of his array. The assignment of a subordinate *rôle* to the victor of Auerstädt resulted from other than military considerations. Napoleon's resolve to keep his Empire intact, to re-invigorate the Continental system, and to prepare for a naval campaign against England, called for the presence of his ablest organiser at Hamburg. But these political and naval schemes told against the concentration of strength in Saxony, which, as Marmont pointed out, was essential to a decisive success. The first plan, that of May 1813, contemplated merely the holding of Hamburg by a garrison of from 4000 to 6000 men; and it would have set free Davout and an army corps for service on the upper Elbe. In this sphere, as in others, the Emperor's first decision was sounder than those which supervened.

The evidence seems to warrant the following conclusions. Napoleon's confidence as to the issue of the war increased during the armistice, owing to his over-estimating the efficiency of his own troops and under-estimating the strength of Austria. Apart from the hasty outworks on the south side of Dresden, his dispositions show very few signs of concern at the probability of a rupture with the Hapsburg Power. For a time, on and before the 12th of August, he resolved on a concentration behind the river Neisse; but on the morrow he prepared to advance far into Silesia, probably in order to sever Blücher entirely from all connexion with Bernadotte. This advance, finally entrusted to Macdonald, was beyond the strength of that marshal and ended in disaster, thereby facilitating the union of the allied armies which the Emperor had sought to prevent. The concentric moves on Berlin were also far beyond reach of his controlling hand. The causes of the failure were the great distance of Hamburg, Davout's base,

from Oudinot's base at Wittenberg; the consequent lack of concert between those marshals, and the great difficulties besetting Davout's advance. On the other hand, by a timely concentration at Dresden, the Emperor won a brilliant triumph, an event which shows what might have happened on a larger scale if he had throughout acted on a strategic defensive with forces concentrated on or near the line of the Elbe from the Bohemian frontier to Magdeburg. This course of action (probably the original plan of campaign) was profoundly modified by the addition of the schemes respecting Hamburg and the movements towards Breslau and the French garrisons on the Oder and Vistula. Consequently the issue of this campaign does not *per se* prove the inefficacy of a river-line, such as the Elbe, if it be pierced at any one point. The dictum of Clausewitz to this effect is scarcely warranted by the campaign of 1813; for it was not, strictly speaking, a river-campaign; and the passage of the Elbe by Blücher at Wartenburg might have effected little but for the co-operation of the Grand Army of the Allies from the passes of the Erzgebirge. The convergence of these armies towards Leipzig, on the track of Napoleon's communications, compelled him to give up the line of the Elbe. Events therefore proved that the preservation of that line, to which he assigned the first place in his plans, was of less importance than the retention of his communications with France, which on the 17th of August he declared to be of little account in comparison with the defence of the Elbe. It is singular that that declaration was made to Marshal Saint-Cyr, who, along with 33,000 men, had to surrender at Dresden at the close of that disastrous campaign. Four other garrisons of the Elbe fortresses were likewise cut off by the crowning calamity of Leipzig, which resulted from the overwhelming concentration of the Allies against a vital point in the Emperor's communications. The moral could scarcely escape his penetrating judgment. May he not have included his own plans for the autumn of 1813 in the general criticism which he penned at St. Helena on the campaigns of Frederick in the Seven Years' War—'Conservez avec soin et n'abandonnez jamais de gaieté de 'cœur votre ligne d'opération'?

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

1. **Histoire de l'Académie Française.** Par PELLISSON et D'OLIVET. Avec une introduction par CH. L. LIVET. 2 tom. Paris. 1858.
2. **Lettres de Chapelain.** Publiées par TAMIZEY DE LABROQUE. 2 tom. Paris. 1880, 1883.
3. **Lettres du Sieur de Balzac.** (Première partie.) Paris. 1624.
4. **Saint-Evremond. La Comédie des Académistes pour la Réformation de la langue française.** 1650. Réimpression, avec une préface par R. DE BONNIÈRES. Paris. 1879.
5. **Le plaisant Abbé de Boisrobert.** Par EMILE MAGNE. Paris. 1909.

FOR three centuries past there have been frequent discussions as to the possibility of founding an Academy of Letters in England, but it was not until June 1910 that a modest and partial experiment in this direction was successfully made. After long deliberations between two accredited bodies, the Royal Society of Literature and the Society of Authors, thirty-three persons were nominated to form, within the corporation of the former, an Academic Committee which should attempt to exercise something resembling the functions of the Académie Française. Lord Morley was elected President, and now, for more than three years, without claiming any excessive publicity, this Academic Committee, founded for the protection and encouragement of a pure English style in prose and verse, has occupied a position in letters which gives every evidence of persisting and increasing. It was assailed, as was natural and right, by satire and by caricature, but it has survived the attacks which were directed against it, and there can be little doubt that, with good luck, it will become a prominent feature of our intellectual and social system. Already, although so young, it has received that consecration of death which makes it a part of history. No fewer than eight, that is to say nearly a quarter, of its original members have passed away, and among them those delicate humanists Butcher and Verrall, a poet so philosophical as Alfred Lyall, critics of such fine temper as Andrew Lang

and Edward Dowden. Like the Académie Française, the Academic Committee has its *parti des ducs*, and it mourns the loss of an exquisite amateur, George Wyndham. These men leave to their successors the memory of lives devoted to the purest literature.

This, then, seems a not inappropriate moment for considering, more closely in detail than has commonly been done, the circumstances which attended the most successful experiment which the world has seen to create and sustain a public body whose duty it should be to guard the purity of a national language and to ensure the permanence of its best literary forms. It will not be necessary here to do more than remind our readers that the Académie Française was not the earliest corporation in Europe, or even in France, which was formed for the purpose of carrying out these difficult and perilous designs. It was simply the most successful and the most durable. As early as about the year 1490, an Academy was founded in Florence in the deepest piety of the Renaissance. Its motives were pathetically Greek. The gardens of the Medicis were to represent Academe; Arno was to be its Cephisus; in the great Plotinist, Marsiglio Ficino, it was to find its incomparable leader, its visible Plato. By the sixteenth century, Italy was full of imitations; there were the Intronati at Siena, the Della Crusca at Florence, the Otiosi at Bologna, the Humoristi and the Fantastici in Rome. In France itself, in 1570, the poets of the Pléiade instituted, under Charles IX., their Académie de Musique et de Poésie, which became in due course the Académie du Palais, and died inglorious during the Civil Wars. Later there was founded, in Savoy, that Académie Florimontane, which flourished for a little while under St. François de Sales. It was in imitation of these vague and ephemeral institutions that, supported by the powerful patronage of Richelieu, the great corporation which still exercises so lively an influence in France came, in the fulness of the seventeenth century, into permanent existence. It is too seldom realised out of what accidental conjunction of circumstances it arose, and how humble and unfavourable were the auspices which attended its birth.

The French Academy came into the world so silently, and was long so inconspicuous, that it is difficult to point to its exact source. But there is no doubt that its inception was

due to the hospitable temper and the intellectual curiosity of a young man whose name deserves well of the world. He was not a great writer, nor even a great scholar, but he possessed to an extraordinary degree the gift of literary solidarity. In the year 1629, Valentin Conrart, who was twenty-six years of age, was living in a convenient and agreeable house at the corner of the Rue Saint Martin and the Rue des Vieilles-Étuves. About this time his relative, probably his cousin, Antoine Godeau, two years younger than Conrart, came up to Paris from Dreux to seek his fortune. It is thought that he lodged with his cousin; at all events Conrart looked after him in his universally obliging way. Godeau confessed that he wrote verses, and he showed them to Conrart, who adored poetry, and who burned to spread an appreciation of it. He thought his kinsman's verses good, and he invited a few of his literary friends to come and listen to them. No doubt he asked them to dinner, for he had a famous cook; and after dinner the company settled down to listen. The poet was excessively short and preposterously ugly, but he was subtle and agreeable, and he already possessed to a conspicuous degree the art of pleasing.

When the future bishop of Grasse and Vence had recited his poems, which were love-pieces and doubtless of a light description,—for he afterwards begged them back from Conrart and burned them,—the conversation became general, and the evening passed so pleasantly that the company was unanimous that these instructive and entertaining meetings must be repeated. There were eight of these friends gathered together, all authors or men intimately occupied with literature. They were agreed in determining to keep up their discussions, and first of all it was proposed that they should meet successively in each other's houses. But no one of them was rich, and Conrart's house was far the most comfortably situated; he was anxious to be the perpetual host, and the rest were glad to give way to him. They decided to meet once every week to discuss literature and language in Conrart's house at the corner of the Rue Saint Martin. The names of the eight friends are not equally celebrated in the history of French literature; most of them, indeed, are not celebrated at all; but we must record them here, before we proceed, because of the leading part they took at the inception of the

Académie. They were Chapelain, Conrart, Godeau, Gombauld, Philippe Habert, Habert de Cerisy, Sérisay, and Malleville. We must try to form some impression of each of them, though most are but fugitive and phantasmal figures.

Of Valentin Conrart a tolerably clear image can be formed by collating what the memoir-writers have recorded of him. It was much noted that he was no scholar; like Shakespeare he had little Latin and less Greek; indeed it was roundly asserted that he had none of either. But he studied much Italian and Spanish, and he had a fine library exclusively of modern literature. He wrote a great deal in prose and verse, but mainly for his private pleasure; he kept a prudent silence about his works, which were understood to be mediocre. He was always an invalid; already, in his youth, he began to be a sufferer from the gout, which was to torture him for thirty years. But pain did not affect his temper, nor his extraordinary gregariousness. He lived for the small enjoyments of others. He was the confidant of everybody, the healer of all quarrels and disputes. As time went on, and Conrart became absorbed in the duties of perpetual Secretary to the Académie, his qualities may have become exaggerated. His enemies began to say that he was too indulgent, too easy-going with offenders. The super-subtle declared that he had become infatuated with his own friendliness, and that he went through Paris murmuring 'Ah! ma belle amitié!' He was a great depositary of secrets, and liked nothing so much as to run about—or rather, poor man! to hobble about—pouring oil upon troubled waters. Tallemant des Réaux, who hated him, says that Conrart had an unpleasant wife, whose face was like a gingerbread nut, but we need not believe all that Tallemant des Réaux says.

Conrart, however, with all his serviceable friendliness, could not have done much without Chapelain, who was really the founder of the Académie. Jean Chapelain was not merely an active man of letters, he was the man of letters pure and simple. He had, in that age of intellectual curiosity, a passion for literature not surpassed, if equalled, by a single contemporary. M. Lanson has shown, what scarcely needed showing, that Chapelain was no artist, but if he was a bad poet he was intensely interested in the technique of poetry. He has been called the founder of French criticism; he had per-

tinacity, courage, and a passionate love for the French language. Perhaps he was the inventor of the law of the Three Unities in drama. His influence in French thought lasted until the days of Boileau. In 1629 Chapelain was thirty-five years of age, old enough and dogmatic enough to impress his will and his opinions on his younger companions. Because he was a detestable epic and a ridiculous lyric poet, because we cannot be drawn by wild horses to read the 'Pucelle' or the 'Ode à Richelieu,' we must not overlook the fact that Chapelain was one of the great intellectual forces of his time, although when the meetings began he had scarcely printed anything except the much-discussed 'Préface de l'Adone' (1623). Ceremonious and yet rough, a courtier and yet a sort of astute Diogenes, hating all luxury and ruining himself to buy rare books, a stormy petrel in every literary tempest, Chapelain presents to us the shrewd and violent figure of a captain who steered the youthful Académie through its vicissitudes into safe anchorage.

Among all these young men, there was one old man, and he too, like Chapelain, was an authentic man of letters. This was Jean Ogier, Sieur de Gombauld, who was not less than sixty years of age already. He had been born youngest son in the fourth marriage of a redoubtable Huguenot of Xaintogne, and he came to Paris towards the end of the reign of Henry IV., with a mass of strange MSS. He was very poor, very proud, extravagant and eccentric to the last degree. He managed to appear at Court, and there must have been something striking about him, since his fortune began by Marie de Medicis noticing him at the coronation of Louis XIII. It was said that she saw in him a striking likeness to a man of whom she had been very fond years before in Florence. After the ceremony the Queen-Mother sent for Gombauld, and he was attached to her Court, where he was called 'le Beau Ténébreux,' but he remained very shy and helpless. He nourished a frenzied passion for her Majesty, yet was incapable of speech or movement in her presence; during his brief splendour at Court, he wrote the most famous of his works, the romance of 'Endymion' (1624), in which the Queen-Mother appeared as that leading character, 'La Lune.' There are delightful stories of the *gaucherie* and pathetic simplicity of this old poet, who was a very fine country gentleman, always

carefully dressed, holding his tall, spare figure well upright, and with quantities of real hair pushing out his wig on all sides. Gombauld, in spite of 'La Lune,' could never feel at his ease in the presence of fine ladies, and sighed for a farmer's daughter. After the death of Richelieu, all the pensions were struck off, and Gombauld grew very poor and wrinkled. He was touched with the mania of persecution, and became rather a terror to his fellow-Academicians, one of whom called him 'the most ceremonious and the most mysterious of men.' He grew to be very unhappy, but like Tithonus could not die, and he was 'a white-haired shadow roaming like a dream' in the world of Molière and Racine. He died, at the age of ninety-six, in 1666, having been born in the life-time of Ronsard, and out-living the birth of Massillon.

The other four members of the original group have not left so deep a mark on the history of literature. Jacques de Sérisay was accustomed to literary coteries, for he had been a constant attendant on Montaigne's adopted daughter, that enthusiastic and grotesque old maid, Mlle. Marie de Gournay, who loved to collect the wits around her 'shadow' and her cat, Donzelle. Sérisay cannot have been a man of letters of much force, since his works, to the end of time, consisted of half a tragedy, which he could never finish. Later on he contrived to read this fragment aloud to Richelieu, who yielded to fatigue before the end of the exercise. This vague person was known as 'le délicat Sérisay.' Then, there was Claude de Malleville, who had just come back from attending Bassompierre in England. He was a man of considerable originality of character, and afterwards a power in the Académie. He liked the pleasant informality of the meetings at Conrart's house, and objected to their being turned into official sessions. We shall see that he stood alone, a little later, in stout opposition to the proposals of the Cardinal. Malleville was a little wisp of a man, with black locks and dim dark eyes. He translated vaguely and amorously from the Italian, and had a great deal to do with the composition of the 'Guirlande de Julie.' Except for some Ovidian Epistles, which he is said to have published as early as 1620, Malleville's own poems were posthumous. M. Magne says that Malleville was 'un 'faiseur de bibus' (a term of contempt almost beyond the range of translation) 'qui frétillait autour des jupes'; but

that is because he opposed Boisrobert. Shadows they were, and shadows they pursued.

Most shadowy of all to us now are the two Haberts. Germain Habert, the youngest of the original Academicians, wrote a very affected poem on the metamorphosis of the eyes of Phillis into stars. As he grew older he neglected Phillis to devote himself to good works. Ménage, who was his friend, says he was 'un des plus beaux esprits de son temps.' But where are the evidences of his wit? His brother, Philippe Habert, is the last of the original coterie and the faintest phantom of them all. He was a soldier in the artillery, and he was killed, in 1637, at the siege of Êmery, crushed under a wall that had been accidentally blown up by gunpowder. Just before this melancholy event, Philippe Habert had prophetically published his poem called 'Le Temple de la 'Mort,' which was very much admired, but is now not easily accessible. He was a cold and solemn young man, reserved in manner, but held to be both brave and friendly.

Such were the eight companions who met, week by week, all innocent and unconscious, to discuss in familiar intercourse every species of subject—business, the news of the day, the movement of letters. If any one of them had written something, as frequently happened, he would read it aloud, and ask for criticism, which would be frankly given. Often their discussions would end in a stroll through the streets, or in a meal prepared by Conrart's really estimable *chef*. It was a delightful time, and, in after years, when the Académie was celebrated and powerful, the original members looked back wistfully at this happy period of almost pastoral quietude. Pelisson, interviewing the survivors in a later generation, says that 'ils parlent encore aujourd'hui de ce premier âge de 'l'Académie, comme d'un âge d'or, durant lequel avec toute 'l'innocence et toute la liberté des premiers siècles, sans 'bruit et sans pompe, et sans autres lois que celles de l'amitié, 'ils goûtaient ensemble tout ce que la société des esprits et 'la vie raisonnable ont de plus doux et de plus charmant.'

It is curious and interesting to find that this 'little clan,' as Keats would call it, contrived to preserve its unity and its privacy for several years. The friends met, as we have seen, with remarkable frequency, yet they did not quarrel, nor grow bored, nor break up through the action of any outward

accident. It is, surely, even in much quieter centuries than ours, unusual that a party of this kind should continue to exist, suspended as in a vacuum, not dwindling nor increasing, and unknown to the world outside. In those Valois times, such a collection of persons would be in danger of being accused of political plotting, and so the visitors to Conrart were pledged to an absolute silence. This pledge was first broken by Malleville, who told Nicolas Faret, apparently in 1632. Faret was a young provincial lawyer, lately arrived in Paris from the town of Bourg-en-Bresse. He was still very poor, but ingenious and active; he was a disciple of the great grammarian, Vaugelas, and later the intimate of Molière. He was a jolly man, with chestnut hair and rubicund face; his figure grew massive as the years went by. Faret was consumed with curiosity, and when he had once wormed the secret of the meetings out of Malleville, he gave the latter no peace till he consented to introduce him. Faret had just published a book of some merit and considerable popularity, 'L'Honnête Homme,' a breviary of how a gentleman should behave, a sort of courtier's *vade mecum*; and he brought an early copy of this with him as a credential. Faret was an active, boisterous person, boon companion of the more gifted poet Saint-Amant. He had no sooner secured a footing in Conrart's house than he made himself very useful to the body, for he was by far the most business-like of the group. It was Faret who, in 1634, drew up the original scheme for the foundation of the Académie. He did not add much to the glory of the corporation, when once it was formed, for the other members complained that he did not attend the meetings unless there was some practical business on hand, and that then he was apt to be drunk. Faret, who was attached to Henry of Lorraine, the comte d'Harcourt, and served as his go-between with Richelieu, was not indeed a very shining Academician, but he had his temporary value.

Faret's chief merit was that he brought to the meetings a man of letters who was destined to take a very prominent place, for the time being, both in the French Academy and in literary life—namely, Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin. He was an indefatigable writer, and a man exactly suited to be useful to a group of literary persons, because he had experience of the world, great enthusiasm for the craft of letters, and a

wide and humorous outlook on life. Chapelain, glancing back many years later, defined Desmarets as 'un des esprits 'les plus faciles de ce temps,' and that is just what he was, an inexhaustible and rapid producer of prose and verse in the spirit and fashion of the age. He was much valued by Richelieu, who forced him, against his will, to collaborate in the composition of tragedies. Desmarets had no dramatic inspiration, but he could do anything, and he was able to satisfy the Cardinal. At the time of which we are speaking, probably in 1633, Desmarets was brought to Conrart's house by Faret and received a courteous welcome. It was characteristic of him that, instantly entering into the spirit of the company, he pulled out of his pocket the proof-sheets of his new prose romance 'Ariane,' and asked leave to submit them to discussion.

Desmarets was rich and influential, and he had the true Academic spirit. He became a prominent public character, and Controller-General of the King's Army, but he never lost his close hold upon the Académie, of which he was elected the first Chancellor. In the moment of transition, the dark hour before the dawn, he was eminently useful, for when, in 1633, Conrart married, and it was no longer convenient to meet in his house, Desmarets transferred the whole cluster of bees to a new hive, the sumptuous Hôtel Pellevé, which he had just rebuilt at the corner of the Rue du Roi de Sicile and of the Rue Tison. Then, and not till then, did they begin seriously to think of founding an Academy. Desmarets' numerous writings have stood the test of time very ill. His epic of 'Clovis' was ridiculed by Boileau, and perhaps the only work of his which can be read to-day without boredom is his comedy of 'Les Visionnaires' (1635), a merry piece of literary criticism, in which the various coteries of that day, and the famous salons, are satirised. Nevertheless, it is not beyond the range of possibility that, in these days of revival, somebody may be found to resuscitate Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin.

In that entertaining volume, 'Le plaisant Abbé de Bois-'robert,' the great rival of Desmarets has already found an eloquent resuscitator, M. Magne. François de Metel de Boisrobert is an unedifying figure of a scapegrace priest, whose giggling face is seen peeping round most doors in the scandalous memoirs of the time. No one was more contemptuously

insulted, no one more bitterly ridiculed, than Richelieu's supple jackal, the author of 'Anaxandre et Orazie' and of 'Pyrandre.' These heroic works of faded imagination are read no longer, nor the 'Recueil de Lettres Nouvelles' nor 'Le Sacrifice des 'Muses.' On the other hand, the sarcasms of the epigrammatists and the scandalous tales of contemporaries continue to invest the memory of Boisrobert with a nasty odour. M. Magne, who brings a marvellous erudition to the task, has bravely endeavoured to redeem a talent and a character so deeply compromised. We cannot join in the whole of his white-washing, but we may admit that he has proved the 'plaisant abbé' to be neither the dunce nor the blackguard that legend had painted him. Moreover, it is quite certain that he exercised a most useful energy in the foundation of the French Academy.

When the indiscretion of Faret brought Desmarets to the literary meetings in Conrart's house, it had the inevitable result of exciting the jealous curiosity of Boisrobert. He was the great rival of Desmarets in the affection and confidence of Richelieu, and we may be certain that when 'le plaisant abbé' found out that Desmarets was attending secret and mysterious assemblies, he plainly intimated to Faret that he also must be taken into the secret or else he would report the plot to the Cardinal. Accordingly, some time in 1633, Boisrobert too was brought to Conrart's house, and instantly conceived a great scheme for his own honour and the glory of French literature. He clung, through every storm, to the robes of Richelieu, who had originally disliked him, but who proved in the long run powerless to resist the devotion and the entertainment which Boisrobert provided. The poet took no snub; on one occasion when Richelieu had rudely ignored him, he flung himself on his knees, crying 'You let the dogs eat the 'crumbs which fall from your table. Am I not a dog?' The Cardinal admitted that he was, and thenceforth Boisrobert occupied an intimate place in Richelieu's household, sometimes as a retriever, more often as a poodle. It is impossible to deny that Boisrobert was a poltroon, but in his lifelong devotion to the Académie he really behaved extremely well. The secret, no doubt, was that with the minimum of regard for purity of conduct, the 'plaisant abbé' combined a genuine solicitude for the purity of language.

It was Boisrobert who first conceived the idea that an Academy of Letters might be useful to Richelieu, and Richelieu indispensable to an Academy of Letters. For this scheme he deserves great credit, and we gather that it was first to the Cardinal and not first to Conrart's friends that he spoke. It seems probable that the latter had already begun to suggest among themselves that their relation might be permanent. There is a letter dated as early as December 1632, in which Godeau, writing to Chapelain, seems to speak of the Académie as already a recognised thing. If we may suppose that Louis Giry, the Hellenist, who was not an original member, but whose name is mentioned as that of one of Conrart's friends, was already a visitor, the body now consisted of twelve persons, with all of whom we have endeavoured to make our readers acquainted. It was after one of the meetings in 1633 that, as Pellisson tells us, having observed what kind of books had been examined, and that the conversation had not been a commerce of compliment and flattery, where each person gave praise that in his turn he might receive it, but that faults of style, and even very small ones, had been seized upon boldly and frankly for discussion, Boisrobert was 'fulfilled with joy 'and admiration.' It crossed his mind that this was the very toy to enliven the petulant leisure of his Cardinal. When that scheme occurred to 'le plaisant abbé' the Académie Française practically started into being.

No small part of the success of the policy of Richelieu came from the brilliant intuition which he had of the importance of regulating intellectual effort. He did not ignore the Press, as had so stupidly been done before his day, but he had no idea of leaving it to follow its own devices. In 1626 he had used a very remarkable expression; he had said 'Les faiseurs de livres serviraient grandement le roi et 'ceux qui sont auprès de lui, s'ils ne se mêlaient de parler de 'leurs actions ni en bien ni en mal.' Literature was to be encouraged and protected, on the understanding that it would attend to its own affairs, and not disturb the King's government with *libelles* which were none of its concern. Richelieu's genuine enthusiasm for scholarship and poetry is not to be questioned, but with it all he was pre-eminently an ambitious statesman. Public policy was the business of his life, litera ture his enchanting relaxation and entertainment. But he

wished to be master in the temple of the Muses, no less than in the King's palace, and he would only protect the authorship of the day on the terms of being recognised as its absolute tyrant. He was to be the Miltiades of letters, but once acknowledge his authority, and he became literature's 'best' and bravest friend.' His lightning intelligence had perceived, in 1631, the importance of journalism, and he had protected the earliest of French newspapers, the *Gazette*, on the understanding that it proceeded from his own official cabinet. It was his scheme to break the prestige of the nobility, and in carrying out his plans, he was glad of the support of the intellectual classes. He was aided, of course, by the development of public feeling in this direction.

There can be little doubt that it was by Boisrobert rather than by Desmarets that the Cardinal was originally informed of the literary meetings in the house of Conrart. His curiosity was vividly awakened. Knots of persons meeting privately and with regularity were the objects of his lively suspicion, and there is some reason to suppose that his first impulse was to break up the company and forbid the meetings. But Boisrobert, who held his ear, reassured him.

'He did not fail [says our earliest authority] to give a favourable report of the little assembly in whose deliberations he had taken a part, and of the persons who composed it; and the Cardinal, whose temper was naturally attuned to great designs, and who loved the French language to infatuation, being himself an excellent writer, after having praised the scheme, asked M. Boisrobert whether these persons would not like to become a corporation, and to meet regularly, and under public authority.'

He desired Boisrobert to put this proposition before the next meeting, as from himself.

It appears that at first the idea was not received with enthusiasm. The friends were simple men of letters, not ambitious of power, and timid in the face of such formidable patronage. But the Cardinal consulted Chapelain, and won him over to his views. There can be no doubt that Desmarets and Faret supported a plan from which they could reap nothing but personal advantage. When the ground was ready and the hour was ripe, Boisrobert came down to a meeting, with a definite proposal from the Cardinal, who offered to these gentlemen his protection for their Society,

the public compliment of Letters Patent, and also—this was so like the vehement *bonhomie* of Richelieu—a promise of personal affection 'en toutes rencontres' for each of them individually. The friends were, in fact, to be attached in permanence to his personal household.

The meeting at which Boisrobert made this startling announcement was one of which it would be interesting indeed to have a detailed report. Unfortunately, this is wanting. But we know that the friends were smitten with timidity and dismay. Scarcely any one of them but expressed his vexation, and regretted that the Cardinal had done them this most unwelcome honour, that he had come down from his majestic heights to 'troubler la douceur et la familiarité 'de leurs conférences.' We can imagine the agitation and the anxiety, the babble of voices which had never before been raised above the tone of scholarly amenity. Those who were pledged to support the scheme doubtless held their peace until the storm had subsided, and until Sérisay and Malleville, who were the most intractable opponents, had done their worst in denunciation of it. Then the voices of the supporters were heard, and someone, doubtless the honey-tongued Boisrobert, suggested that as Sérisay was master of the household to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, and Malleville secretary to the Maréchal de Bassompierre, it would, unjustly but most inevitably, be believed that they were incited by the enmity which their respective patrons were supposed (but how unfairly!) to nourish against the Cardinal. This impressed the company, and Sérisay withdrew his opposition, but Malleville continued to be intractable. It was important, however, that the reply of the infant Academy to the Cardinal should be cordial, and that it should be unanimous.

Chapelain, who had held his arguments in reserve, now came forward with that mixture of tact and force which was his great quality. He was certainly the most eminent man of letters in the assembly, and the others supposed him to be more independent than he really was. As a matter of fact, he had succumbed to the fascination of the Cardinal, who, to put it vulgarly, had Chapelain safe in his pocket. With a great show of impartiality, the poet put before his friends the sensible view that, no doubt, it would have been more agreeable to continue in private their confidential gatherings, but that

it was no longer a question of what was agreeable. They had —he would not insist on pointing out how—lost all chance of keeping themselves to themselves. The secret was out, and they had attracted the attention of the most formidable of men, one who was in the habit of being implicitly obeyed, and who was not accustomed to meet with resistance; that this all-powerful statesman would not forgive the insult of their refusing his proffer of protection, and that he would find a way to chastise each individual member. But certainly, the first thing he would be sure to do would be to disperse their assembly and destroy a society which all of them had already begun to hope would be immortal. Nothing more was heard of Malleville's 'minority report'; the infant Académie surrendered unanimously. Before the company dispersed, M. de Boisrobert was desired to convey to Monsieur le Cardinal the very humble thanks of the assembly for the honour he designed to show them, and to assure him that, though none of them had ever dreamed of such distinction, they were all of them resolved to carry out the wishes of his Eminence.

Richelieu always responded to this sort of attitude. He expressed to 'le plaisant abbé' his great satisfaction, and no doubt they laughed together in private over the oddities of Conrart's guests, for such was their habit, and such the influence of Boisrobert over his master. A doctor once facetiously recommended, when the Cardinal was ill, 'two drams of Boisrobert 'after every meal.' But in public, and in fact, Richelieu took the most lively interest in the scheme. One is inclined to believe, that, by a flash of prophetic imagination, this great man saw what a place the Académie Française would take in the French order of things during three coming centuries at least. He urged the friends to meet without delay, now no longer at Conrart's, but in Desmarets' palatial hôtel, 'et 'à penser sérieusement à l'établissement de l'Académie.' All this was early in 1634, probably in February.

The first direction which the Cardinal deigned to give to the embarrassed and slightly terrified friends was that they should add to their number, or in his own words that 'ces 'Messieurs grossirent leur Compagnie de plusieurs personnes 'considérables pour leur mérite.' This appears to have been begun at the official sitting of March 20, 1634, and that may be considered as the date of the formation of the Académie.

Existing members sat round the table, no doubt, and names were suggested and voted for. It would be a somewhat rough-and-ready choice, and the critical attitude would not be precisely that which would meet with approval at the Institut to-day. But the errors of choice have been abundantly exaggerated by those who have written loosely on this subject. Before the end of 1634 they had added, it seems, twenty-three names to their original list of eleven (or twelve), so that the Académie now consisted of about thirty-five men. Among these, it is perfectly true that there existed many obscurities and some obvious nonentities. But, besides those whom we have already described, the names now appeared of Balzac, Maynard, Gomberville, Saint-Amant, Racan, Vaugelas, and Voiture. All these were writers extremely eminent in the literature of their own age, and not one of them but is interesting and distinguished still. Not to have included them in a French Academy would have been a grave and obvious error.

Some of the accusations brought against the infant Académie are absurd. It has been vilified for omitting to make Molière and Pascal original members; the latter was eleven years of age at the time and the former twelve! Descartes was, of course, already one of the intellectual glories of France, but he was a wanderer over the face of Europe, and still only known as a writer in Latin. Arnauld d'Andilly was elected, but refused to take his place. Like Pascal, Brébeuf was still a schoolboy. Pierre Corneille, who was very little known in 1634, and not a resident in Paris, was elected later, and so was La Mothe le Vayer. Charles Sorel, the author of 'Francion' and 'Le Berger Extravagant,' who was historiographer of France and a satirist of merit, was not invited to join, it is true; but his caustic pen had spared no one, and he was essentially 'unclubbable.' Scarron in 1634 was only a wild young buck about town. There remains unexplained—and I confess there seems to me to remain alone—the strange omission of Rotrou, a tragic poet of high distinction who never formed part of the French Académie. Since 1632 he had been the friend of Chapelain, and the Cardinal was devoted to him. That Rotrou's duties as a magistrate forced him to reside at Dreux is the only reason which I can think of, to account for his absence from the list of 1634. If there was one other

representative man of letters eligible, and yet omitted from that list, my memory is at fault.

Among those who were invited there was one whose support was absolutely essential to the youthful society. It may be said, without exaggeration, that the Académie Française could not have survived contemporary ridicule if it had failed to secure the co-operation of Jean Louis Guez de Balzac. In 1634 Balzac was thirty-seven years of age and by far the most prominent man of letters in France. The first volume of his famous 'Lettres'—which were not letters in our sense, but chatty and yet elaborate essays on things in general—had appeared in 1624, and had created what the Abbé d'Olivet described as 'a general revolution among persons of culture.' Balzac immediately took his place as the official leader and divinity of what were afterwards known as the Précieuses; but he was a great deal more than that: he was the enchanting artist of a new French prose. 'Le grand Epistolier de France' was to French prose all, and more than all, that Malherbe (who died in 1628) was to French verse. Brunetière has dwelt on Balzac's great service to letters, in the studied cultivation of harmony and lucidity, order and movement. His 'Lettres' ushered in a new epoch in the production of prose, far more sudden and obvious than was brought about half a century later, in English, by the 'Essays' of Sir William Temple, but similar to that in character. The most agreeable present any man of fashion could make to his mistress, says Ménage, was a copy of Balzac's book, and yet the gravest of scholars was not too learned to imitate its cadences.

The objects which the infant French Academy set before itself were the encouragement of grace and nobility of style in all persons employing the French language, and, as a corollary to this, the persistent effort to raise that language, in all particulars, until it should become an instrument for expression as delicate, as forcible and as comprehensive as Latin and Greek had been in their palmiest hours. But these were the very objects which Balzac had first, and most imperiously, impressed upon his readers, and there was a sense in which it could be said that the new body was merely emphasising and extending, giving legislative authority to, ideas which were the property of Balzac. It was therefore evident that whosoever was made an original member, the 'grand Epistolier' should

not be missing. This was obvious to the wise Boisrobert, of whom Balzac himself amusingly said that he was 'circum-'spectissime' in the smallest actions of his life. As early as March 13, 1634, and therefore in all probability before any one else was approached, Boisrobert took care that Balzac was invited to join the new Académie.

But it was one thing to whistle to Balzac, and quite another for him to come at the call. His character was not an agreeable one; he was excessively proud, painfully shy, quivering with self-consciousness, ever ready to take offence. Tallemant des Réaux, putting the universal opinion into an epigram, said that if ever there was an *animal gloriae* it was Balzac. He was a finished hypochondriac, with his finger ever on his own pulse; before he was thirty he described himself as more battered than a ship that has sailed three times to the Indies. He was a hermit, hating society, and scarcely ever leaving that garden of amber and musk within the walls of his castle of Balzac which hung above the mingling waters of the Charente and the Touvre. But Balzac, whose character and temperament had many points of likeness to those of Pope, knew the value of friendship, though he was capable of amazing disloyalty under the pressure of vanity. Conrart, Boisrobert, Chapelain, and even perhaps the magnificent Cardinal himself —for there is talk of a pension—brought simultaneous pressure to bear, and Balzac consented to let his name appear in the list of original members of the Académie. This did not induce in him much zeal for the works or deeds of his nominal colleagues, upon whom, from his far-away garden-terraces, he looked down with great contempt. Still, the Académie Française was in existence, for Jean Louis Guez de Balzac was of the number.

Among the other original members, Voiture, of whom we lately spoke in this 'Review,' and Gomberville, the author of 'Polexandre,' have never lost their little place in the crowded history of French literature. Saint-Amant and Maynard, who sank out of sight for a long time, are now regarded with more honour than ever before since their death. Honorat de Beuil, marquis de Racan, is one of the minor classics of his country. A dreamy, blundering man, innocent and vague, his whole outlook upon life was that of a pastoral poet. He 'had no common sense,' we are told, but walked in a cloud

conducting an imaginary flock and murmuring his beautiful Virgilian verses. Racan took the Académie more seriously than any other member; he never missed a sitting. But he could not be depended on. Once, the Académie met to listen to an address by the Marquis de Racan, who entered, holding one torn sheet of paper in his hand. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'I was bringing you my oration, but my great greyhound has 'chewed it up. Here it is! Make what you can of it, for I 'don't know it by heart, and I have no copy.' The story of how old Mlle. de Gournay was gulled by successive impostors who pretended to be Racan, and then at length spurned the real poet, as an obvious idiot, is too long to be told here in detail. At the close of his life, Racan had allowed himself to retain no friends except his fellow Academicians, so completely had he become absorbed in the Académie.

These illustrious names, however, are not sufficient to prevent the eye which runs down the list of original members from being startled by the obscurity of at least half the names. It must be remembered that in 1635 it was no envied distinction or disputed honour to form part of this new and untried corporation. The labours of the Academicians were disinterested, for the Académie was not yet endowed, and there was little or no reward offered, besides the favour of the Cardinal, for the zealous labours of scholarship. Moreover, it was necessary to silence opposition and disarm ridicule. The general feeling of the public, as reflected in the action of parliament, was hostile. Louis XIII. himself, although he had passed the Letters Patent, was far from favourable to his Minister's literary project, as we learn from a letter of Chapelain. But Richelieu was passionately bent on its success, and we see from Tallemant that whenever the Académie made a step in advance, the Cardinal was at no pains to conceal his lively satisfaction. But there were more seats than eminent men of letters to fill them, and consequently almost anyone who would consent or could be inveigled was elected. Scarron says the only thing that some of the original Immortals were fit for was to snuff candles or to sweep the floor. There was a class of Academicians who were styled 'the children of the pity of Boisrobert,' because the 'plaisant abbé,' in filling up the *fauteuils*, was merciful to needy men of letters without talent, and fetched them in so that they might eat a piece of bread. They were

buoyed up with the hope that Richelieu would bring in an age of gold for scribblers.

But another element must not be forgotten. There was a great temptation to turn poachers into gamekeepers, and a certain number of the original members of the Académie Française were wits whose bitterness Richelieu himself, or Chapelain, or Boisrobert, dreaded. Maynard was one of these, but perhaps the most curious example was a man called Bautru. He was no writer, for one scurrilous piece in the 'Cabinet 'Satirique' represents his complete works. But he was a savage practical joker, whose tongue was universally dreaded. His wit seems to have been ready. He was a 'libertine' in the sense of that day, and openly irreligious. One day, he was caught taking his hat off to a crucifix as he passed in the street. 'Ah! then,' said his friends, 'you are on better terms with God 'than we supposed?' 'On bowing terms; we don't speak,' Bautru replied. In 1642, he called our Charles I. 'a calf led 'from market to market;—and presently they will take him 'to the shambles,' he prophetically added. His was an evil tongue with a sharp edge to it, which it was safest to have inside the Académie, and there were others of the same sort among the false celebrities, *les passe-volants* or dummies, whose presence in the original list is at first so disconcerting.

In order to give dignity and discipline to their assemblies, the Academicians now created three offices, those of Director, Chancellor, and Perpetual Secretary; these were held by Sérisay, Desmarets, and Conrart respectively. They appointed the famous printer, Jean Camusat, their librarian and typographer, meeting sometimes at his house for easier correction of the press. On the 20th of March 1634 they settled on their all-important name, and thenceforth were to the world 'l'Académie françoise.' Two days later, in a very long letter, they detailed to the Cardinal the objects and functions of their body, not failing to begin with the request that he would permit them to publish his own tragedies and pastorals. This document is very interesting to-day. In it the new Académie proposes to cleanse the French language from all the ordure which it has contracted from vulgar and ignorant usage; to establish the exact sense of words; seriously to examine the subject and treatment of prose, the style of the whole, the harmony of periods, the propriety in the use of

words. Moreover, the Academicians undertook to examine the books of one another with a meticulous attention to faults of style and grammar. This 'Projet,' which was drafted by Faret, was submitted to Richelieu, and printed in an edition of thirty copies, in May 1634.

In this first manifesto, which was kept extremely secret, nothing was said about the plan of a Dictionary. But Chapelain's heart had been set upon that from the first, and he did not forget to bring it forward. He insisted, in season and out of season, on the necessity of labouring in unison 'for the 'purity of our language and for its capacity to develop the 'loftiest eloquence.' On the 27th of March he brought forward his idea of a Dictionary. Balzac supported him by letter, Vaugelas offered his invaluable grammatical services, and at last the Académie so far accepted the idea as to instruct Chapelain and Vaugelas to report on the subject. But this was not until 1637, so that we must realise that the French Academy had existed three years before it finally settled down to the work with which its early existence is most popularly identified. But for the persistency of Chapelain, this might never have been commenced.

On the other hand, the Academicians were very busily engaged over their statutes, which were drawn up by one of the latest of the original members, Hay du Chastelet, a learned lawyer of high repute. They were passed, and accepted by the Cardinal, before the close of 1634. It was, very properly, Conrart himself who drafted the Letters Patent, a very long and dignified document, which Louis XIII. signed in Paris on the 29th of January 1635. But now came the first difficulty which beset the primrose path of the young Académie. It was not enough for the King to sign the Letters Patent; they had to be 'vérifiées' by Parliament; and this was not done until the 10th of July 1637. There has been much discussion as to the cause of this delay, which was intensely irksome to the Cardinal and threatened the existence of the infant association. It was early thought that the Parliament suspected Richelieu of having a design in creating the Académie which was much more directly political than appeared on the surface. If so, the placid and modest demeanour of the Academicians ultimately disarmed hostility, and they obtained their Letters Patent.

At this point we must draw our inquiry to a close, since the foundation of the Académie Française was completed by the verification of the Letters Patent by Parliament. It will be seen that eight years had gone by since the first meetings of selected men of letters had taken place in Conrart's house, and that many tedious formalities had to be gone through before the body was in a position even to begin its work. The humble nature of the origin of the Académie Française, the surprising and painful adventures of its youth, and the glories of its subsequent existence, should make us indulgent to the slow growth of any similar institution. Rome is not the only corporation which was not built in a day.

EDMUND GOSSE.

THE NOVELS OF D'ANNUNZIO

1. **Le Novelle della Pescara.** Milan : Fratelli Trèves.
2. **Il Piacere.** Milan : Fratelli Trèves. 1889.
3. **L'Innocente.** Milan : Fratelli Trèves. 1892.
4. **Giovanni Episcopo.** Napoli : Luigi Pierro. 1892.
5. **Il Trionfo della Morte.** Milan : Fratelli Trèves. 1894.
6. **Le Vergini delle Rocce.** Milan : Fratelli Trèves. 1896.
7. **Il Fuoco.** Milan : Fratelli Trèves. 1900.
8. **Forse che sì, forse che no.** Milan : Fratelli Trèves. 1910.
9. **Gabriele D'Annunzio.** By ALFREDO GARGIULO. Naples: Francesco Perrella and Co. 1912.

FIFTY years ago a poet was born in Pescara, the little fishing town of the Abruzzi, and, if it be permissible to select for special emphasis any single moment in the continuity of a human life, it was an event which merits without any reservation the honours of a jubilee. Gabriele D'Annunzio stands now, as for many years he has stood, on a supereminent pinnacle in the range of Italian literature. Since the death of Carducci—though some may think this limitation unnecessary—he has been the greatest poet of Italy, and he is her greatest writer of prose since the days of those authors who are considered her classics. After fully allowing for all that just criticism can pare away, indignantly though the poet himself would deny it, from the grandiose figure of his genius, enough remains to preserve the stature of a giant, more fairly proportioned, more powerful, and more fully endowed with all the gifts of an inspired artist than any writer among his fellow-countrymen.

It is strange that in the year of his jubilee D'Annunzio, whose work for thirty years has been essentially Italian, should be living a voluntary exile in France. The former young prodigy of the *Cronaca Bizantina*, the brilliant journalist of *La Tribuna*, the writer of plays for Eleanora Duse, the poet who has always gloried in Italy, the artist who from his rich palette made Venice more splendid and Rome more

beautiful, now devotes himself to producing elaborate scenic plays in erudite French verse for the benefit of a Russian *ballerina*, which impress neither the critics nor the public of Paris. We in England need not view with any apprehension the future bestowal of a similar favour. The versatile Italian is hardly likely to take a villa at Ventnor and astonish London with an annual imitation of Shakespeare, Elizabethan vocabulary and all, for he is essentially and avowedly a Latin poet. The Latinity of his genius, nevertheless, has been no bar to his appreciation in this country, considerably though knowledge of Italian has diminished among our lettered classes. It is fitting, therefore, to offer him on his jubilee a tribute of appreciation, the more genuine for being not unmixed with criticism. Temperamentally, no doubt, we and Signor D'Annunzio stand aloof from one another. To him, though he knows our language, our country is as unfamiliar as our character—to judge by the British nobleman in 'Il Piacere'—is repugnant. We, on the other hand, find ourselves rather out of sympathy with the vivid, sensuous, yet narrow world of consciousness in which all his most brilliant effects are obtained. Yet art, if it be great, is universal in its appeal. So long as purely national prejudice is guarded against—not always an easy matter in bearing with D'Annunzio's characters and emotions—it is perfectly possible for an Englishman to rejoice in the poet's splendours and to recognise his shortcomings: if he miss some of the subtler harmonies, he is the less distracted in appreciating the march of the whole symphony.

Unmistakable greatness has been but seldom achieved by one man both as a poet and as a novelist. We in England have George Meredith and Mr. Thomas Hardy, yet it is as novelists that they have primarily won renown, and the body of their poetry is small compared with that of their prose. With Gabriele D'Annunzio the case is different. At the age of sixteen he revealed himself a poet in very essence, and it was not till ten years later that he published his first novel. Yet now, in his fiftieth year, his works of poetry and prose are as nearly equal in volume as they are in literary importance. They have appeared alternately, romance, drama, ode and elegy, the one seeming but to serve as a recreation from the other, for it would be wrong to suppose that any

considerations of popular demand have ever weighed with the author in the matter of his production. However much his nostrils may be tickled by the incense of admirers, D'Annunzio has always shown himself a true artist in this, that he has never written a line except to please himself. The pride of art is to him almost a matter of religion, and the democratic influence of a reading 'public' is one that he would scorn in all sincerity: it is as a master, not as a purveyor, that he would be worshipped. It may seem strange, then, that a poet who had given evidence of possessing a perfect command of rhythm, an astonishing vividness of perception with a no less astonishing power of reproducing the perception in clear-cut verse, an unimpeachable sense of music with a richness and splendour of language which even in his earliest work was startling, should, while attaining fullest maturity as a poet, have chosen the alternative of fiction in prose, as though his artistic soul would overburden with its weight of precious matter any single vehicle. The truth is that, for all his artistic pride, D'Annunzio has a strong tincture of the dilettante in his composition, which he has made no effort to conceal. To be, as he has confessed to a friend, 'fra destri il più destro,' to desire to excel where other men have excelled, has been to him a powerful stimulus. In default of a genuine inspiration he has never been afraid to imitate and plagiarise unblushingly; his earliest verses were imitations of Carducci; his first short stories copied those of Verga and Capuana; 'Il Piacere' is modelled on a typical French novel of society; 'Giovanni Episcopo' is an unsuccessful attempt in the style of Dostoevski: in fact his inability to distinguish even exquisite virtuosity from real artistic self-expression, or rather his too obvious liability to regard them with equal complacency, is one of those disturbing blemishes in his genius which can only be accepted and not explained. His desire, therefore, to triumph in prose as well as in lyric poetry, fortunate as the result has been in the case of his novels, may be partly attributed to the same foible which causes him to delight so frequently and tiresomely in parading his erudition as a critic of music and literature, as a connoisseur of *bibelots*, or a student of medieval history.

It is curious that this and other palpable marks of a very ordinary mind have had so little deleterious effect on D'Annunzio's quite uncommon artistic power. The blots are

there, but they do not spread infection; it might even be said that they hardly appear till the mind's eye has recovered from the first dazzling effects of an extraordinary brilliance. D'Annunzio's novels do not bear analysis well; one may calmly dissect their faults till it seems as if nothing of value can be left, and yet, as soon as we close the critic's eye, leaving open the sympathetic listener's ear, the enchantment of his style and the richness of his tone work again their inevitable spell. It is unfair to read D'Annunzio in translations, for the Italian language is a vital element of his art. He has created a new prose for modern Italy—a vivid, abundant, flexible medium, invariably beautiful and infinitely harmonious. Sneers have been levelled at his archaisms and his over-anxiety to enrich as well as to embellish his own liquid tongue, but to read a few pages of other modern Italian writers is an overwhelming proof of D'Annunzio's achievement. Those who do not find immediate beauty in D'Annunzio's novels are inevitably precluded from any true appreciation of them, for beauty—clearly perceptible, sensuous beauty—is the be-all and end-all of his artistic creation. Whether he has occasionally aimed at something more is a not easily settled question, but what he has achieved, at any rate, even at his best, is pure plastic beauty, the beauty of line and colour, of rhythm and melody, of splendid images, of emotions and scenes finely portrayed, of the evocation of all, especially in the past and present of voluptuous Italy, that can cast upon the senses a spell of pleasure or of that pain which is but pleasure's refinement. In this spirit he makes Claudio Cantelmo in 'Le Vergini delle Rocce' offer up a prayer:

'O moltiplice Bellezza del Mondo, non a te soltanto sale la mia lode; non a te soltanto, ma anche ai miei maggiori, ma anche a quelli che seppero gioire di te nei secoli remoti e mi transmisero il loro fervido e ricco sangue. Lodati sieno ora e sempre per le belle ferite che apersero, per i belli incendii che suscitarono, per le belle tazze che votarono, per le belle vesti che vestirono, per i stragi, le loro ebrezze, le loro magnificenze, e le loro lussurie sieno lodati; perchè così mi formarono essi questi sensi in cui tu puoi vastamente e profondamente specchiarti, O Bellezza del Mondo, come in cinque vasti e profondi mari.'

To reflect the beauty of the world in the mirror of the senses as in five seas, immense and profound—there is contained

the essential spirit of D'Annunzio's creed. It is breathed in every line of his poetry, now languorously, now fiercely, and in each of his novels, excepting the last, it is proclaimed as the ultimate truth of right living by the chief character, most splendidly of all by Stelio Effrena in the discourse that, like some tremendous overture, preludes the action of 'Il Fuoco.' D'Annunzio cannot possibly appeal to a rigidly ascetic temperament. Unless he can be granted the whole realm of sensuous beauty even up to the exquisite limits that only a poet of Latin race can reach, he is outside apprehension and criticism. To condemn D'Annunzio in the light of calm reason alone is to condemn a lifeless dummy. He must have lived for his reader before he can be judged: and that he should live for his reader, his reader must live for him. The body must vibrate to him as well as the mind; the sensuous nature must be given a free rein; the memory of every physical joy, every fervid emotion, every enchantment of eye or ear, every *élan* of gratitude for the glory and beauty of life must be tuned up to a sympathetic pitch; then, and then alone, having yielded like Tannhäuser to the spell, can one view the matter in the fresh, early-morning air of criticism, as the Venusberg music fades whispering into the distance.

Lest this premise seem over-bold, let Mr. Henry James's acute and characteristic study of this very subject, which appeared nine years ago in the 'Quarterly Review,' be adduced in its support. Mr. James, whose preoccupations as a novelist are quite different from those of Signor D'Annunzio, and who makes a psychological rather than in any degree a sensuous appeal, goes all lengths at the outset in appreciation. He hails D'Annunzio with delightful gusto as a 'case,' and finds his essence as a 'case' in his being 'the supreme type 'of the aesthetic ideal.' 'Beauty at any price is an old story 'to him . . . his individual development begins where the 'struggle of the mere earnest questioner ends.' Again and again Mr. James insists on this point, and he freely confesses the charm which not only the dream-like 'Vergini delle Rocce' with its 'absolute artistic vision,' but even the far weaker 'L'Innocente,' has exercised upon his sensibility. He avers in all truth that the poet's signal gift is 'never to approach 'the thing particularly to be done without consummately 'doing it.' On such admissions criticism is firmly based.

Mr. James applies it with no sparing hand, though even he does not exhaust its possibilities. It appears to him that the total beauty of the works fails to march with the beauty of the parts. On testing—to use his phrase—for a bad smell, he finds it in 'a positive element of the vulgar,' which is manifested in the fact that D'Annunzio builds his whole edifice of beauty upon the exiguous foundation of sexual passion in its most violent throes, and that in depicting these love affairs his sense of values, dramatic, moral, and social, is lamentably weak. When the tremendous performance is over, its importance seems to have vanished with its glitter. And so, after all, the aesthetic adventure ends in triviality. Must it always end thus? asks Mr. James. The very excellence of D'Annunzio makes him fear the worst.

Mr. Henry James, as a novelist to whom his art was always a thrilling adventure, cannot be listened to without conviction when he analyses the progress of another pilgrim, even though D'Annunzio himself takes a much more static view of art: in his eyes it is plainly a beneficent revelation. Yet it would not be just to proceed further in the examination without adjusting our lens by the light of a more comprehensive view, which is the more illuminating for being put forth by a countryman and a contemporary of the poet himself. Signor Gargiulo—an uncompromising, even occasionally factious, critic—combines in his compendious survey the static and dynamic views. He exhibits D'Annunzio's works as the revelations of a self indeed, but of a self in successive stages of eagerly sought salvation, with the purpose of presenting the entire and perfect poet, 'il più grande paesista della 'modernità, l'artista più significativo, in questo senso, dell' 'anima moderna, il quale lascia indietro, a grande distanza, 'i lirici inglesi,' as worthy of entire admiration, when all the wayward and unworthy sprouts of his genius have been ruthlessly shorn away. It may well be that Signor Gargiulo runs his hobby-horse too hard, for no artist was ever summed up in a logical thesis, but his conception of 'the great inner 'tragedy' of the poet has a considerable dramatic as well as a critical interest. It would be impossible, as well as unnecessary, to consider here the whole of Signor Gargiulo's book; but it is most pertinent to the present purpose to summarise his view. To him, then, Gabriele D'Annunzio appears, after

the momentary and youthful phase of imitation, as a perfect example from his first manhood of what our critic, in that semi-scientific jargon of which modern Italians are so fond, calls 'il temperamento visivo-sensuale.' He is a 'visivo,' that is, one whose sensory apprehensions—of which sight is the supreme type—are extremely keen, not dulled, as those of the ordinary man, by intellectual preoccupation. Nothing external escapes a 'visivo,' neither a flash of sun nor a cloud's contour, neither the most intimate beauty nor most recondite deformity of a limb, neither the faintest perfume nor the most fleeting savour; but all these remain, even the most delicate, as definite images, which constitute, by accumulation and combination, a special psychological possession. Further, the 'visivo' is necessarily, in varying degrees, a 'sensuale.' Every sensory impression is accompanied by an emotion of pleasure or pain, desire or disgust; consequently, the man of unusually frequent and definite impressions must have correspondingly acute emotions, and, moreover, it is for these impressions that his chief emotions are reserved. D'Annunzio is the complete example of this sensual nature, and as such he revealed himself by his nineteenth year in the poems of the 'Canto Novo,' in which the sap of physical life, with its exuberance, its ardour and the languor that follows ardour, wells up in images of most compelling beauty.

These early poems and the short stories of Abruzzese life, collected under the title 'San Pantaleone,' * proclaim indubitably the poet's proper genius, in Signor Gargiulo's view. Then came the deviations. The 'visivo-sensuale,' if he be a poet, must inevitably yearn to reveal, not only his external impressions, but his own emotions of pain and pleasure—himself, in fine, as the microcosm of Nature in which her movements of growth and repose, desire and satisfaction, passion and languor are reproduced. It was in this effort to reveal *himself* that D'Annunzio went astray. Dissatisfied with the scope of lyric poetry, he turned to the novel. Both in 'Il Piacere,' that appeared in 1889, and 'Il Trionfo della Morte,' that was largely composed in 1890 (four years before it appeared), he attempted to portray his own personality through the characters

* Afterwards incorporated in 'Le Novelle della Pescara.'

of Andrea Sperelli and Giorgio Aurispa. But he had not sufficient psychological insight to work out an entire personality from his own purely emotional content, and the gaps were filled up with much material that was either fragmentary or mere empty detail. This phase was reflected in the volumes of poetry from the 'Intermezzo' to the 'Chimera,' which were in part artificial exercises in metrical form and in part a genuine expression of the sensual temperament's desire to escape from itself. This tormenting desire developed the tragedy, driving D'Annunzio to look for what Signor Gargiulo calls 'vie d'uscita,' ways of escape. He tried first the road of moral exaltation, producing the novels 'L'Innocente' and 'Giovanni Episcopo' and the 'Poema Paradisiaco.' The result of this adventure being pure artificiality, the poet then tried the 'via del super-uomo,' under the influence of Nietzsche. As an adventure it was tolerably complete, for it began with 'Le Vergini delle Rocce' in 1896, and included 'Il Fuoco,' most of his dramas and the first two volumes of the 'Laudi,' which appeared in 1903. Over this period Signor Gargiulo indulges in the most dismal lamentations and the most unsparing criticism, and the clouds only drift away when he comes to the third volume of the 'Laudi,' in which D'Annunzio returns to himself as the supreme *paysagiste*, the creator of new and splendid myths, the discoverer of the true 'via 'd'uscita'—that of a more refined and objective sensualism. It is, perhaps, unfortunate for Signor Gargiulo that the dramas of the 'Superman' period continued after the last book of the 'Laudi,' and that his study, having been completed in 1909, could not include the last novel 'Forse che sì, forse che no' nor the composition of dramas in French. It would have been curious to see how he would have characterised these ultimate developments. Nevertheless, his study, which has been described without being endorsed, is valuable and instructive, for it is important, in considering the novels by themselves, to keep in mind their possible relations to the rest of the poet's work and to his individual character. It is only legitimate to consider them apart, applying the standards of criticism peculiarly applicable to fiction in prose, if we remember that they are not, in reality, an isolated aesthetic adventure, but part of the vital experience of a great artist, who never made an excursion—as Mr. Henry James has

sometimes done—out of pure curiosity, but who ardently rushed wherever his spirit wafted him.

As a *paysagiste* D'Annunzio has never surpassed his early volume of short stories, ' San Pantaleone,' in which the strong light and passionate life of the Abruzzi stand out with the brilliance of Mr. Sargent's water-colours. No impression, whether it be of a sanguinary fight between two villages, or the death of a donkey, or a coarse practical joke, or a sailor's agony upon a fishing boat, finds the artist's touch inadequate. One quality alone is absent—the dramatic. Every one of these scenes, incisively as they are drawn, stops short at the tragic moment. It would seem as if D'Annunzio—quite legitimately in this particular *genre*—chose deliberately to disregard the element of dramatic action. He saw the Abruzzese life as a series of crises, the outcome of which was indifferent to him, and so he drew it. To use a modern image, he stopped the cinematograph arbitrarily when every muscle of the characters was tensest with movement. In the short story such a method successfully substitutes a peculiar thrill of its own for the excitement of developed dramatic action; but what D'Annunzio has been constitutionally unable to grasp is that it is inapplicable to a novel. It is true, as Mr. Henry James says, that he never approaches the *particular* thing to be done without consummately doing it, but it is equally true that to patch together a collection of particular things is not the best way to compose an artistic whole. In fact, D'Annunzio's want of dramatic sense, considering the number of his works that imply a dramatic interest, is astounding. Again and again the elements are plainly there, calling aloud for combination and complication, while the poet shuts his ears and abstractedly tears up living tissue to make a still mosaic. Nature, who can only be treated pictorially or rhapsodically, has blinded him to the possibilities of humanity. This is curiously shown in his ability to compose his novels piecemeal. The end of ' Il Trionfo della Morte ' was published four years before its beginning, and among the stories in ' San Pantaleone ' occurs an episode entitled ' Il Commiato,' which is word for word the passage in ' Il ' Piacere ' where Andrea Sperelli says good-bye to Elena Muti. When secrets of the workshop are made so obvious, it is hard to avoid the inference that the alternate use of the

tambour-frame and the sewing machine has been D'Annunzio's ordinary receipt for composing novels.

Signor Gargiulo, who regards all D'Annunzio's novels as gropings of a genius that has lost its way, pronounces 'Il 'Piacere' to be the best of them as a complete work of art. Certainly the average client of the circulating library would find it the most readable, because it is modelled upon the French *roman mondain*. Its major and minor characters alike are drawn from the aristocratic society of Rome, whose gay dinner parties, race meetings, and bachelor suppers are vivaciously described with a seasoning of cynical conversation turning always on the illicit amours that are in such novels the chief interest and occupation of smart society. There is a distinct thread of plot running through this brightly coloured picture, itself concerned with the amorous intrigues of the hero, whose intellectual, artistic, and material endowments would have done no discredit to the imagination of Ouida. If to these distinctions be added a literary power of the first order, there is, no doubt, more than enough to condone certain *longueurs*, youthful extravagances, and tasteless insistences upon detail which caused Mr. Henry James truly to remark: 'The association rising before us more nearly 'than any other is that of manners observable in the most 'mimetic department of any great menagerie.' But to appreciate or criticise D'Annunzio from this restricted point of view would be futile and unintelligent. It was never his ambition to be a successful purveyor of titillations for the book-stall; his novels are genuine creative efforts, and in each of them there is a poet's dream. To appreciate them is to apprehend the vision: to criticise them is to point out the blemishes which hide it. With his usual facility D'Annunzio imitated a set form in his first novel—an imitation that was never repeated. We may therefore put aside the undoubted success of his imitation as nugatory, and consider the novel in relation to the general spirit of his art. The essential concern of 'Il Piacere' is not with Roman society but with the character of Andrea Sperelli, whose personality plainly reveals a portion of the poet's own. He is rich, well born, and proficient in every art or sport in which the hand of an Italian gentleman may have cunning; he paints and draws beautifully, he is an exquisite poet, he is a fascinator of women and,

above all, he is a complete sensualist. His story is a simple one. His passion for Elena Muti, the sublimation of all that exquisite sensation which for D'Annunzio is 'il piacere,' after brief enjoyment ends abruptly—we may add, with complete lack of art. After a duel, in which he is seriously wounded, he falls in love again, during convalescence, with Donna Maria Ferres, an angel of goodness, for whom his feelings are all that is chivalrously submissive, timidly adoring. But with returning strength the old Adam reasserts himself. Not only does Sperelli attempt to seduce his angelic love, but he is driven to renew the satanic intrigues with Elena Muti, who reappears in Rome with an English husband. The double dealing proves his downfall; he murders the love of his angel, while his demon laughs him to scorn, and we leave him, a moral bankrupt, in his luxurious chambers, the artful stage of so much passion, alone. Alone, indeed, but undeveloped—there is the blemish. Neither he nor any other character has moved a hair's breadth since the opening line.

Thus early D'Annunzio taught his readers that they must never expect from him a whole living personality: all his characters are abstractions, marvellously galvanised to life in moments of excited sensibility, particularly under the stress of sexual passion. Then they live as Othello lives before the sleeping Desdemona's bed, with an overwhelming intensity, that leaves one physically gasping. Unless greatness is to be denied to an artist who, having seen humanity stirred to its roots, has drawn it so that it pulses again with reality, then D'Annunzio has been a great artist in every one of his novels. From Elena Muti's surrender upon her bed of convalescence, to the passionate kiss of Paolo Tarsis and Isabella Inghirami, there are scenes in all of them which, not only for their creator's splendid visual sense and the perfectly modulated language in which they are described, but also for their vital force, can deserve no epithet but magnificent. Yet with D'Annunzio this galvanic action takes place within the narrowest range; outside it, what lived so intensely becomes on a sudden wood and sawdust. The showman's voice, exquisite in tone, inexhaustible in variety, captivates our ears, till our eye catches sight of the puppet inanimate and stiff. Andrea Sperelli, for all the truth of his emotional

psychology, is only a puppet: Elena Muti and Donna Maria have not even joints. Yet it is not because of this deficiency in characterisation that 'Il Piacere' must be put low in the order of merit of D'Annunzio's novels. Andrea Sperelli is no more an abstraction than Stelio Effrena or Claudio Cantelmo. The superiority of some of the later novels is to be found in their greater power of concealing or making good the deficiency. The surface qualities of 'readableness' that distinguish 'Il Piacere' are, in fact, a drawback, for the artificial mould exposes the inadequacy of the contents. D'Annunzio is at his best when he disregards the technical requirements of construction, as in 'Il Fuoco' and 'Le Vergini delle Rocce,' while he is at his worst when he adopts an alien subject-matter as in 'Giovanni Episcopo' or an alien moral consciousness as in 'L'Innocente.'

We may, therefore, take an immediate stride from the tremendous promise of 'Il Piacere' to the splendid maturity of 'Il Trionfo della Morte.' This sombre tragedy of passion contains such an ample wealth of artistic material that an adequate enumeration would far exceed the limits of this study. In it D'Annunzio's prose style reaches its highest limit of perfection, proudly justifying his claim in the introduction to have formed a new descriptive and narrative language for the needs of modern Italy. Using an amazing mastery of rhythm, harmony, and instrumentation he calls up scene after scene—the lovers' conversation on the Pincio, the wayside station in a shower, the squalid family life at Guardiagrele, the infinite variety of the Adriatic—with overpowering vividness, though we are bound to note that when he quite unnecessarily inserts what a French art student would call a *grande machine*—an elaborate picture of a rural pilgrimage—he falls short of the warmth of his own 'San Pantaleone.' Moreover, this novel, with all its irresistible aesthetic appeal and the tragic finality of its *dénouement*—almost unique in D'Annunzio's work—is distinguished by a far deeper psychological penetration than is contained in any other. Giorgio Aurispa is almost a complete personality: not only is he alive when acting under the stress of emotion, but he is equally alive in the moments of introspection, when he, the own brother of Andrea Sperelli—though a less blatant and less effective sensualist—the neurasthenic analyst of

his own weakness, the slave of unconquerable desire, stares in impotent dejection at the tragedy of human passion. The action of Giorgio's mind is portrayed with exquisite minuteness, and yet so poetic is its linguistic expression that the long passages never seem dry or irrelevant. No doubt Giorgio is, after all, an abstraction; he does not develop, nor have his actions any particular importance. Too much, however, must not be made of the fact. D'Annunzio had a special purpose in this book. He wished it, as he says, to contain 'the individual life—sensual, emotional, intellectual—of a 'human being placed in the centre of universal life,' and to illustrate the play of action and reaction between his particular sensibility and external things. Everything, he frankly states, is posited from the first, so far as Giorgio's mind is concerned, and from the first bitter words on the Pincio to the final scene, where he dashes himself with his mistress over the cliff, the continuity is not one of a 'favola bene 'composta,' but of 'una esistenza individua manifestantesi 'nel suo triplice modo per un limitato periodo di tempo.'

D'Annunzio's explanation is hardly lucid, but his meaning is abundantly clear in the book itself. The essential parts of Giorgio's character are made evident from the first; his particular tragedy, the impotence of human passion to attain complete possession of its object and the baneful power of woman—Ippolita is as empty as an algebraical formula—to keep such a nature perpetually caged and gnawing at its bars, is equally made evident: the drama consists simply and solely in the reactions of such a character, faced with such a tragedy, to external impressions and their accompanying emotions. D'Annunzio, the 'visivo-sensuale,' transfers into the relations of human beings the drama of action and reaction which is to him the real drama, the drama of Nature. To his vivid sense all the beauty that is necessary can be supplied from *without*, and he is assisted not only by his exquisite aesthetic feeling but by the peculiar enchantment of the Italian scene and the Italian language. This, as Mr. Henry James acutely points out, is the magic of D'Annunzio. His characters are interesting, not for their personal relations, but for the wealth of their consciousness. It is absorbing while we read, but we cannot help judging in retrospect. After watching—again to quote Mr. James—'his unfortunates

'. . . carry their extremely embellished minds with them, 'through these dusky passages, as a kind of gilded glimmering 'lantern,' we have a sense of insufficiency. The truth is that, in spite of D'Annunzio's blandishments, we cannot take a poet's dream for reality. Reaction to circumstance is only a small element in human drama. We need only look into D'Annunzio's novels to justify ourselves. His periods of time are always extremely restricted: the action of 'Il 'Trionfo della Morte,' and all that follow it, takes place in a few months; beyond that limit he could not dare to go. His 'vita universa' is a myth, so far as any inner life is concerned, sexual exaltation being, on that side, its only manifestation. We find proof, too, in the opportunities for human drama that D'Annunzio always so exasperatingly lets go, conscious that they would be fatal to his theory. In 'Il Trionfo della Morte' Ippolita holds Giorgio in thrall —but in thrall from what? He visits his squalid home, and sees his mother a victim to a brutal father. Here was a conflict between love and duty, but its dramatic possibilities are smothered in the pageant of Giorgio's magnificent reactions. Again, some play is made with the idea that the feminine tyrant destroys Giorgio's opportunities for a higher life. But there is no ground presented for supposing them to exist. Giorgio is given to us as an impotent neurasthenic, and all the harm that Ippolita does is to exhaust and exasperate him, so that there is no special tragedy except in so far as he is the feeble object that he is represented to be. As for his crime, that is quite unmotived. It might have happened with equal *vraisemblance* at the beginning of the book. It was a conclusive ending indeed, and therein lies its very weakness. Conclusive endings do not harmonise with the drama of reactions, and it is significant that in his later novels D'Annunzio has usually dispensed with them. After 'Il 'Trionfo della Morte' he no longer ends: he simply stops.

The particular criticisms suggested by 'Il Piacere' and 'Il Trionfo della Morte' might be amply illustrated from the three later novels, but, in order to practise the stern economy necessary in dealing with an author so provocative of critical expansion, it is necessary to pass on. 'Le Vergini delle 'Rocce,' shorn of its first part—an artistic excrescence showing D'Annunzio's method of building up another of those impossible

heroes that so ludicrously reflect his own megalomania—is nothing more than a singularly beautiful lyric poem, sung in a hushed tone of passionate melancholy, the intricate magic of its rhythm interwoven with cadences and harmonies reminiscent of an older world. The scene is laid in the parched, mysterious landscape of Calabria, where in a crumbling palace three virgins of a decadent line are dreaming and longing wistfully. The line and tone of the prologue are perfect. In a silver haze of morbid yearning the three maidens of the house of Capece Montaga—Violante, the type of luxuriant beauty, Anatolia, the type of comradeship, Massimilla, the type of submissive adoration—droop symbolically against a background of flowers and fountains. The scene is a curious mixture of mysticism and sensuality, so that one can hardly avoid evoking the features of Rossetti's women joined to the attitudes of an Albert Moore. The news of the arrival of Claudio Cantelmo, the D'Annunzianesque Zarathustra-Bunthorne, who boasted of a Socratic ' daemon ' and a ' stile ' non violabile,' imparts a vague motion to the statuesque figures. Their hearts flutter as the rose-leaves in a summer wind, and with the poet we follow their beautiful poses as the cruel enchanter stirs their hopes in turn. The ostensible purpose of Claudio is to choose a wife worthy to bear his miraculous offspring; but this is purely immaterial, for all Claudio's actions and ideas are grotesquely inharmonious with the poem. In the allegory he only represents the desire and selfishness of man, at whose temptation Violante pressing violets in her voluptuous fingers, Anatolia supporting her sickly brother, Massimilla with her book of devotion, move singly and together through attitudes of longing and jealousy, despair and renunciation. It matters little, too, that nothing comes of it. Claudio rejects Violante, tempts Massimilla, and, in a final blaze of poetry on Mount Corace, hears Anatolia renounce the freedom that he offers; for the ballet is over, and the performers with a supreme *plastique* compose themselves at the fall of the curtain into harmonious immobility.

The exquisiteness of ' Le Vergini delle Rocce ' is contained in its vague symbolism: its great deficiency is in the appearance of the first of D'Annunzio's extravagant Supermen, who is wholly out of the picture. What Signor Gargiulo calls the ' paroxysm of the Superman ' occurs in the three

tragedies 'Gioconda,' 'Gloria,' and 'Più che l'Amore,' but the discussion of D'Annunzio's use of the conception arises very conveniently out of 'Il Fuoco.' This is, perhaps, the most generally famous of all D'Annunzio's novels. For sheer luxuriance of pictorial image and rhetorical splendour it is unsurpassed; in it, says Mr. Henry James, the 'mixture of 'every element of personal charm with every insidious local 'influence, glamour of place, season and object reaches its 'maximum.' In a tremendous rhapsody it blends the glory of Venice glowing in the richness of autumn with the passion of a great poet and a great actress. It is impossible not to feel in reading it, as Madame Schumann felt when Liszt was playing, that, however much we may dislike it or find it alien to our own artistic conception, its demoniac *bravura* sweeps away, at the rush of its irresistible whirlwind, every feeling but admiration. It has not the common brilliance of mere virtuosity, but the rare brilliance of that exceptional virtuosity which, far from being a laborious acquisition or even a familiar garment, is part of the innermost fibre of certain great artists. We may, indeed, realise afterwards that 'Il Fuoco' is hardly a story at all, and that it begins as a 'poetic, pathetic, psychologic ceremonial'—to use Mr. James's expression—only to end in the flattest triviality; that its action, such as it is, takes place in absolute isolation from all the multitudinous relations composing social life as we know it; that its moral implications and its dramatic causation are equally vague and inadequate; and that conflict and suspense are wholly absent: but all such criticism is stultified if we have not been carried away by the supreme artistry, and, if we have, its pulverising effect is remarkably attenuated.

It is not D'Annunzio's smallest achievement that an Englishman (who can read Italian) may succumb to the potent spell of 'Il Fuoco' although the character of Stelio Effrena inspires in him an inevitable repugnance. Not only Stelio, but Claudio Cantelmo, Andrea Sperelli, and Giorgio Aurispa would seem to us, in the flesh, both disgusting and insufferable; but it is the first two, being D'Annunzio's Supermen, that peculiarly alienate our sympathy. Their wonderful talents are baldly stated without being proved, while their loathsome defects of conceit, morbidity, selfishness, and self-indulgence

are detailed by their creator with a sickening complacency. It would be indelicate, perhaps, to touch upon D'Annunzio's personal interest in these heroes of his: from his novels and poems, and a glance at Mr. Max Beerbohm's diabolically clever caricature, anybody may draw obvious conclusions. But the Superman in D'Annunzio calls for criticism on much broader lines. It is a commonplace that a reader's repugnance is no test of a character as an artistic creation; it is, in fact, an essential of a great artist—a Balzac or a Dostoevsky—that he should sympathise more than ordinary men with human aberrations. The failure of D'Annunzio's Supermen lies in this, that they deserve no sympathy because they have no human verisimilitude. They are neither heroes nor eccentric geniuses nor lunatics, but simply abstractions of certain passionate qualities to be found in exceptional human beings of that kind—self-indulgence, overweening sense of personal power, disregard for suffering, and acceptance of any sacrifice. To a man of D'Annunzio's temperament the Nietzschean conception, as ordinarily understood, made a strong appeal. In it he found, as Signor Gargiulo profoundly sees, a means of sweeping away the obstacles and conflicts that assail the 'visivo-sensuale' in the moral and social life of the world. In a flash he pictured to himself the great artist, the man of unbending will, imperious desirés, and a superhuman faculty of finding beauty in their satisfaction, existing in a world that neither trammelled his actions nor fell short of his vast imagination. Such a world is a logical contradiction, a contradiction which accounts for many unrealities in the novels. To attain any dramatic *vraisemblance* at all he was forced to place the action in the narrowest of limits and practically apart from all human relations but that of sexual passion, and at the same time he was obliged to convey an impression of vastness, profundity, and ineffable power in the hero's imaginative contact with externals. Try as he will he cannot make such a hero explicit. Claudio Cantelmo's account in 'Le Vergini delle Rocce' of his self-development, his formation of a 'stile non violabile' and individuation of a pure Latin type is no better than the raving of a megalomaniac. Had he been presented as such, all would have been well; but he is given to us as perfectly sane and reasonable—in fact, as D'Annunzio's idea of a perfect human being. Stelio

Effrena is equally impossible: he is simply an abstraction of poetic eloquence and imagination moving in gigantic improbability among ordinary men and women. His dreams are vast and magnificent, but they are as little realised for us as Claudio Cantelmo's conflict with his will. The exiguous dramatic import of these Supermen is ridiculously disproportionate to their frenzied pretence of holding a universe in their grasp. They are profuse in such stars of eloquence as Ruggiero Flamma's words in 'Gloria': 'Per te ogni giorno io tenderò la 'mia vita verso le mire che non fissò nessuna speranza. Per 'te ogni mio giorno sarà impresso da un' azione potente 'in cui tu riconoscerai la specie della mia anima come in un 'suggello imperiale'; but D'Annunzio fails to conceal the fact that the stars issue, rocket-like, from a hollow case bound to a bare stick.

D'Annunzio's male characters, in whom the preponderance of his interest has always been fixed, must be frankly taken for what they are—reflected aspects of his own intense personality. If we credit him with a symbolism of *this* kind—unconscious as it probably is—the absence of dramatic truth ceases to distract our appreciation of the truth of observation in which his novels abound. As regards his female characters, all that can be said is that till 'Il Fuoco' appeared they were negligible. Elena Muti and Ippolita Sanzio are nothing but the complements and provocatives of a man's sensual passion; intellectually and psychologically they are devoid of content, and D'Annunzio's spasmodic efforts to supply a content, not only for these *grandes maîtresses* but for Donna Maria and Giuliana Hermil, only result in their temporary endowment with the personality of a D'Annunzianesque male. Donna Maria's preposterous diary in 'Il Piacere,' which might just as well have been written by Andrea Sperelli himself in an exceptionally embellished state of mind, is a type of all such insufficiencies. The idea of the eternal feminine, with which D'Annunzio has ever been obsessed, is the emptiest husk. To a man who alternately regards woman as the instrument upon which ravished and exquisite lovers play ineffable variations and as the devouring tyrant who robs the same exquisite heroes of their free development in strength and beauty, the kernel of female character must remain an unknown fruit. In 'Il Fuoco,' however, and in 'Forse che sì, forse che no,'

though the general representation of women is rather increased in extravagance, there are moments when women live and act by themselves with a completely convincing effect. From 'Il Fuoco,' partly because its author, with supreme want of taste, is eking out his imagination with an obviously real document, we carry away an unforgettable image of La Foscarina, the world-renowned actress, whose fading beauty gives the particular savour to her passion. The inspiration of La Foscarina was also a revelation to D'Annunzio. It taught him a few primitive facts which, being a master, he at once rendered superbly. Jealousy was one of these. In 'Il Fuoco' there is the germ of a superb drama, the love and jealousy of a beautiful woman from whom the day of triumph is slowly fading—the peculiarly hopeless jealousy of a woman who in the hour of adoration realises that the artist is insatiable and that she has no more left to give. Needless to say, D'Annunzio does not develop the germ, but in reproducing the mere emotion his style is masterly. There is a peculiarly striking passage where Foscarina is driven to recall her early struggles, the hunger and pain that taught her greatness; and as her lover listens she feels for one moment superior to the brilliant young poet before whom she has so abased herself, whose art had never been proved in the fire of suffering and despair. It is disappointing to find that in 'Forse che sì, forse che no,' which followed 'Il Fuoco' at an interval of ten years, the central feminine figure, Isabella Inghirami, is simply a reversion to the primitive courtesan type; but it is her sister Vana whose pitiful, agonized countenance remains in the reader's memory. She is ideally a sister to the yearning maidens of 'Le Vergini 'delle Rocce,' but instead of languorously posing, she acts to the finish a passionate tragedy of jealousy and unappeased desire. Her figure, heightened by every artifice of contrast and illustration, made lurid in an intensely morbid atmosphere, dominates entirely this remarkable book, throwing the D'Annunzianesque lovers, Paolo Tarsis the aviator and the lascivious Isabella, into the deepest shadows of conventionality from which the latter only issues, as a dramatic character, when the two sisters, with tragic force quite new in D'Annunzio, confront one another in Vana's bedroom.

'Forse che sì, forse che no' is indeed a remarkable book, both for its excellences and its blemishes. The plot is concerned,

for the first time, with four characters—Isabella, Vana, their brother Aldo, and Paolo Tarsis—instead of with one, or at most two. It is a relief, too, that neither of the men is a repetition of the Sperelli-Effrena type. Tarsis, pale as his outlines appear, is an embodiment, not of exquisite sensibilities, but of courage and daring, while Aldo, though his sensibilities are typically exquisite, is neither artist nor superman, but a morbid, passionate, unfledged youth, the counterpart of his far more vivid sister Vana. The story, though it is of great length and often remains immobile in tracts of drawn-out eloquence, has a variety of incident and an intensity of dialogue that makes it unique among the novels. Over-prodigal as his use of it may be, D'Annunzio's power of description has never risen higher. Passage after passage might be quoted—on the varied beauties of a clouded sky, the glory of flying, the torrid landscape of Tuscany, Pisa, and Volterra, Aldo playing the violoncello or Vana singing her swan-song—that burn like the purest flame. Against these merits must, unfortunately, be set, not only the deficiencies already pointed out—the narrowness of the relations, the predominance of mere emotion, the suggestion and immediate suffocation of dramatic possibilities, the abstraction of the characters—but also a peculiarly maleficent ugliness which has so far hindered the translation of this novel into English. D'Annunzio has always been as keenly stimulated by the unpleasant as by the beautiful: this part of his psychological heritage is amply reflected in all his fiction, but in none is it so obstinately and inartistically displayed as in his last novel. Objection cannot so much be taken to the nauseating miasma that pervades the whole action, for it may be regarded, perhaps, as fundamental to the whole idea and so far artistic; but there is pure perversity in the horrors in which the book concludes. There was no artistic reason for introducing the theme of incest, which had been far better treated in the author's 'La 'Città Morta,' and still less for the catastrophes that engulf the wretched Isabella. These latter, in fact, read less like the work of a novelist than a newspaper report of an actual sordid tragedy; indeed, there is much reason to suppose that D'Annunzio did here adapt a contemporary scandal that convulsed Italian society. It points to one quite obvious limitation of him as an artist—his readiness to be a journalist. There

is plentiful journalism in 'Il Piacere' and 'Il Trionfo della 'Morte'; in 'Il Fuoco,' as Mr Henry James points out, Foscarina's dramatically excessive sufferings make them appear as 'material actually possessed by the author' and give an impression of 'direct transfer,' and in 'Forse che sì, forse 'che no,' the final horrors apart, the importance given to flying is as clearly motived by a desire for journalistic display as it was artfully used in newspaper paragraphs to create an atmosphere of expectation for the appearance of this novel.

D'Annunzio, it must be confessed, makes his shortcomings evident with a surprising *naïveté* and a want of humour which would be more engaging if it were not so complacent. Yet his limitations and his lapses, regrettable as they are, no more obscure the splendour of his powers than sun-spots hide the light of the sun. Criticism, reflection, and restraint are alien to his genius, but their absence is counterbalanced by the magnificence of his artistic vision and the brilliant perfection of his style. The grandeur of 'style,' which for him is the distilled quintessence of an artist—his whole recognition of beauty, his will to create, his reaction to all circumstance, his inexhaustible treasure, his inviolable secret—has been superbly proclaimed by him with all the aristocratic pride of the Renaissance. He was born a poet: as such, it may be, he will be immortal. Yet his novels, for their very poetry and the marvellous chime of their Italian language, which D'Annunzio, a master-founder, has cast anew, do not deserve oblivion. The pursuit of plastic beauty as an end in itself has achieved nothing finer in literature. The aesthetic adventure, as Mr. Henry James has called it, may not be the highest, but men who can so consummately engage in it as Gabriele D'Annunzio are but rarely born in any century.

ORLO WILLIAMS.

THE BICENTENARY OF LAURENCE STERNE

The Works of Laurence Sterne. Edited, with Introductions, by WILBUR L. CROSS. New York: J. F. Taylor and Company.

AT a bicentenary roll-call the attendance is necessarily thin; but Sterne's right to appear and answer 'Adsum!' cannot be questioned. After the lapse of two hundred years, the world is still occupied with him: still reprints and reviews his writings; still debates whether he was a humourist or only a buffoon, a Lothario or only a flirt, a sentimentalist or only a mocker at sentiment. Alike for the critic and the biographer, in short, there are innumerable Sterne questions, to which it always has been, and always will be, impossible to give a final answer, because the response will depend upon the temper and point of view of the investigator.

One thing is certain: not all these questions can be examined within the compass of a single article. An essay which began with a discussion of Sterne's philanderings—the degree of passion involved in them and the warrant which circumstances afforded for them—would easily fill so many pages that there would be no space left over for the consideration of his literary influence. A whole book could be written about his relations with Eliza Draper—the Anglo-Indian grass widow who insulted his memory after his death; and a pamphlet, at least, would be required to contain all that could be said about his affection for Kitty de Fourmantelle—the public singer whom he appears, on the face of it, to have treated so badly, but whom he, nevertheless, continued to invoke, at intervals, in 'Tristram Shandy,' as his 'dear, 'dear Jenny,' long after the date at which he hurt her feelings by making inadequate excuses for not inviting her to tea. Nor would it be proper to isolate either of these branches of the subject. Both of them, to be treated adequately, would have to be treated in relation to the reported tantrums of Mrs. Sterne, and her alleged addiction to the bottle.

Nor is it in the least necessary, in attempting to estimate Sterne's literary influence, to deal at length with

his various amours, or dwell upon his domestic felicity or infelicity. The sentimental incidents in his career—those of them, at all events, about which his biographers have been able to obtain information—did not occur until after the full development of his genius. Consequently it is forbidden to his critics to write of them as if they had helped to form it. Indeed, it might be difficult to name a writer so ostentatiously sentimental who gives one the impression of having drawn so little on his own sentimental experiences. In the case of the great French writers of the sentimental school, from Rousseau to George Sand, we both feel and know that they have 'lived 'the life' before sitting down to write it. Jean-Jacques has left it on record that when he was writing of Julie he was thinking of Mme. d'Houdetot; and all George Sand's lovers, from Alfred de Musset to Chopin, pass in procession through her books. In Sterne's case, sentimentalist though he loudly claims to be, nothing of the kind is perceptible; and the invocations above noted to his 'dear, dear Jenny' are not to be cited as evidence to the contrary. These are only 'asides'—whimsical intercalations dropped in to please the writer and perplex the reader. They have nothing to do with the story, and the story has nothing to do with them. One might say, in short, that there is as little indication that Sterne's inventions were suggested by any specific love-affair as that they were inspired by his clerical researches in the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer.

The actual sources of his inspiration were, no doubt, various. The great exemplar whom he continually boasts of imitating is Cervantes; and it would be easy enough to represent that he owes to Cervantes this, that, and the other of his creations. Corporal Trim, one might say, is Sterne's Sancho Panza, just as Sam Weller is Dickens's Corporal Trim. But the imitation has been passed through a temperament, and subjected to other influences. Of these other influences the most potent was the convivial society which assembled at John Hall Stevenson's 'Crazy Castle.'

This was a resort at which convivial clergymen used to unbend in the company of still more convivial squires. The bottle circulated with freedom; and jokes were cracked, and stories told, with greater freedom still. As is apt to be the case in such circles, when the finer senses are blunted by the

narcotic effect of good old port, many of the stories, no doubt, were devoid of point, and indecorous merely for indecorum's sake. This jovial company formed the most intellectual atmosphere obtainable in a Yorkshire country parish, and Sterne can hardly have failed to derive from the applause of these well-soaked squires a portion at least of his conception of 'what the public wants.' At all events, one finds many stories interspersed through the pages of 'Tristram Shandy' concerning which one may say with confidence: 'Either 'Sterne picked up that story at Crazy Castle, or else he first 'rehearsed it there, and decided to put it in his book because 'it was so well received.' The story of the accident caused by the sudden descent of the window with the broken sashes is such a story; so is the story of the hot roasted chestnuts which rolled off the dining-table; and perhaps even the more famous story of the winding-up of the clock—the starting-point of Sterne's wise discourse on ante-natal influences—should also be brought into the category.

Most of the denunciations of Sterne which have ruffled the waters of criticism—from the time when Dr. Johnson called him 'the man Sterne' to the time when Thackeray called him 'the foul Satyr'—are apparently traceable to these stories. To Thackeray, indeed, Sterne seems to have been little more than a buffoon who cracked unbecoming jests, and treated Mrs. Sterne in a manner which would have warranted his inclusion in the gallery of the Book of Snobs. That, at all events, was Thackeray's attitude on the rostrum, though his proceedings at the desk were those of a disciple who not only copied Sterne's prose style but would very likely never have written the famous scene of the death of Colonel Newcome if he had not read the equally famous scene of the death of Le Fevre.

Nothing was easier, of course—especially for a lecturer addressing a Philistine Victorian audience—than to make out a case against Sterne on account of these jests and stories, which offend even readers who make allowance for the more outrageous coarseness of Smollett. Sterne seems to be deliberately going out of his way to do what Smollett did naturally because he was a coarse-minded animal; and if these exhibitions constituted the whole of Sterne, there would be little more to be said on the subject. But they do not.

Sterne was a sentimentalist as well as a jester; a phrase-maker as well as a sentimentalist; a creator as well as a phrase-maker. His work is organic in the sense that the whole is more than the sum of the component parts. When one has read it, the mind retains a picture as well as a recollection of scattered anecdotes. There have been many deliberate and some unconscious (albeit with a difference to be noted) imitators both of the picture and of the artist's method; and though Sterne did not found a school, he came near to founding one. The names of his most distinguished scholars are Dickens, Bulwer-Lytton, and Robert Louis Stevenson. There are passages in Stevenson's 'Travels with a Donkey in the 'Cévennes' which might have been transferred straight from the pages of the 'Sentimental Journey.' Stevenson, in fact, even imitated Sterne in the intercalation of perplexing phrases meant to mean nothing to anyone except himself and a mysterious inamorata—the lady whom he eventually married.

To say that, however, is not to say that his work stands in the main line of literary descent. The history of the evolution of fiction is the history of the attempts of novelists to follow the pathway towards reality. First we get the story-tellers who merely tell the story for the story's sake. Then we get the Romanticists who tell us, in the form of fiction, what they have felt; and from them we pass to the realists who tell us what they have observed about their neighbours, both individually and in the mass, and what they consider to be the inner significance of those observations. Later there has come a tendency to pass from judgment to advocacy and proselytism, and to take a side, not merely for or against a hero or a heroine, but for or against a cause or a philosophy, and to make a novel a manifesto in favour of the amelioration of the world on new and original lines. That is the course of the progress in French fiction from Rousseau and Mme. de Staël, through Balzac and Flaubert, to MM. Paul Bourget and Maurice Barrès; and that is the course of the progress with us—though with us there have been more side-currents—from Samuel Richardson to Mr. H. G. Wells.

Sterne and his followers obviously have no place on this genealogical tree. Even Sterne's sentimentalism and his frequent appeals to the tears of sensibility do not give him a

position on it. His attitude towards tears always strikes one as objective: the attitude of a man, that is to say, who draws more tears than he sheds. Or, if he does shed tears, he sheds them over some object external to himself. He sees some pathetic scene—whether it be a dying soldier or a dead donkey—and he describes it in exquisite prose; but these passages are expositions of pathetic spectacles, occasional and transitory, not revelations, such as the Romantic writers indulge in, of a soul harrowed by personal distress. One may find the real tears of a real sensibility in the Letters which he addressed to Eliza; one does not find them in the works which he dedicated to the public. When he appears before the public, he is not confessing, but giving a performance. He makes his public cry, and, when he thinks that they have cried enough, he makes them laugh. He seems determined, as it were, to have the whip hand of his public—standing aloof from them, as a whimsical and fantastic master.

Indubitably he got the whip hand of them, being a performer of consummate skill; and yet it is not always quite easy to see how he managed to get it. Above all, it is a little difficult to see how Sterne contrived to conquer his public with 'Tristram 'Shandy,' almost as quickly as Dickens conquered it with the 'Pickwick Papers.' The success of a good many of the masterpieces of the same period—of 'Tom Jones,' for instance, and of 'Roderick Random,' and of 'The Vicar of Wakefield'—does not in the least puzzle a twentieth-century reader. They might almost succeed with us as new books, unsupported by their reputation as famous classics, if only a few passages were deleted and a few, quite inconsiderable, modern improvements were introduced, to remove the impression that they were old-fashioned. But to put oneself in the position of the readers whom 'Tristram Shandy' took by storm is not so simple a matter. On the contrary, one cannot help wondering that they were not disconcerted and rebuffed by that excessive proportion of 'cackle' to 'hosses' which perturbed the critic of the circus in the American story.

Of course there is 'cackle' and 'cackle'; and we all know writers who are never so delightful as when they let their pens run away with them and chatter at random about nothing in particular. But one would be disposed to say, at the first blush, that if irresponsible writing of this character is to be

widely popular it must at least be easy to understand; and it certainly cannot be said that the irresponsible writing in 'Tristram Shandy' invariably fulfils that condition. It would be easy to cite paragraph after paragraph which must be puzzled over, much as one puzzles over an ode of Pindar, before it conveys any distinct idea or image to the mind. Let us pick out one or two such passages at random and see:

'As not one of our logical writers, nor any of the commentators upon them, that I remember, have thought proper to give a name to this particular species of argument,—I here take the liberty to do it myself, for two reasons. First, That, in order to prevent all confusion in disputes, it may stand as much distinguished for ever, from every other species of argument—as the *Argumentum ad Verecundiam*, *ex Absurdo*, *ex Fortiori*, or any other argument whatsoever:—And, secondly, That it may be said by my children's children, when my head is laid to rest,—that their learn'd grandfather's head had been busied to as much purpose once, as other people's:—That he had invented a name,—and generously thrown it into the Treasury of the *Ars Logica*, for one of the most unanswerable arguments in the whole science. And, if the end of disputation is more to silence than convince,—they may add, if they please, to one of the best arguments too.'

That is one example; here is another:—

'Now, before I venture to make use of the word *Nose* a second time—to avoid all confusion in what will be said upon it, in this interesting part of my story, it may not be amiss to explain my own meaning, and define, with all possible exactness and precision, what I would willingly be understood to mean by the term: being of opinion, that 'tis owing to the negligence and perverseness of writers in despising this precaution, and to nothing else—that all the polemical writings in divinity are not as clear and demonstrative as those upon *a Will o' the Wisp*, or any other sound part of philosophy, and natural pursuit; in order to which, what have you to do, before you set out, unless you intend to go puzzling on to the day of judgment—but to give the world a good definition, and stand to it, of the main word you have most occasion for—changing it, Sir, as you would a guinea, into small coin?—which done—let the father of confusion puzzle you if he can; or put a different idea either into your head, or your reader's head, if he knows how.'

Which latter rambling discourse leads up to the grave announcement that when Sterne writes Nose he means Nose, and nothing else. It is a joke of a kind: a joke constructed like a pyramid, with a broad base, and tapering away to an

almost imperceptible point. Sterne is rather fond of constructing his jokes in that architectonic style—which is also the style of humorous schoolboys; and one can picture our rude forefathers feeling that he had condemned them to wade through a morass of words, and asking: Why should a man take so much trouble to write like that, when so many other ways of writing are open to him?

Indubitably there were those among them—both men of intelligence and average men—who did raise that objection. Goldsmith raised it, going so far as to call Sterne 'a dunce' who sought to obtain the reputation of a wit by false pretences. Gray raised it, declaring that, though there was 'much good 'fun' in 'Tristram Shandy,' humour was 'sometimes hit 'and sometimes missed.' Horace Walpole raised it, failing to get to the end of the third volume, and protesting that the book 'makes one smile two or three times at the beginning, but 'in recompence makes one yawn two hours.' Even the boon companions raised it, when Sterne read extracts from his work aloud to them at Crazy Castle. They appeared so bored, it is said, that the author, in disgust and disappointment, pitched his manuscript into the fireplace, whence it was happily rescued by his friend John Hall Stevenson. If the passages which he read were those above selected for quotation, one can understand that the audience was weary and perplexed. Men full of port would naturally have seen nothing in them but intricate arguments, exceedingly difficult to follow, about matters of no particular importance. Their inevitable impulse would have been to say, with the circus critic in the story: 'Cut the cackle and come to the hosses.'

Sterne does not cut the cackle, but he does, in the end, through the efflux of time, come to the horses; and then we realise that the cackle has not been irrelevant. Somehow or other—the author alone may be supposed to have known exactly how—it has filled in the background, created the atmosphere, and enabled us to realise the characters. We perceive that the process, even if tedious, was necessary, and the best things in 'Tristram Shandy' would have missed most of their effect if the attempt had been made to relate them separately as short stories, without the preliminary prattle. Then we should lose the piquant contrast between the sentiment and the absurdity. Notably Uncle Toby's action in the

matter of Le Fevre would amount to no more than an anecdote if that simple-minded original had not first slowly insinuated himself into our intimacy; and the narrator's comments thereupon would have had no value except as a fine phrase. Of all the passages in Sterne this is the one which has been most often quoted; but it is worth quoting here again:

'An' please your honour, said the corporal, he will never march but to his grave:—He shall march, cried my uncle Toby, marching the foot which had a shoe on, though without advancing an inch,—he shall march to his regiment.—He cannot stand it, said the corporal;—He shall be supported, said my uncle Toby;—He'll drop at last, said the corporal, and what will become of his boy?—He shall not drop, said my uncle Toby firmly.—A-well-a-day,—do what we can for him, said Trim, maintaining his point,—the poor soul will die:—He shall not die, by G——, cried my uncle Toby.

'The Accusing Spirit, which flew up to heaven's chancery with the oath, blush'd as he gave it in;—and the Recording Angel, as he wrote it down, dropp'd a tear upon the word, and blotted it out for ever.'

The phrase is familiar to innumerable readers who have forgotten, if they ever knew, the context. It is the same with a good many of Sterne's phrases. Shakespeare and the Bible have both often received the credit of 'God tempers 'the wind to the shorn lamb'; and the incident of the buzzing bluebottle is by no means always in the minds of those who quote: 'This world surely is wide enough to hold both thee 'and me.' Sterne, beyond question, was wonderful as a phrase-maker in an age in which phrase-making was still in its infancy; but it is none the less true that, if he had been only a phrase-maker and nothing more, the phrases would long ago have been forgotten. They may be independent of their context now; but it was through their context that they first gained currency. A good thing may perish for lack of a good context, as surely as the memory of a great hero may perish for lack of a sacred bard. Joubert's Aphorisms—to take the first example that occurs—have undergone that fate. Sterne's memorable phrases live because they seemed to be, in the first instance, the real utterances of real men in real situations.

Real in one sense, that is to say, but quite unreal in another; for there are two distinct kinds of reality in fiction. The writer who observes produces one impression of reality; the

writer who creates produces quite another, as we see in a moment if we compare our feelings with regard to certain prominent characters in familiar works of fiction. It is often said, for instance, that Pickwick is a very real personage because we should know him if we met him in the street. It might just as truly be said that he is a very unreal personage because we feel absolutely certain that we never shall meet him in the street. On the other hand, such personages as David Copperfield, and Pendennis, and Maggie Tulliver, and Mme. Bovary, and M. Homais impress us as people whom we might meet any day of the week, though the novelist happens to know them better than we do, and delights us by revealing their souls and explaining the motives from which they act. The difference between the two groups is not the difference between the portraits drawn by a copyist and a caricaturist. It is the difference between the work of the man who realises the world about him, and the man who lives in a dream and peoples his own world with the fantastic creatures of his imagination—creatures more real to him than any of the world's actual inhabitants.

Sterne's creations have that sort of subjective reality. They are real to the reader because they are real to the writer, but only in a limited sense. We see them clearly enough—the picture has no blurred outlines. We laugh at them, or even laugh with them, if the occasion offers. In a way, and up to a point, we may even become attached to them; but we never quite lose the sense that they are performing dogs, made to dance for our entertainment, or shadows which would vanish into thin air at the first rude touch of the realities. We may recognise them as persons of like weaknesses with ourselves, but certainly not of like passions. We may laugh at ourselves when laughing at them; but that is almost the limit of our sympathy. We are not moved when they suffer; and their creators, as a rule, know this, and are too wise to let them suffer. We should not be harrowed if a real tragedy befell Mr. Pickwick; we should only feel that the illusion was broken. It would be the same if a tragedy befell Uncle Toby. His courtship of the Widow Wadman might easily, indeed, in real life, have preluded one of those poignant matrimonial tragedies which furnish the theme of half the modern novels; but if that tragedy had been related, we

should not have believed in it any more than we believe in the reality of the experiences which moved the elder Mr. Weller to utter his warning against widows.

It is largely, if not solely, because of this fantastic, unsubstantial character of his literary creations that Sterne stands, as we have said, outside the main line of literary descent, whereas Richardson—who, nowadays, seems much more old-fashioned, and is much more difficult to read—stands within it. One must not say that Sterne's fiction does not criticise life,—it does. But it criticises it in the mocking spirit of the amused spectator of externals, and without any serious attempt really to portray the thing criticised. Here is a man, one is always being made to feel, who refuses to take life seriously. He could do so if he liked—he begins to do so in one or two pathetic scenes; but life as a whole he persists in contemplating in the spirit of a mocker. The effect is unique,—there is nothing else in literature quite like it; but it does not fulfil the function which has gradually come to be regarded as appropriate to novelists—the function of interpreting life while depicting it. Consequently even the writers who have felt Sterne's influence, and set out to imitate him, have generally contrived to get a considerable distance away from him before they have finished.

Even in France he has been imitated; but there the imitations have almost inevitably come to nothing. Personally, Sterne was exceedingly popular in France, where he was regarded, according to M. Texte, 'as a kind of prophet of the 'new religion just brought into fashion by Rousseau, the 'religion of *self*.' It must have been 'The Sentimental 'Journey,' with its literary charm, rather than 'Tristram 'Shandy,' which accounted for that estimate; and even so, one can hardly say that it is satisfactorily accounted for. The points of resemblance between Sterne and Rousseau are quite superficial; the lines of difference are extensive and deep. A biographer may, indeed, find resemblances between Sterne's passionate Letters to Eliza and Jean-Jacques' ravings about Mme. d'Houdetot; but those letters were not yet written when Sterne shone in Parisian society; and the critic's view of the matter must be, that Sterne's peculiar vein of whimsicality—his quick transition from pathos to quip—is at glaring variance with French mental habits.

A French writer not only knows perfectly well himself whether he is serious or not, but takes very good care that his readers shall know it too. He is no more ashamed of his emotions than he is ashamed of his wit. If he sets out to write sentimentally, he lets himself go, and deliberately makes a show of himself, never buffooning in the midst of a serious situation except for the purpose of indicating that he on his part declines to regard it as serious. He differs from Sterne in being serious throughout, whereas Sterne is only serious in patches. He does not write, like Sterne, as a man who enjoys an emotion here, and then, after an interlude of mockery, turns off to enjoy another emotion there, but as a man whose whole life is one sustained emotion which he feels impelled to put into a book. The French writers who most resemble Sterne are purely comic writers, like that quaint humourist the late Alphonse Allais, who was absolutely incapable of Sterne's pathos. Their ostensibly sentimental writers do not resemble him in the least. As Mr. Wilbur Cross puts it :

> 'Without Sterne, the course of French literature for the next generation would have been in all essentials exactly what it is. The great sentimentalists—Saint-Pierre, Sénancour, Chateaubriand, and Madame de Staël—descend not from Sterne but from Rousseau.'

And Rousseau, he might have added, in so far as he had an English origin, descended, as he himself avowed, from Richardson.

Sterne, in short, was never 'in the movement,' and never exercised any perceptible influence on the movement, in France; and such French imitations of him as exist—that by Diderot, for instance—are hardly distinguishable from parodies. In England the case is different; but even with us his position has been that of what naturalists call a 'sport' or a 'freak,' rather than that of a force. We cannot 'place' him, as we can place Richardson, Fielding, Scott, Jane Austen, Dickens, Rousseau, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Flaubert, in a general scheme of orderly literary evolution. His influence has been too indirect and spasmodic for that. What we find is that many authors who do not, in a general way, resemble him at all, have pilfered from him, or have copied his style, or have borrowed his tricks for obtaining their effects; while a novelist here and there has deliberately imitated him in a single

book, and then, in later books, shaken himself free of the influence.

A parallel between Sterne and Mr. Kipling would, no doubt, be difficult to establish; though in Kipling's favourite phrase 'that's another story' we have a remark originally addressed by one of the characters in 'Tristram Shandy' to Dr. Slop. Charles Reade may have learnt from Sterne his trick of dropping the thread of a narrative and picking it up two hundred pages further on, as if nothing had happened. Dickens's account of the naming of Oliver Twist is unmistakably reminiscent of the account of the naming of Tristram Shandy, though Dickens, on the whole, looked at life with very different eyes from Sterne. Stevenson, as we have pointed out, drove his donkey through the Cevennes 'under Sterne's banner,' though he afterwards deserted that banner for others. 'Pick-'wick' could largely be cast from the characters in 'Tristram 'Shandy'; and Mr. Wilbur Cross points out a far more deliberate imitation by Bulwer-Lytton in the romances of his later period:

'We have in these novels [he writes] a very clear echo of the best things in "Shandy"; indeed it is so clear that Bulwer must have felt that he could count on there being no readers of Sterne in his audience. The Caxton household was modelled directly on Shandy Hall. There is the elder Caxton, a musty scholar of mild heart and "soft sweet voice"; the meek Mrs. Caxton; her brother Jack, who has lost his fortune in philanthropic schemes; and the son, who was christened Pisistratus by mistake. Uncle Toby's fly in due time reappears, only it is metamorphosed into a moth which by great exertions is prevented from flying into a lighted candle. For evoking the kindly affections, the elder Caxton has as companion in his walks a lame and dyspeptic duck, which he feeds with his own hands, and in absent moments stoops to tickle under the left ear. Go on further, and one comes to Yorick's donkey, who in Bulwer's version is thrashed for munching a thistle, and is afterwards consoled by the village parson with a "rosy-cheeked apple."'

Plagiarism could hardly go further; and the parallel has been given at length because it is the most convincing of all the illustrations of our point, namely that Sterne was far more a model than a torch-bearer; that he has often been copied because he was unique; but that, for the same reason, his influence on the copyist generally ceased when the work of copying was done. For, closely as the Caxtons resemble the

Shandy group, Bulwer Lytton's general attitude towards life is surely not in the least like Sterne's, as one realises in an instant if one tries to picture Sterne writing 'Pelham,' or 'Paul Clifford,' or 'Ernest Maltravers.'

It should be added, however, that between the origin and the imitations there is always one conspicuous difference. It is not the difference between genius and talent, for some at least of the imitators were, like Sterne himself, men of genius; the difference is that the imitators never fail to give us rather less of the 'cackle' of which we have spoken, and rather more of the horses. If Bulwer-Lytton begins by being fantastic and whimsical in imitation of Sterne, he ends by being melodramatic on his own account. If Mr. Pickwick is, in essence, a later Uncle Toby, he is, at least, an Uncle Toby who is always up and doing; and the story of his relations with Mrs. Bardell is far richer in incident than the story of Uncle Toby's relations with the Widow Wadman. Even in Stevenson's account of his travels with his donkey, a good many more things happen than in Sterne's 'Sentimental 'Journey.'

In part, no doubt, that is a concession to modern literary tastes; in part, unquestionably, it is the reflection of more active and less contemplative temperaments. In Sterne's case, the standing marvel is that, in a book which, at the first glance, appears to consist of rambling remarks, often of no great value, about everything and nothing, there is nevertheless drawn, with sure strokes, an immortal picture of an immortal household. The imitators, it is obvious, have always felt that they could not produce the effect, or anything like it, unless they modified and elaborated the means; and so they kept their characters on the move, and evolved their plots. Whether that is a sign of weakness and inferiority we will not stop to argue. All that we insist upon is that Sterne's results have never been attained through Sterne's methods by anyone but Sterne himself, though novelists have had rather more than a hundred and fifty years in which to observe, at their leisure, what he did, and consider, equally at their leisure, how he did it.

SOME PERSIAN MEMORIES

1. **The Middle Eastern Question.** By VALENTINE CHIROL. 1903.
2. **The Persian Revolution.** By Prof. E. G. BROWNE. Cambridge University Press. 1910.
3. **Peeps into Persia.** By DOROTHY DE WARZÉE (Baroness d'Hermalle). Hurst and Blackett. 1913.

A YEAR ago when the 'Titanic' went down I told the news to Sohrab, a Persian friend of mine, whose philosophy runs in a shady stream with a light windy ripple over it, where a man may sometimes get a surprising rise if he throw a fly in season. Sohrab was not startled as Europe and America were startled by the news of the colossal disaster, for in truth American millionaires were nothing to him. But his imagination grasped the fact that people of vast importance had suddenly been swallowed up, and that two continents were unable to think of anything else. He was impressed by this; but the moral which he drew was, as usual, comforting. Persia might be behind the times, but at least there were some evils which she was spared.

'After all, it is better to travel on the lame donkey as we do,' said Sohrab. 'The sea is a cold and unwholesome place, 'and a hole in a ship's bottom leads to more unpleasantness 'than a sore on a donkey's back.'

For my part the lame donkey with a sore back, a too common sight in Persia, affects me more unpleasantly than the 'Titanic' disaster, which, though none of us admit it, produced in all of us an agreeable sensation of excitement. But on the main point Sohrab was of course right. Western civilisation has advantages if you are in a hurry, or if you want to kill people on a large scale. But you are for ever skating over thin ice, and a slip of the foot when crossing Piccadilly Circus, a slip of the tongue to the man at the wheel, a second's loss of somebody's nerve on motor, locomotive engine, ship, or aeroplane, will cook your goose. If you are not in a hurry and prefer to die quietly of disease or old age, or if you like to see a good deal of strange and exciting fighting with a fair

prospect of living to fight another day, the unregenerated portions of the East are the safest place.

It is not an easy or perhaps a possible task for a European to give an impression of what it is like to be born a little Hassan or Hussein in modern Persia. It is an odd thing to be born into a country which has behind it a long tradition in war, in literature, and in art, which makes its name ring magical in our ears; a country which is to-day a fallen empire, slumbering in the sun, forgotten by the busy West, remote from its ways and its works, unthreaded by its railways, known but as a name, remembered only by troubled statesmen who see in it a source of present worry and the sure promise of evil to come.

You may be the illiterate child of a peasant inhabiting some small green oasis in the wilderness, in which case your life to-day will probably differ in very little from that of your fathers for many generations. Camels, mules, and donkeys, the local *kanat* or watercourse, and the wrestling with the crops, will bulk largest in your life, as in theirs; the name of Allah will be for ever on your lips, though perhaps little in your thoughts; the raids of robbers, the exactions of tribal chieftains, and the occasional violence of real war, will trouble your existence in the old familiar way. Or you may be a town-bred school child and imbibe the classical education of the madresseh of Teheran or Isfahan, Arabic and Turkish, the Koran and the Thousand-and-One Nights, the funny stories that for ever make the East hold both its sides with laughter, the sweet songs and sayings of Saadi, Hafiz, Omar Khâyyám and many another, the daring speculations of innumerable poets and philosophers, whose acute brains have never hesitated to criticise this sorry scheme of things, and have even had the temerity of the German philosopher who detected errors in God as well. Or you may be a moss-raiding, cattle-lifting, free-fighting tribesman, living for loot like your ancestors, but possibly investing your military exploits with the new glamour and dignity of political aims, constitutional or anti-constitutional. Yet again, you may be educated in the West and speak one or other of the tongues of Europe, in which case the bitter irony of the past and the present will have seized hold of your spirit, and you will be an ardent 'nationalist,' dreaming, in the intervals of the old

careless Persian life, dreams of a strenuous future, of a Persian revival, of revolution, equality, republics, socialism, all that ever went with modern progress. These things are too hard for my imagination and for yours. It is perhaps a simpler and a better way to give you some broken fragments of my own experience, with which you may piece together in your own imagination a necessarily imperfect picture of life in modern Persia.

Wars show no sign of ceasing, but the trade of the war correspondent is a decaying industry. It is some consolation for those of us who were rash enough to drift into it that, though the first-class fields are no longer open to it, some countries remain where the trade may flourish. It is not first-class fighting, but in the minor revolutions and expeditions, which rarely fail in Persia, a man may see to his heart's content all the fighting there is. If he chooses to head the charges, no one will object, and no one worries much about secrecy. The comradeship of war is perhaps the best there is, and it was during the siege of Tabriz, in the course of various expeditions against the ex-Shah and Salar-ed-Dowleh, and on long marches day after day through troubled southern country, that I made more Persian friends than in the pleasant idleness of many months in Teheran. Sir Valentine Chirol, in 'The Middle 'Eastern Question,' has told us that never in his wanderings in many countries has he experienced any charm like that of Persian travel. Only the recollection of never-to-be-forgotten days in Albania prevents me from agreeing whole-heartedly with this learned judgment. Memory swings to a nine days' ride over the old road by Nobaran to Hamadan, at the end of September 1911, when Yeprem and the Bakhtiari sallied forth against the often beaten but still uncaptured Salar-ed-Dowleh. He is the most turbulent of the brothers of the ex-Shah, and his tattered flag of rebellion has been waving intermittently in Persia for the last two years. Day after day we rode for hot and dusty but cheerful hours, till we reached the village which was the day's halting-place. They are rich villages in that fertile district. Most of them had already been occupied by the enemy and had suffered much. I fear they had no great reason to welcome us, for though Yeprem kept his men in hand, the Bakhtiari swept up what loot was left, even to the very samovars; and day by day the

burden of the mules in our baggage column grew. My plan was to ride as near the top of the column as possible, get into the village early, make for the best house I saw, and commandeer it. The owner, on hearing my unexpected announcement that I proposed to pay for everything with which he supplied me, and that I would also keep the Bakhtiari out, instantly became my grateful host. Sometimes, however, I was beaten by guile. There was the occasion when Hassan, best of servants, had shot a chicken in the courtyard for his master's supper, and carefully left it on the verandah, believing that my presence in the adjoining room would secure its safety while he went to water the horses. There was a smiling Bakhtiari on a verandah across the narrow street, who held up a large bunch of grapes from his store, and offered them to me. Still unfed and parched with thirst, I gratefully accepted. He came across with his present, sat down, and entertained me with light-hearted conversation. He left me overcome with gratitude, subsequently modified when Hassan returned and burst into uncontrollable wrath against an unknown thief, none other than my Bakhtiari friend, who had removed the chicken.

My quarters were shared by Sohrab Khan—not the philosopher, but a young doctor, who was one of the best and most extraordinary men I have ever known in Persia. He had had his medical training at Lyons, and was very skilful in his profession, but his heart and soul were in the reform movement in his country. He knew no fear, and no European could have displayed more ceaseless energy. He accompanied every expedition in the double capacity of soldier and doctor. He was with Yeprem when the Nationalists took Teheran in 1910; he was with him again in the wars of Ardebil; at the death of Arshad-ed-Dowleh; and in the wars against Salar-ed-Dowleh; finally he was killed a year ago by Yeprem's side, when the latter was shot, in another battle at Hamadan. Day by day he took his share with the army, with a rifle and double belt of cartridges, and when he arrived at our quarters ran up the Red Crescent, got out his camp-beds and bandages, and with the assistance of a very small staff installed his hospital. Queer things we did on that journey. For days we had with us, sleeping in a small adjacent room with an open door between, a patient whose diphtheria was so bad that it sounded

as if his throat would burst. How he survived the daily ride was a mystery. Even Sohrab said he would die, but he did not do so, and the hard and healthy life saved the rest of us from infection.

In the evenings we would all gather in the quarters either of the Bakhtiari or of Yeprem for a council of war. Tall Bakhtiari warders, with long silver staves, stood outside in the courtyard to show that the great Khans sat within. But access was denied to no one of any importance, and it was a large council that sat on the floor, grouped round the greater gods. The chief event of the evening was always the examination of the spies who returned from a supposed hard day in the enemy's country. Pleasant and wonderful liars they were, and could always be counted on to delight the company with an interesting tale of their own achievements, their clever disguises, and their hairbreadth escapes. They did not belong to the army, but were local villagers well acquainted with the country. To me their tales frequently sounded too good to be true, so that I suspected that they had done little more than ride out of sight. I think the whole of the company often thought the same, but no one breathed such an unkind suspicion, and at every witticism of the spy, at the smart repartees which he had made to the enemy who had captured and cross-examined him, at his brilliant improvisations of having come to look for a brother who was reported to be in their village, or to do a deal about a mule, or to visit a sacred Imam Zadeh, there would be a roar of mirth and cries of 'Barak Allah! Barak Allah!' from the crowd of black-eyed listeners. Thus encouraged the spy would proceed to higher and finer flights, above a deep gurgling obbligato from the waterpipes which his audience smoked.

It was on this journey that an American gendarmerie officer, who had come out with me as a spectator of the expedition, fell ill at a critical moment. The little army swept forward and I was left behind to take charge of my companion, who had been but a short time in the country and could not yet speak the language. After a terrible twelve hours in which he fought with an old Philippine fever, we struggled forward. We made a day's march and hoped to reach camp at nightfall, but when the sun set it became clear that we had lost our way. My friend could hardly sit his

horse and had to take frequent rests, but for three hours more we struggled on in the dark, climbing hills and searching vainly for the lights of the camp. My servant, Hassan, kept close to us with the mules and baggage, and by ten o'clock, when we struck some fresh water and green grass, much as I feared for my unfortunate friend, I decided that there was nothing for it but to bivouac, as we had seen no human habitation for hours and were completely lost. Fortunately I had a bed for my friend, who was in high fever. I dosed him with quinine, and ate supper alone with a shamefully good appetite. It was a perfect night of stars, and I shall long remember my odd sensation of complete physical comfort, as I lay warm and comfortably tired upon the ground, drinking in all the enchantment of the night, yet feeling at the same time a strong twinge of remorse at the contrast between my own content and my companion's misfortune. A glorious dawn found him a little better, but the wonderful sunrise threw little light on our situation. We were in a high dingle surrounded by great hills. Armed with a pair of field-glasses and a Mauser pistol, I climbed the highest to scan the surrounding country. When I reached the topmost point, some miles away in the clear blue I saw two great eagles come sailing across the valley. They were at first but distant specks, coming out of the north, but they had seen the intruder and flew towards me. Larger and larger they grew, till finally they poised above me and glared down upon me from a height of perhaps eighty to one hundred yards, tremendous objects with outspread wings, almost motionless, one to the right and one to the left. I raised the Mauser pistol, and foolishly fired at the one between me and the sun, missed it, and disturbed it no more than to make it slightly swerve. But I turned round and fired at the other, which dropped stone dead with a tremendous whirl of wings, while its companion sailed away. It was a great, clean-fed eagle with a head and breast of glittering gold, and a spread of wing 8 ft. 2 in. from tip to tip. I hauled it down the hillside to the bivouac, where Hassan gutted it and salted it. From the top of the hill I had spied a village almost hidden among thick trees, not more than two miles away. We made straight for it, and by great good luck we had found the army. We had been stumbling in the dark round the very spot for which

we were looking, and had gone to sleep almost within sight of the camp. There I got some alcohol for the eagle, but it was many days before it reached Teheran, a sorry and, in spite of my poor precautions, a none too sweet-smelling sight. The taxidermist made something of it, but the short golden feathers on the crest and throat had suffered badly.

The village we had stumbled into was Bagh-i-shah, where Yeprem fought his great engagement with some six thousand of Salar-ed-Dowleh's men. It was a sharp four hours' fight, in which Yeprem's quick-firing guns did heavy work. Twenty-four hours later I rode over the battlefield and counted as many as seventy blackened corpses, before giving up in disgust a task which I had by no means half accomplished. Horrors make a recital which one would prefer to avoid, but it is always worth while to discredit 'glorious' war. Worse than the shattered bodies of the dead men and horses were the wounded, still untended, yet still alive. There was one man who lay with face black and with his body swollen up to enormous proportions. He looked dead beyond all hope, but as I watched him I saw every few moments a bubble form at the hard congealed mass of his wounded mouth. At first the awful thought that there could still be the breath of life in this terrible object came to me, but Sohrab Khan quickly reassured me. It was only, he said, the foul gas from the swollen corpse. There was a wounded soldier from Kirmanshah, no tribesman but just a poor *topje*, one of the ragged town artillerymen who had been swept up into Salar-ed-Dowleh's miscellaneous horde. His ankle bone had been shattered by a bullet, and was already rotten. He had dragged himself to some brackish water, and had a store of bread in his waist-cloth. We gave him cigarettes which he smoked with famished eagerness, and then we set about the gruesome job of dressing his wounds. There was another Englishman there, who did the real work. He cut away the boot with a clasp knife, cleaned out the swarming maggots from the hole, fixed it with clean cotton wool and antiseptic bandage. My part was only to hold tight the poor wretch's hands, and help him to control his appalling agony. He did not shout, but his teeth sawed together and his eyes rolled in a way terrible to see, while his nails dug deep into my flesh. Then in the midst of the most excruciating pain he raised his head, wrenched

both my hands down towards him, and covered them with kisses. But presently his pain was over. We gave him more cigarettes, and told him a mule would be sent out to pick him up.

Then came an incident characteristic of the country. Yeprem's braves were a miscellaneous lot, as I have already indicated. Just as Sohrab Khan was half a doctor and half a fighter, so did others ply a double trade. One of his stoutest followers, an Armenian from the Caucasus, is in normal times a professional photographer at Teheran, and whenever he goes to the wars his great professional camera goes with him. The picturesque photo is a great institution in the East, and no Persian hero omits to be photographed on any possible occasion. The photographer was making the round of the battlefield with a group of friends, and had paused to watch the dressing of the Kirmanshah gunner's wound. For some reason it does not appear to have occurred to him to photograph the group at a moment when we were intent on attending to the soldier and would not have observed him; yet, as though it were the most natural thing in the world, when we had made the poor wretch comfortable, he solemnly proposed that we should pose for him, and reproduce the tableau of my friend cleaning the wound while the soldier kissed my hands. His astonishment was great when we rejected this offer, and I imagine there are still moments when he wonders why it did not seem to us an appropriate thing to do. The cinematograph man has little to teach the Persians.

The photographer did not show a fine taste on this occasion; but no picture of Persia in these later days would be a fair one if it omitted to take account of the Armenian element. There is a prejudice in many quarters against Armenians which I have at times shared, but my personal experience of the Armenian irregular fighter has greatly raised him in my estimation. The ordinary Armenian of the towns has frequently the worst characteristics of a subject race, and it is by him, unfortunately and inevitably, that the whole of his people are generally judged. But there is an Armenian peasant, a true mountaineer, who has qualities of bravery that would merit comparison with Bulgar peasants, and has in addition an element of poetry and passion which a Serb cannot eclipse. It is worthy of note, too, that he takes on

some of the characteristics of the country in which he lives. The Armenian of Constantinople is perhaps little better than the Armenian of a Persian town, but the country-bred Turkish Armenian is infinitely braver than any Persian Armenian, and the Armenian from the Caucasus is perhaps better still. Amongst all the heroes of Tabriz and Teheran I doubt if there was a single Persian Armenian. Several had learnt the language, but the native tongues of all were Armenian and Turkish, and they came either from Turkey or from Russia. Some of them were men in every sense, and their memory will not easily leave me. The greatest of all was Yeprem, a man who would have been remarkable in any company. He had the great head and lustrous eyes of a poet, and a low-toned, musical voice, as gentle as a woman's. Yet he was a born leader, swift in surprises, and a terrible martinet when occasion demanded. His origin, like that of all his brotherhood, was mysterious, and he had been known by many names. Rumour said that he was the son of a bricklayer, and it is certain that the Russian Government had sent him to Siberia, whence he had escaped to Persian soil, and at Resht thrown in his lot with the constitutional movement. He fought innumerable fights with mere handfuls of men, always against tremendous numerical odds, and was never once defeated, so that his name rapidly became legendary and the mere announcement of his presence would strike terror into a Persian host. He was a prey to an internal disease, but he told me he knew that he would never die in his bed; and his words came true at Hamadan, when he and Sohrab Khan fell together. Others there were, of that terrible brotherhood of the Dashnakzutiun, who used to sing the 'Marseillaise,' in memorable evenings at Tabriz, with a contagious rolling swing that might have lit the fires of revolution in the soul of a usurer. Swarthy, deep-chested, merry fellows, with the inevitable bandoliers and Mauser pistols on them even at their feasts, they made a curious company. In truth, only dimly and slowly did I begin to guess what an unusually curious company they were. Most of them had wandered far. Some of them had addressed national socialist congresses, of one variety or another, in Fleet Street or its neighbourhood. One of them told me in a moment of confidence that he had been concerned in the

Peckham murders. There was another, still more terrible, whose identity was only revealed to me long afterwards. It was he, I was told, who attempted to assassinate a viceroy of the Caucasus, and he was the chief executioner of the Dashnakzutiun Society. His victims were all fellow members of the Society, who were condemned to death for breach of rule, and I was told that he himself admitted having committed over two hundred murders in fulfilment of the Society's decrees. He passes under many names, and when I last heard of him he was said to be in India on a mission which I do not attempt to guess. The Armenian who revealed his identity to me had concealed him on his southern journey from Teheran to India, and gave me an interesting account of his conversation. The executioner had expressed himself as weary of his work. He told his friend that all his life he had acted from devotion to the revolutionary cause, and had carried out the Society's terrible decrees without the slightest doubt that he was doing right, and in fulfilment of a sense of duty. But with the advance of age doubts had begun to creep upon him, and self-disgust was seizing hold of him. He professed an intention of finding a quiet haven in a foreign country, and devoting his declining years to making his peace with God.

Then there was Rustum, keenest but not most successful of bomb makers. He had a little laboratory where he spent many hours preparing hand grenades for the besieging force to throw at the enemy, but I always remember him with one or other of his arms bound up, as the result of premature explosions in working hours. There was an evening when we rode round Tabriz, making a reconnaissance together, and in old doorways Rustum would place experimental bombs, that I might view his results. I showed what sympathy I could, but poor Rustum was disappointed. The doors always withstood assault, and were only spattered over with small marks. Rustum could speak French well, and I have seen him hold a whole room enthralled while he recited passages from Byron and from Scott's 'Lady of the Lake,' in Armenian and Russian. I have a letter before me now which he wrote to me some time afterwards from Constantinople. It is on the notepaper of the Dashnakzutiun Society, headed with a dagger crossed by a pen, and begins: 'Cher compagnon 'd'armes.'

It was early in the siege of Tabriz that I first got to know Zoarabian. Well I remember him, brushing the snow from his rough fur cap one morning in Sattar Khan's house at Amrakiz, whither he had come to join in counsel. Vartanian came with him too—Vartanian who had seen much war and whose fiddle ravished all hearts.

Zoarabian was an Armenian from the Caucasus, and a tiger to fight. But he was not one of the soldiers of fortune who had swept into the fighting city with the autumn storms along the Julfa road. He was a Russian exile of old standing, and had for some years lived in Tabriz a sober, upright, and respected life. His wife and family were with him, and he lived in a large and comfortable house. His children married in Tabriz, and Zoarabian had become a leading member of the great Armenian community of the city. Remembering that his head was forfeit in Russia, he eschewed politics, and lived in peace. The Russian Consulate molested him not at all, and may well have been in ignorance of his honest mercantile existence.

Then the troubles came, and last of all the siege, and Zoarabian did not hesitate. He defended the town.

After that first meeting I saw him often, and we became friends. He would come and sit for long in the rooms that I had rented behind the Consulate for the special reception of 'politicals,' the Anjuman and their friends. Sometimes—as at Easter, 'for the sake of Holy Religion'—he would pay me a ceremonious visit, but his informal calls and confidences were frequent.

Once he asked me to a party, still a rueful and comic memory. The message came to me through Haji Khan, my Persian secretary, and whether the description of the entertainment was due to an error on Zoarabian's part or on Haji's, it reached me as an invitation to dinner. Accordingly at eight o'clock, the appointed hour, I betook myself to Zoarabian's house, and found a large company sitting ranged in a row on hard bent-wood chairs, all round a room. There was no Persian there except Haji Khan; the remainder of the company consisted of the Armenian and Georgian Fedai, the backbone of the defence, and a number of Armenian ladies, their relatives, all dressed in their holiday best. Sweet biscuits and glasses of hot tea circulated freely, and presently the company became

gay. Vartanian played the violin, and country dances started. For an hour or two no suspicion of the truth dawned on me, for in those parts of the world one may dine at any hour, and eat and drink anything as a preliminary to dinner. But as the evening wore on and songs and dances alternated, it became clear to me that the unfortunate Haji Khan and myself were the only two of the company who had not already dined, and that this was an evening party. It was a merry party enough, but perhaps the person who was most amused was the British Consul-General, with whom I was staying. I returned to him towards midnight, and made him produce from his larder a large ham—a thing of great value in those days of siege.

When the Russian troops came, and the siege was over, Zoarabian returned to his peaceful way of life. He became once more a plain, useful citizen of Tabriz. For a time no one molested him, but some six months later his account came. What his old political offence was I do not know, but the Russians had not forgotten. The following winter he was arrested and hanged. Others suffered a like fate. Last year Ijlal-el-Mulk, who had been Governor of the town during the siege, visited Teheran and came to dine with me. I asked after old friends, but was soon discouraged. The first four for whom I made inquiry had been hanged.

To give a true picture of the siege of Tabriz, it is unfortunately necessary to make allusion to some less pleasant characteristics of the Persians. The town was theoretically governed by an Anjuman, a miscellaneous collection of mullahs and other notables, who sat on the floor of a large room and spake such wisdom as the spirit prompted them. The *de facto* governors were the two generalissimos, Sattar Khan and Bakir Khan, whose relations with the Anjuman were of the politest and most ceremonious kind. But this smooth exterior was a cloak for an extensive system of blackmail. It was a common thing for the leaders to bring out some of their men to the outskirts of the city, fire off some cartridges in a futile demonstration, and the same evening demand 1000 tomans (about £200) from the Anjuman, for the expenses of a supposed sanguinary battle in the afternoon. Occasionally the smooth surface was abruptly broken, and I was present once at a violent scene when Bakir Khan threatened to hang the dignified members of the Anjuman, because they did not accede to his

demands for money. The result of this forcible appeal, which Sattar Khan supported, was a 'benevolence' of 8000 tomans, part of which was used to pay the riflemen their daily dole. But it returned to the central chest, for the riflemen had to purchase bread at a high price, and the leaders controlled the corn supply. The balance of the sum was confiscated in a simpler fashion. Bakir Khan, sunning himself in his prosperity, was building a house, and had many workmen to pay. After the last fight of all, the leaders, who had not thought it necessary to take part in it, demanded 15,000 tomans from the unfortunate Anjuman, of which 2500 was paid. Sattar Khan gave a bill for the remainder as a subscription to the Relief Committee—a magnificent, but chimerical, donation.

Saddest of all was the fact that, although the Armenians cared well for their poor, it was impossible until the very end of the siege to organise a relief committee for the general Persian populace, many of whom died of hunger. No members could be found to undertake the duties of treasurer and distributors who could inspire sufficient confidence in any committee or any possible donors. Only at the very end of all was a committee formed, yet in spite of the precautions taken in selecting it, some of the funds given by benevolent Europeans for the relief of misery were misappropriated. The subject is not a pleasant one, and I do not propose to deal with it further; but the impression left on the mind by this intimate glimpse of a Persian town in an hour of trial was that almost everyone was, in the vulgar phrase, 'on the make.' Even the mullahs had to be paid for the eloquent addresses with which they stirred the patriotism of the crowd, and discourses could only be bought on strictly cash terms.

The town was attacked on three sides. At Basminch was the camp of Ain-ed-Dowleh, the military commander of which was Arshad-ed-Dowleh, who was shot by Yeprem in September 1911, after the battle of Verameen. On the south side was Samad Khan, who on one occasion did me the honour of illuminating his camp because I was supposed to have been killed. Time has brought him his revenge. He is now the Shuja-ed-Dowleh, and governor of the city which he besieged in vain. On the Julfa road were Rahim Khan and the Suja-i-Nizam, governor of Marand. The latter was blown up by a bomb, which reached him, oddly enough, by parcel post.

When he undid the string which bound the parcel, the bomb exploded. For the next six months after that, every parcel which reached careful people was put into a bucket of cold water and opened in the garden.

The young Suja-i-Nizam, son of the victim, who took his father's title and governed Marand, was so ill-inspired with regard to myself, whose part in the defence had been much exaggerated by the tongues of rumour, as to offer a reward to anyone who should succeed in removing me from the earth. Sitting astride the Julfa road, and knowing that I must one day come out of Tabriz and pass along his road, he had a fair chance of catching his supposed enemy himself, and he was believed to derive considerable enjoyment from the prospect. But in the end fate was unkind to him. After the Russian troops had relieved the town and controlled the Julfa road, his position at Marand, with a large mob of followers disappointed in their hope of loot, became daily more difficult. When I set out he was reported to be still at Marand. I drove to Marand to spend the night there, feeling confident that, though there were no Russian troops in the town, their presence in the near neighbourhood, on the Julfa road, would ensure my safety. I found on arrival that Suja-i-Nizam, believing that his game was up, had departed the day before with 1500 men, leaving behind a deputy-governor and about 100 men.

The deputy-governor thought that affairs had taken the wrong turn, and that politeness was the better part. He came to pay me a visit and to assure me that I should be surrounded by a guard all night. In the course of conversation candour grew upon him. Suja-i-Nizam, he said, had sworn an oath on the Koran that if ever I should try to pass this road I should not reach Julfa alive. 'It is perhaps fortunate for 'your Excellency that he left Marand yesterday.' I thanked him for this interesting information, and speculated whether this jovial deputy-governor, who was inquiring so tenderly after my 'august health,' might not also a week earlier have taken quite a different interest in the aforesaid health. It is a curious sensation to have a feeling of enmity towards a person you do not know, and it is odd to observe the different values one attaches to unknown people. I had no strong feeling of hatred towards any of those who had attacked Tabriz, but I have always felt that I did not much care for Suja-i-Nizam,

and I do not think he can really be a nice person. He had irritating tricks. That he should prevent the post running on the Julfa road, from Tabriz to Europe, was eminently reasonable, but a gentleman would not have added insult to injury. I have before me now the fragments of an article which will never be published. Suja-i-Nizam stopped the post which was carrying it, tore it across, and sent it back to me. I tried again, and posted to my editor the fragments that remained. But this time the post fled back to the city under fire. After that there was no further attempt to get a post through.

Four years have followed that first experience, but the Persian scene has retained its character. I remember the performance of Sultan Selim's play at Ijlal-el-Mulk's house in Tabriz, an item in a series of festivities that accompanied my departure. We sat, a dozen spectators, in a great room with rich rugs, and watched the marionettes perform in a booth behind red gauze, with three candles as footlights. We watched merchants, sweepers, soldiers, fireworks, thrones, kings, courtiers, ladies with red silk crinolines—who sang a marriage hymn to a Shah—male dancers, acrobats, wrestlers, tumblers, and more ladies. And all the time from a little orchestra came the beating of a drum, and the subdued music of the East rose and fell in our ears. There was a magician, a master of sarcastic humour, who did tricks that you may see in a different form at a Christmas party, but which may have been originally invented by the Magi. The marionettes and the magician make a parable of the ever-changing, irresponsible Persian scene. Its infinite variety is infinitely good. Things that are evil in themselves are often redeemed by some gay gust of brilliance, by some half-revealed touch of inspiration, or by the simpler charm which is found wherever and whenever this old world is still young. But for those to whom the soul and the fate of a nation are a thing of high import, the Persian stage is set for tragedy. The acts are long drawn out. Now, as four years ago, there is sullen war in an unsettled country. It is hard to foresee the end, and it is perhaps harder to believe that it will be good. Or possibly it is best to remember that nothing ever really comes to an end, in Persia least of all.

ARTHUR MOORE.

THE ARCHITECTURAL IMPROVEMENT OF LONDON.

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IT was remarked once by an eminent novelist that while Paris is a city, London is a collection of villages. If there is something of rhetorical exaggeration in this—something of that anxiety to make a 'point' which was the besetting sin of Macaulay—there is nevertheless too much truth in it to be pleasant. Paris presents, in the setting out of her most important streets and open spaces, that character of grandiose symmetry of design which seems the fitting architectural expression of the dignity and importance of a capital city. The most remarkable example of this is seen in the great axial line which stretches from the centre of the Louvre quadrangle along the Tuileries Gardens, across the Place de la Concorde (where it is punctuated by the central obelisk), along the Avenue of the Champs Elysées, to culminate in the magnificent Arc de l'Étoile, and to be continued to the old fortification lines by the Avenue de la Grande Armée. And this, the architectural backbone of Paris, is not the mere scheme of a day or of one intellect: it represents the completion of an idea which has been steadily kept in view for a century and a half, and carried out, part by part, till it has become an accomplished whole. It symbolises the history of modern Paris. The same principle of axiality is illustrated in other portions of Paris. Gabriel's two fine elevations stand symmetrically balanced at the head of the Place de la Concorde, the central street between them leading up to the façade of the Madeleine, while at the south end of the open space the Pont de la Concorde continues the axial line to the central feature of the home of the Legislature. Midway between the two noble art-palaces in the Champs Elysées, the Pont Alexandre III. starts another central vista, terminated by the world-famous dome which now marks the last resting-place of Napoleon. The Pont d'Iéna, again, gives on to the

central axis of the Champ de Mars; and when the Galerie des Machines is cleared away, and the Eiffel Tower—that brutal advertisement of an ironfounder, erected in defiance of the protests of all artistic Paris—is finally scrapped, this vista will lead up to another fine building of Gabriel's, the École Militaire; in each case the bridge, the avenue, and the buildings mutually supporting and adding dignity to each other, as elements in a deliberately planned and thought-out scheme.

There is nothing like this in London, if we except the Queen Victoria memorial road, the first attempt at anything of the kind; and even in this case it has required two or three years of argument and polemical correspondence in the press to arouse any decisive public feeling in favour of an adequate and dignified completion of the scheme at its eastern extremity. Not that our vast city—sublime, as Dr. Arnold thought, 'with 'a sublimity beyond that of the mountains or the sea,' sublime to the moral sense—is without outward and visible material beauties of its own. We have in our Houses of Parliament one of the finest architectural conceptions in the world, ancient or modern, in comparison with which the analogous edifices of Paris and Berlin represent, respectively, only architectural commonplace and architectural ponderosity and ugliness. To the genius of its architect, our greatest mind in architecture since Wren, we owed a splendid scheme for a comprehensive grouping of all the Government Offices in one long procession of buildings on the west side of Parliament Street and Whitehall, each Department with its own quadrangle of buildings, but all linked together by intercommunication —a scheme far too grand for our vestryman's ideals in public architecture, so that it remained only on paper, while we proceed to carry out our Government buildings, bit by bit, on separate and isolated sites. One great public work London did achieve during the Victorian era, the construction of the Thames Embankment; this, too, rather late in the day; it had been foreseen and suggested nearly half a century before by Napoleon, who said to an English visitor at Longwood 'You do not know what to do with that fine river 'of yours; you should make a great boulevard along it.' London as it exists can show many picturesque passages of architectural scenery, such as furnished the late Mr. Herbert Marshall with matter for a whole series of beauti-

ful water-colour drawings; but, as Lord Curzon said in his speech at the Mansion House meeting of the London Society, 'London is beautiful by fits and starts, in nooks 'and corners, in parts and sections. Nobody contemplating 'this huge area can say that it is beautiful as a whole.' As a capital city, in fact, London is deficient in architectural stateliness and architectural unity. Picturesqueness is the architectural virtue of villages and of small country towns; stateliness is the architectural virtue of large cities, more especially of capital cities. Now picturesqueness is a quality of spontaneous growth; it cannot be produced by artifice and contrivance; attempts so to produce it are always failures and proclaim their own unreality. But stateliness can be produced by design and forethought; nay more, it cannot be produced otherwise.

But in past times, and while the most important portions of modern London were in process of development, no thought or attention was given to any questions of axial alignment or of the architectural relation between buildings and street lines. The idea that there is any special need for axiality in town-planning, or anything to be gained by it, seems to have been absolutely foreign to the English mind. Even in the case of two structures so closely connected, in every sense, as the Albert Hall and the Albert Memorial, this was overlooked or thought immaterial, and the Hall and the Memorial are a few feet out of centre with each other. A French architect who had been guilty of such a blunder would have made himself a public laughing-stock; but in London no one seems to think anything of it. A worse fiasco of the same class is to be seen in the recent treatment of the Marble Arch. Many people are not aware that this arch formerly stood at the west end of the Mall, where it formed a central entrance to the courtyard of old Buckingham House; and why it should not have been re-erected to serve a similar function in connexion with Buckingham Palace is not very apparent. In its position at Cumberland Gate, however, it still had, until the recent alterations, the appearance of being a State entrance to Hyde Park, though not in fact used as such. As it stands now, at the side of a short-cut carriage-road which is not even parallel with it, it is absolutely unmeaning and absurd, a standing memorial of the want of architectural common-sense

on the part of the Government Department which is supposed to deal with the architectural improvement of London.

The case of the Constitution Hill arch is not much better. As it formerly stood, parallel with and facing Apsley House, the two together formed a kind of monumental entrance into the important thoroughfare of Piccadilly. The arch does still, it is true, form a gateway to Constitution Hill, but in regard to the open space before it, it faces nothing and is central with nothing. It might have been possible to render its present position logical and architecturally effective by a proper design and laying out of the space in front of it, but in fact the treatment of this space is of the most commonplace description, and is more like the road arrangements seen in the advertising plans of an estate agent than like anything which ought to have been devised or sanctioned by a Government architectural department. And the final mistake has been made in the exaggerated scale of the quadriga group which has been placed on the arch. Such a sculptural crown to the arch was part of the intention of its architect, an eminent man in his day; after the lapse of nearly a century it has at last been carried out; but anyone who looks at Decimus Burton's original design, of which there are illustrations in the Crace collection, will see that his proposed sculptural group was of much smaller comparative dimensions, and that the group now placed there is completely out of scale with the architecture.

In short, the more we look into the history of so-called London improvements which have been initiated under official sanction, the more evident it becomes that our official authorities, whether State or Municipal, have no perception of the proper aesthetic treatment of such operations; to judge from the results, we might suppose that they attach no importance to that side of the subject. If we come to consider our bridges, the case is even worse. In London and Waterloo Bridges, built nearly a century back, we have two really sublime structures of the kind; but these splendid examples did not prevent the erection of such a tawdry piece of vulgarity as Blackfriars Bridge. Vauxhall Bridge, built under the sanction of the London County Council, would at this moment be an added deformity to London, but that the design proposed by their engineer raised, on its public exhibition, such an outcry on

the part of all artists, that the Council apparently realised that they must do something to meet this criticism. What exactly happened no one knows for certain, for no public statement was made; but it is understood that the assistance of a very eminent architect was called in, with the result that the engineer's design, except as to its structural treatment, was withdrawn, and that the new bridge, though not equal to such monumental structures as London and Waterloo Bridges, may at least claim the merit of being a steel bridge in which metal details are treated with refinement and good taste.

The case of the Tower Bridge, in which the Corporation of London were concerned, is a still worse one; except as an excellent piece of mechanical engineering there is not a redeeming feature about it. The initial mistake lay in the assumption that, because it was near the Tower, it must be made to present a medieval aspect—a perfectly foolish piece of archaeological sentimentalism. But as the engineer decided that a steel structure was necessary for the towers in order to support the weight and stress of the suspension chains (or rather, hanging girders) to carry the shore spans, this had to be cased in a sham-medieval skin of masonry, presenting the appearance of a solid tower standing on a concrete pier which is in reality hollow, the masonry skin being actually carried on the lower member of the steel framing. The towers were really not necessary for any purpose except to carry a high-level footbridge; there was no occasion for suspension chains at all; the shore spans, 270 feet in bearing, could perfectly well have been carried by self-supporting girders.* To make matters worse, the actual connexion of the suspension chains with the steel structure is masked by the masonry skin of the towers, so that these massive steel chains, led through openings in the masonry, have the appearance of being supported by a stone structure which, if it were so, they would rake down at once. To cap the whole story, the high-level bridge has been found to be so little used that it has been closed; and without that there was no occasion for the towers at all; the bascule

* The central span of the Forth Bridge, between the ends of the cantilevers, is 400 feet, crossed by horizontal self-supporting girders.

opening spans would rise and fall just the same without any tower behind them. The result is that the whole of the structure above the roadway is so much absolutely wasted money and material, expended in the erection of one of the most preposterous pieces of structural and architectural sham that has ever been perpetrated.

Now the most unfortunate aspect of the subject is that serious mistakes of this kind, in public works on a large scale, once made, cannot be undone; they remain as permanent monuments of incapacity which cannot be got rid of. In two of the instances mentioned above the results are now generally recognised as unsatisfactory, or worse; but this was not perceived at the time. The removal of the Constitution Hill arch, and the treatment of the open space in front of it, received at the time general praise in the Press, and the First Commissioner of Works who directed it was congratulated on his brilliant achievement; yet in one of the most important recent works on town-planning this very scheme has been adduced as an example of the mistakes that have been made in London town-planning. It has taken people about thirty years to find out that a mistake had been made. The same with the Tower Bridge, which was hailed with acclamations on its first completion, one architectural journal (for which the present writer was then responsible) alone protesting against it, to the great wrath of its promoters; but London is saddled with it now as a permanency, though everyone who knows anything about architectural design and the artistic expression of structure knows that it is bad; artists of all classes, painters and sculptors as well as architects, regard it with absolute hatred: but there it is, and we cannot get rid of it.

How important is it, then, that such mistakes should not be made in what are supposed to be London improvements: that such schemes should be criticised and checked before they are permanently imposed on us. In France there is provision for this. Any public work on a large scale, if promoted by the State, must have the approval of the Ministère des Beaux-Arts; if a metropolitan improvement, promoted by the Paris Municipality, it must satisfy the Service des Beaux-Arts at the Hôtel-de-Ville. And these two official departments really do regard and judge public improvement schemes from the aesthetic as well as from the merely practical

point of view. In London there is no official department which does this. Whether it rest with the Office of Works, the London County Council, or the City Corporation, a street and building improvement appears, as far as one can judge, to be considered only in regard to two points—economy of cost, and convenience of street traffic; important considerations, no doubt, but surely not comprising all that should be thought of in the treatment of a capital city. It is owing to this eternal cry for economy that much of what we do in London public architecture is so small in scale, so deficient in grandeur. A parish church in Paris takes the dimensions which in England would be thought adequate for a second-class cathedral. Look, again, at the majestic mass of the Arc de Êl'toile, decorated (on one face at least) with one of the most powerful productions of modern sculpture, and reflect that we have nothing of the same kind to put alongside it but the paltry Marble Arch. But in England anything on the scale of the Arc de l'Êtoile would be dubbed a waste of public money. Many fine opportunities have already been lost in London; let us at least endeavour to make the most of those that are left to us, and to realise, and get the public to realise, that an economy which stereotypes an architectural mistake and nullifies an opportunity for adding to the beauty and impressiveness of London, is a purely mischievous form of the intermittent zeal of public bodies for the reduction of expenditure.

It is apparently in the hope of developing and putting in movement an enlightened public opinion on this subject that 'The London Society,' whose First Annual Report is before us, has been formed. The objects of the Society are set forth in the Note prefixed to the Report, some sentences from which may be quoted:

'London is the greatest city in the world, yet it is behind all the great continental and American cities in the consideration which has been given both to its present appearance and to its future growth.

'The aim of the London Society is to build up a strong public opinion and to provide a means by which Londoners can bring their influence to bear upon matters of artistic, antiquarian, and practical interest, so that by concerted action they may achieve something definite, and for the lasting good of this great City.

'The methods of the London Society will consist in supporting by

every means in its power such proposals as are good, and in bringing home to Londoners before it is too late the full meaning of those proposals which are bad or ill considered, so that pressure may be brought to bear on those responsible either to amend or abandon them. The Society will collect and provide such information as will enable its members to insist on due regard being given to the artistic as well as to the practical consideration. . . . Since the Fire of London, when Wren's great plan for the remodelling of the City was abandoned, countless other opportunities have been thrown away; they failed because public opinion was not sufficiently strong to ensure their adoption.

'It is believed that public opinion is now much more correctly instructed and alert, but it is only by combination that definite results can be achieved. The London Society will provide the machinery for combination if Londoners will supply the means for its organisation and support.'

The list of names of distinguished artists—painters, sculptors, and architects—who are included in the Council of the Society ought to be a sufficient guarantee of its competency to advise on questions in which the artistic improvement of London is concerned. We have no Ministry of Fine Arts, no official department whose mandate is to deal with public improvements from an architectural point of view. The London Society desires to supply this deficiency; to give the best advice on such points when invited to do so; to use its influence, even when not invited, to prevent the carrying out of schemes in themselves faulty and undesirable; to prevent the expenditure of money on costly mistakes which cannot afterwards be undone; and above all, to think out important projects for London improvement, and endeavour to promote their execution. The power of the London Society to act this part with effect must of course largely depend on the support which it may receive, and which it is earnestly to be hoped it will receive, from public opinion and public subscription.

In regard to a criticism which we know has been made, that a Society with these aims is proposing what is an intrusion on the province of the bodies who are formally and officially concerned with the treatment of London, the answer is, in the first place, that these bodies have shown experimentally either that they do not understand the subject of architectural improvement, or that they are indifferent to it. It is to the City Corporation that we owe the incubus of the Tower Bridge; the County Council would have imposed something

almost as bad on us at Vauxhall, but for public criticism; and as to the Office of Works, the record of its principal 'improvements' amounts almost to a catalogue of architectural blunders. But the more important reply is that neither the State nor Municipal departments, so far as they deal with public architecture, have any right to consider that London architecture is their property *pro tem.* to do what they like with. They are not owners of London: they are trustees, with a duty both to the present and to future generations. The architectural improvement of London is the concern *of every intelligent and educated Londoner*, and the departments which actuate the official machinery for dealing with it are responsible to the educated public, who may now be said to be adequately represented by the London Society. But both in State and Municipal departments a policy of secrecy is kept up in regard to all projected improvements; the desire seems to be to prevent the public knowing anything about what is proposed until it is too late to interfere; the object, with the municipal bodies, being apparently not to discover and to do what is best, but simply to have their own way, in a dull and obstinate defiance of all outside opinion. In the matter of London bridges this is especially the case. For many years past, every time a new bridge is intended, the fact has been kept a secret as long as possible; even when the intention has leaked out, no one is allowed to see any design; and then, when it is publicly suggested that we ought to have an opportunity of seeing and expressing an opinion on it, comes the stereotyped answer that 'the design 'of our engineer is already made and cannot be altered'; and any claim that the design ought to be subjected to architectural revision is scouted as involving 'an insult to 'our engineer, from which he must be protected.' Those words were actually used in the London County Council, in reference to the affair of Vauxhall Bridge. Is it not a monstrous thing that a bridge which may last for centuries is to be imposed upon us, in spite of perhaps unredeemed ugliness, because it satisfies the taste of the official engineer, whose whole education has dealt only with structure, and who has probably never in his life given a thought to the aesthetics of design?

At the present moment there are several new problems

in London improvement which call for special notice. One is that connected with the proposed new Post Office site. There is here an opportunity for a great improvement scheme which, unless a vigorous effort is made to support it, seems likely to be thrown away. It is proposed to erect a new Post Office building on the site, or nearly on the site, of the old building which has just been pulled down. The present state of the site is shown in Fig. 1, omitting unnecessary details. It is understood (for here of course the policy of secrecy is maintained) that the intention is to project the new building considerably southwards towards the line of Cheapside, removing the buildings which form a small island there at present. The bad effects of this procedure would be threefold. In the first place, the new building would have no symmetrical architectural relation with the existing Post Office facing on Newgate Street and St. Martin's-le-Grand. If the two buildings are to form one great Post Office group, it is a mere matter of architectural common sense that the southern boundary of the new building should be in line with the southern (Newgate Street) boundary of the existing building, so that the two should form a connected architectural group, as indicated in Fig. 2. Secondly, the result of extending the new building southward would be that the vista along Newgate Street would lead up to nothing but the projecting angle of a building. An important street should lead up to some definite architectural feature, not to an angle of a building the rest of which vanishes out of sight. Thirdly, it will be necessary before long, especially if the proposed St. Paul's Bridge brings a fresh stream of northward traffic up to the junction of Newgate Street and Cheapside, to form a new main north-easterly street from this point to Liverpool Street Station. If, instead of leaving an open space here, the new Post Office is allowed to cover a portion of it, we shall then be told that there is no outlet for the north-easterly street except by pulling down St. Vedast Church and going over the site of it, and we shall lose another of Wren's churches merely in consequence of a mismanagement of the site and an inability to foresee its consequences. Keep the southern boundary of the new Post Office in line with that of the Newgate Street façade, and there will then be left an open space for the distribution of traffic and for the opening into the new north-easterly

street, which would start to the northward of St. Vedast, a small garden being formed in the angle by the church. And

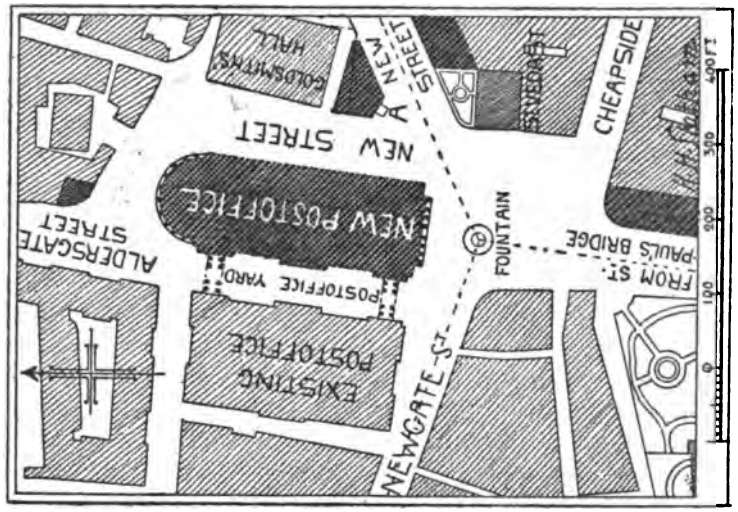

FIG. 2.—The Post Office site as it ought to be treated.

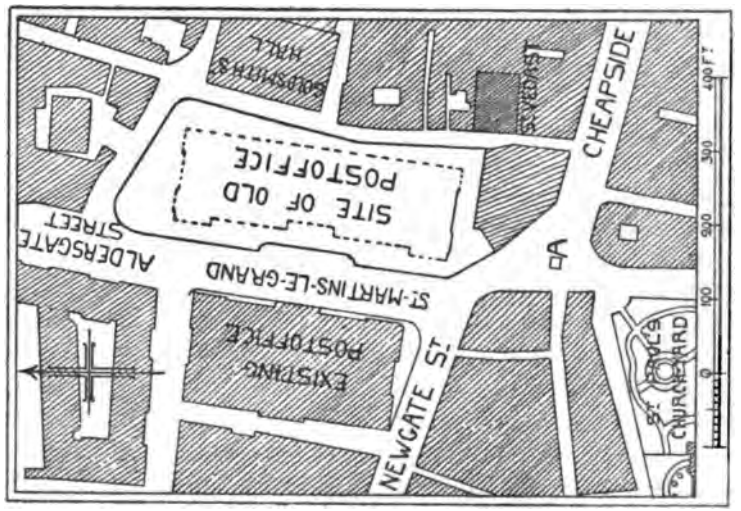

FIG. 1.—The Post Office site as existing.

in the centre of the open space a fountain or monument could be erected, as shown in Fig. 2, so as to be seen as a central object along the axial line of three different streets—Newgate Street, the new north-easterly street, and the widened street

from St. Paul's Bridge, at the east end of St. Paul's Churchyard. The Peel statue, shown at A in Fig. 1, where it is very much in the way, could be transferred to the angle by the new street (A, Fig. 2), where it would be in no one's way. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, instead of placing the new building exactly on the site of the old one, which is quite unnecessary, bring it nearer to the old building, as shown in Fig. 2, turning the main stream of public traffic to the east of the new building instead of up St. Martin's-le-Grand, and make the space between the two buildings entirely Post Office territory, a large loading-yard for vans with an architectural screen at each end. It is an absolute absurdity to leave the two Post Office buildings with a stream of public traffic running between them, when it would be perfectly easy to bring them into direct relation with each other. This alteration of the site of the new building, moreover, would bring it into axis with the centre line of the widened road from the proposed St. Paul's Bridge, and a columned portico on the south end of the building would furnish an architectural centre to the vista up that road. The whole, properly treated, should result in a very fine architectural effect.

Such is the opportunity afforded for dealing in a really effective manner with the Post Office site; no better one, we believe, can be suggested; and the official authorities will be responsible for another lost opportunity if they neglect it.

Turning to the subject of bridges, three new bridges are now in contemplation: Southwark, Lambeth, and the proposed new St. Paul's Bridge. Southwark Bridge, a remarkable erection of Rennie's, being a cast-iron bridge treated as an arched construction, is to be demolished, more on account of its unsatisfactory gradients than from structural defect; an eminent architect has, we believe, been appointed to superintend its architectural detail, which is so far satisfactory. In regard to Lambeth Bridge, there seems to have been a difference of opinion in the County Council as to the design placed before them, some members considering it to be too large and important for the situation, others that it was inadequate; and the matter has been for the present deferred. But there ought to have been no difference of opinion as to the importance of Lambeth Bridge, if it had been realised that it is on the line of the shortest and most direct route between Victoria Station and the

Tower Bridge and London Docks; and that considerably more than half of this street route already exists, and only requires

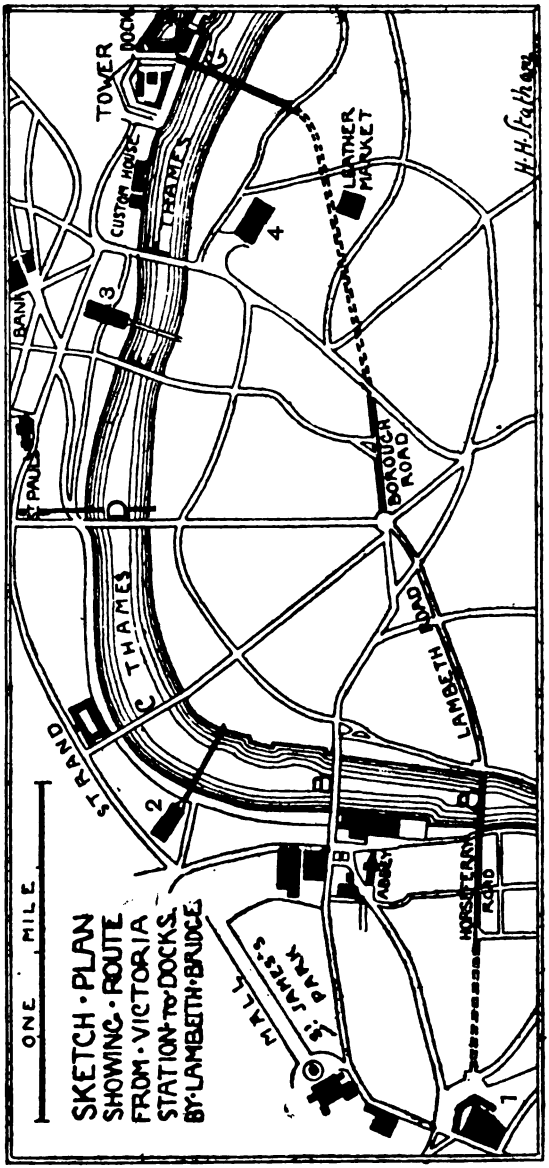

FIG. 3.

Existing streets on the line of route from Victoria to Tower Bridge and Docks.
= = = = New streets required to complete the route.
A. Lambeth Bridge re-built. B. Westminster Bridge. C. Waterloo Bridge. D. Blackfriars Bridge.
E. Southwark Bridge. F. London Bridge. G. Tower Bridge.
1. Victoria Station. 2. Charing Cross Station. 3. Cannon Street Station. 4. London Bridge Station.

linking up by two stretches of new street (See Fig. 3). This will almost certainly be done some day, with the result that there

will be a great stream of traffic along that route, which forms the chord of the great arc swept by the Thames between those two points; and Lambeth Bridge will then be one of the most important on the river, and should be designed and constructed accordingly.

The case of the St. Paul's Bridge is in one sense less simple, for it seems rather open to question whether the bridge is really required, or will ever be carried out. But if it ever is made, and the proposed road leading up to it, there can be no question, on architectural grounds, that the road and bridge ought to be laid out so that the dome of St. Paul's should form a central object at the end of the vista. There is at present no axial approach to St. Paul's at all; in every view from any important street it is only seen, as it were, sideways. In the proposed new road and bridge there is an opportunity for a grand architectural effect, showing the dome as the crowning object at the end of a long central vista; and it is perfectly certain that in no continental city would such an opportunity in connexion with a great building be allowed to be thrown away.* But, in accordance with our traditional English indifference to considerations of axiality in town-planning, it is proposed to carry the line of the road and bridge diagonally to pass the east end of St. Paul's, thereby sacrificing a grand effect, on the score of economy and a straighter route. When we look at the congeries of buildings just south of St. Paul's, some of which will have to be destroyed to get the new street through, one can of course see that to those whose eyes are blind to architectural effect the question of economy must in this instance bulk very large. But when the educated section of the public come to understand that in neglecting this great opportunity we are doing what would make us a laughing-stock to the architectural authorities of all continental cities, they will perhaps come to the conclusion that economy may be purchased at too dear a rate, and there will be a demand that the scheme should be reconsidered.

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* The fact that the bridge would be slightly skew to the river-line is an objection hardly worth considering; an eminent engineer, indeed, expressed the opinion that it might add to the picturesque effect of the bridge, and the dominating effect of St. Paul's dome would sufficiently justify the treatment.

Official bodies, both municipal and national, have to learn that there is something more in street planning than mere convenience of traffic lines; it is a matter of architectural effect as well. Good street planning and good architecture re-act on each other, and mutually enhance each other's effect. The War Office, for instance, though it can hardly be called great architecture, would have had a far better effect if it had been planned symmetrically in a space laid out for its reception. This was urged by more than one architectural witness (the present writer among them) before the Special Committee on Government Office Sites; but economy prevailed, and the War Office was left to follow the line of the street curbs, as if it had been an hotel or a speculative block of flats. This is what is called 'practical planning.' The word 'practical' has much to answer for; it is the practical people (so called) who have had much to do with the spoiling of London. Nothing great will ever be done until it is recognised that practical and economic considerations are not everything, and that it is no real gain to the community to sacrifice architectural effect in order to shorten a traffic route by half a minute or so.

In connexion with bridges, moreover, let it be remembered that a bridge in a capital city ought to be something more than a mere means of crossing the river. It should have monumental character, which can only be attained by the solid masonry erection of which London, Waterloo, and Putney Bridges are types. An arched bridge of stone or granite is so fine an object in itself that is very difficult to spoil it. Such a bridge adds dignity to a city; it carries the architecture, as it were, across the water; and if it costs more to build at first than a steel bridge, it is cheaper in the long run, for it will last many centuries longer, and does not require continual painting. But every time a new Thames bridge is proposed, the engineers seem fighting to destroy all this monumental effect by making it a steel bridge, and the Conservators of the Thames play into their hands by continually demanding wider spans, in order 'not to interfere with the 'river traffic.' The argument is perfectly futile. Below London Bridge, of course, the Thames is a great highway of shipping. But above London Bridge, what does this much-talked-of 'river traffic' amount to? An occasional

river steamer, or a small tug with two or three barges in tow. It is surely not worth while spoiling our bridges for this.

One consideration which needs to be strongly emphasised is the importance of planning comprehensive street schemes in advance, of which each local street improvement should form a part, and should be a step towards the realisation of the whole. Much irreparable mischief has been done by the neglect of this kind of foresight. A new street which at the time seems to be of only secondary importance is laid out and built as such; subsequently a new main route is proposed, of which this local street might have formed part had the whole scheme been set out in advance; now it is lined with buildings which cannot be bought up and the street widened without great, perhaps prohibitive, cost. This consideration is of special importance in connexion with the town-planning schemes of outlying boroughs around London. A comprehensive plan for new roads out of London has been drawn up by the Traffic Branch of the Board of Trade, though not yet sanctioned by Parliament; some of these roads will pass through borough townships, which are making their own street improvements quite independent of, perhaps in ignorance of, the Board of Trade scheme. If this scheme were once formally passed and adopted, the outlying boroughs could be compelled to make their street schemes in conformity with it, so that any street on the line of the main road which is to pass through their township could be set out of the necessary width, ready to be linked up to the main road when it is carried out. Unless this is done, in every borough through which a main road is to pass there will recur the same trouble, delay, and expenditure in buying up property and setting back street lines, all which might be avoided by having a general scheme accepted and acted upon without further delay. To ignore this principle, and allow road schemes to drift piecemeal, is an absolute want of common forethought, for which the public in the end will have to pay.

One can hardly quit the subject of London architectural improvements without commenting on the absurdity of the system under which the important post of First Commissioner of Works is treated as a political appointment, a means of finding a place for someone who has a claim on his party, and who may or may not have some special qualifications

for the office. Whether a competent or incompetent Commissioner is appointed seems to be a mere chance. We may at one time have a man like Sir Benjamin Hall, the most efficient First Commissioner on record, who ruled at the time of the old Foreign Offices competition, more than half a century ago, and who (to judge from the contemporary reports in an architectural periodical) thoroughly understood his business; we may at another time have such a typical Philistine as the First Commissioner who heralded his reign by the announcement that he 'intended to keep architects, market-gardeners, and other such persons, in their proper places.' There can be no continuity under such a system. What in the name of common sense have architectural improvements to do with party politics? The office of First Commissioner of Works ought to be a permanent one, independent of any change of government, and filled by some eminent man selected for his special knowledge and ability in dealing with architectural schemes. Then we might hope to see some good from it.

Among London improvements, besides those already referred to, which seem only waiting to be attended to, may be mentioned the formation of a boulevard and embankment on the south side of the Thames, from Westminster to Blackfriars, and the re-modelling of the National Gallery and Trafalgar Square into something worthy of their position. It is, alas! late in the day to start on the architectural improvement of London; many great and irreparable mistakes have already been made; but, in the words of Tennyson's 'Ulysses':

> 'Something ere the end,
> Some work of noble note, may yet be done';

mistakes in the future may at least be avoided, and perhaps something may be accomplished towards raising this great city to an architectural dignity worthy of its vast scale and its historic importance.

H. HEATHCOTE STATHAM.

THE URBAN HOUSING PROBLEM

1. **Practical Housing.** By J. S. NETTLEFOLD. Garden City Press. 1908; and T. Fisher Unwin. 1910.
2. **A Housing Policy.** By J. S. NETTLEFOLD. Birmingham: Cornish Bros. 1905.
3. **Model Bye-laws.** By W. MACKENZIE and P. HANDFORD. Butterworth and Co. 1899 and 1904.
4. **Town Planning in Practice.** By RAYMOND UNWIN. T. Fisher Unwin. 1909.
5. **The Housing Question in London.** London County Council. 1900.
6. **The Housing of the Working Classes.** London County Council. 1913.

AT the present time the housing question is receiving from social workers and politicians more attention than perhaps any other domestic problem. Both the great political parties place some measures of housing reform in the forefront of their programmes, and proposals for an improvement in the living conditions of the masses form the stock-in-trade of practically all candidates at public elections. It was said some time ago that 'the problem of the last genera-'tion was to provide gas and water; the problem of the next 'is to provide light and air,' and this prophecy has proved itself to be true.

At first sight, this universal political enthusiasm for housing reform seems highly encouraging. Housing conditions generally are defective, and frequently disgraceful; but it is impossible to forget that when politicians are in a hurry they are apt to do more harm than good. Under a democratic system of government a legislative proposal has to be attractive; whether it is economically sound is a question that is all too frequently forgotten in the rivalry of political warfare.

The housing question falls naturally into two divisions, urban and rural. The problem in the country is distinct from the problem of the town, though, of course, to a certain extent the same principles apply to both. In this article it is proposed to deal solely with the urban side of the question.

It is only during the last sixty years that Parliament has concerned itself, to any material extent, with the housing question. Until 1888 there was, it is true, a law upon the statute book, passed so long ago as 1593, which was probably the earliest on the subject. This Act (35 Elizabeth c. 6) was prompted by alarm at the growth of London, and prescribed the drastic remedy that no new houses should be erected in either London or Westminster. But, though the Act of 1593 remained unrepealed for nearly three centuries, it was obsolete very soon after it was passed and Parliament does not seem at the time to have made any further attempt to deal with the matter. It was not until the downfall of the 'laissez 'faire' theories, propagated by the Radical Individualist or Benthamite school, that the legislature again devoted serious attention to housing conditions. The first Housing Acts were the sequel to the early Factory Acts, which had shown the strength of the Tory Socialist movement, and it was to Lord Shaftesbury, 'the apostle of government interference,' that the first legislative attempts to improve housing conditions were due. In 1851 Parliament passed two bills, introduced by this zealous humanitarian, but neither Parliament nor the Conservative party understood the real magnitude of the innovation. The Common Lodging Houses Act provided for the registration and inspection of all 'working-class' lodging houses. The Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act gave powers to local authorities to erect lodging houses out of public funds. It is important in view of subsequent developments to observe the different principles embodied in these two Acts. The first of the two aimed at the improvement of housing conditions by the State regulation of private property; the second was an early attempt to introduce the policy now known as 'municipal trading.'

Meanwhile in 1848 Parliament had passed the first Public Health Act, well described as 'the foundation stone of our 'national sanitary legislation.' This Act established local authorities with numerous powers, many of which closely concerned housing conditions—as, for instance, the construction of sewers and drains, the removal of nuisances, etc. It is a great but a common mistake to look only to Housing Acts for legislation upon the housing question. As will be shown later, what ought to be considered the principal function of

our local authorities relating to housing, the making and enforcement of by-laws, is derived from the Public Health Act of 1875, which repealed and re-enacted the Act of 1848 and twenty-nine of its amending Acts.

Amid the mass of housing legislation passed after this period, two sets of Acts must be mentioned, because they authorise two distinct methods of dealing with the urban housing problem. In 1868 and 1879 were passed what are known as the Torrens Acts. These, in the words of the Royal Commission of 1884, established the principle that 'the responsibility of maintaining his houses in proper condition 'falls upon the owner and that, if he fails in his duty, the 'law is justified in stepping in and compelling him to perform 'it.' In 1875–1879 came the Cross Acts, which enabled local authorities to buy up and reconstruct slum areas. The distinction between the policies of these two sets of Acts is exactly the same as the distinction between the two Lodging Houses Acts of 1851 just referred to. The Torrens Acts were based upon the principle that owners of property are responsible for its condition, and that it is the function of the State to enforce this responsibility; by the Cross Acts the public authorities were armed with compulsory powers of purchase, and encouraged to indulge in municipal trading in houses. The Cross Acts have now become Part I. and the Torrens Acts Part II. of the Housing Act of 1890. Part III. of this Act further extended the principle of municipal trading by giving to local authorities the power to provide 'working class' dwellings wherever they thought fit to do so. It is under this third part of the Act of 1890 that the London County Council has built workmen's dwellings in outlying suburbs of the metropolis.

That the making of reasonable regulations for building, the suppression of nuisances, and the inspection of densely populated property are proper and essential functions of Government few can deny. Wherever human beings are crowded together, some control must be exercised over the operations of individuals. But this regulative work, which is the proper task of public authorities, is almost universally neglected or badly done when Government, instead of remaining the regulator of unwise enterprise, becomes itself an *entrepreneur*. In the early days of housing legislation the difference between

these two policies was never fully appreciated by Parliament. It was, however, keenly felt by the much-abused Metropolitan Board of Works, the predecessor of the London County Council. The members of this Board, not being elected by popular vote, were under no temptation to sacrifice principle to the exigencies of political warfare. Proceeding upon the maxim laid down by Mr. Gladstone that it is the duty of the Government 'to govern and not to trade,' the Board commented severely upon the dangerous policy of the Cross Acts, and recorded its opinion that to impose upon a municipal authority the obligation of buying up slum property at enormous cost was 'an injustice to the ratepayers and an 'encouragement to owners of houses occupied by poor people 'to allow them to fall into a dirty and dilapidated condition.'

This protest was unheeded, and under political and bureaucratic pressure the policy of municipal trading in houses has been widely adopted. Meanwhile the duty of making proper regulations for the control of private enterprise has been to a large extent neglected. Mr. J. S. Nettlefold, who for many years was chairman of the Birmingham Housing Committee, writes: 'Those who want local authorities to devote their 'attention to the provision of housing accommodation do not 'realise that this results in neglecting their primary duty of 'supervision.' While local authorities have been erecting model dwellings for the few, jerry-builders have been making unhealthy homes for the many.

It is impossible to visit any poor urban district in which the houses have been erected during the last twenty or thirty years without being struck by the abject failure of the local authorities to secure a decent housing standard. They have been so busy with their own building schemes that they have not had time to prepare intelligent by-laws to regulate the action of the private builder and estate developer. The present by-laws are both excessive and incomplete. They concern themselves so largely with details that they are frequently oppressive and obstructive; yet they entirely fail to deal with many important matters where a satisfactory result can only be obtained through the regulating powers of local authorities. For instance, clause 6 (1) of the Model By-laws prepared by the Local Government Board prescribes that 'every person 'who shall lay out a new street which shall be intended for

'use as a carriage road shall . . . so lay out such street that 'the width thereof shall be thirty-six feet at the least,' and by clause 8 (*a*) this 36 feet is to be composed of a roadway of 24 feet and footpaths of 6 feet each. Local authorities ought to have protested against these arbitrary rules, but in the majority of urban districts this minimum of 36 feet has voluntarily been raised by the local authorities themselves to 40 and in many cases to 50 feet. For thoroughfares where there is considerable traffic a compulsory minimum width is an excellent measure; but for roads where there is and can be none but purely domestic traffic, an enforced minimum of 36 feet is quite unnecessary. Road-making is very expensive, especially under the conditions imposed by the by-laws. The result is that landlords and builders have to compensate themselves for their compulsory outlay on wide roads by crowding as many houses as possible to the acre—the very worst thing that they could do. A real safeguard, which by-laws could easily enforce, would be that houses on different sides of a road should be a minimum distance apart and, better still, that there should not be more than a limited number of houses to the acre.

It is a singular comment on our present by-law system that when public-spirited people wish to develop an urban estate on model lines, they are prevented from doing so by the 'Model' By-laws. Thus the promoters of the Hampstead Garden Suburb were compelled to go to the expense of obtaining a special Act of Parliament in order to be able to do what every landlord and builder ought to do. Section 5 (*a*) of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Act, 1906, reads: 'Any road, not 'designed for the purposes of through traffic, may . . . be 'exempt from any operation of any bye-laws of the local 'authority relating to the width of new streets and to foot-'ways . . . provided that no such road shall be of less width 'than 20 feet,' and many other exemptions are obtained. The real safeguard of the public interest is provided in section 2, which says:

'(1) There shall not be built in the Garden Suburb on the average a greater proportion of houses to the acre than eight.

'(2) On every road in the Garden Suburb there shall be between any two houses standing on opposite sides of the road a space of not less than 50 feet free from any buildings except walls, fences or gates.'

But while the present code of by-laws insists on an

unnecessary expanse of road in quiet neighbourhoods, it permits main roads to be of an inadequate width. One has only to travel through the suburbs of a big city to realise that main roads, which have been lined with buildings during only the last ten years, are frequently of such a width that the development of traffic has already made them too narrow. Surely these ill-conceived by-laws point to a serious mis-direction of energy on the part of Government authorities. Members of public bodies can only give a limited amount of time to public work; that time, so far as housing is concerned, should be devoted to thinking out the broad lines of town planning and building regulation. If, instead, members of public bodies have their time taken up with the complicated details involved in the acquisition of property and the making of building contracts, all their work will be badly done. Take for instance the Housing Estate of the London County Council at Tooting. There the roads are 40 and 45 feet wide and the traffic upon them is purely domestic. The consequence is that the gardens are small and the general appearance of the estate is disappointing. Would it not have been a more worthy task for the London County Council to have used its influence in securing a reform of the by-laws instead of absorbing its energies by becoming the proprietor of huge estates which, when developed, show how greatly the true work of government has been neglected? If the County Council had devoted to the consideration of by-laws half the energy that it has given to building schemes, Parliament and the Local Government Board would long ago have taken the matter in hand.

There are many other defects in the present code of by-laws. When a new area is being developed, two conditions are essential. In the first place it is urgent that the area should be laid out with some regard to the future interests of the whole neighbourhood; that the new roads should give easy access to all parts; and that no part of the area should become a nuisance to any other part. In the second place, it is highly important that the natural features should as far as possible be retained. Yet under the existing by-laws one landlord can develop his land entirely regardless of his neighbours. A landlord or builder may destroy every tree, if by so doing he can crowd more houses upon his property. Or one landlord

can build a factory on his land regardless of his neighbours' intentions to erect residential property. There is no power in any authority to secure that landlords shall work harmoniously together or that they shall retain the natural amenities of their land in the interests of those who are to live on their estates.

It might have been expected that the Town Planning Act of 1909 would have brought about some reform in this respect. In a circular issued by the Local Government Board to urban authorities after the passing of the Act it was stated that:

'the object of the town planning part of the Act is to ensure, by means of schemes which may be prepared either by local authorities or landowners, that, in future, land in the vicinity of towns shall be developed in such a way as to ensure proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience. Hitherto the conflicting interests of different owners and the absence of any power in the local authority to guide and control development according to the circumstances and requirements of particular cases has resulted to a considerable extent in the development of estates, whether large or small, with a sole regard to the immediate interests of the particular estate and without regard to the amenity and convenience of neighbouring lands.'

Later on this official circular admits that the existing by-laws 'are inherently inelastic in their character and are not con-'cerned with amenity and convenience.' But the Act itself proceeds upon the old but fallacious principle of encouraging local authorities to perform in a few places the duties of private enterprise, while permitting them to neglect their duties of enforcing decent conditions everywhere. There are many beneficial reforms in matters of detail, but the town planning portion of the Act only concerns those areas in which local authorities have undertaken the preparation of schemes; in other words, where they have assumed the responsibility of planning the property of private people. Section 55 (4) provides that local authorities may, as regards their schemes, 'suspend any statutory enactments, bye-laws, regulations or 'other provisions, under whatever authority made, which are 'in operation in the area included in the scheme.' Yet these by-laws, which are admittedly so defective that local authorities need not obey them when carrying out schemes under the Town Planning Act, are still to apply to the vast areas for which no schemes can possibly be prepared.

What is wanted is private town planning everywhere, instead of public town planning in a few chosen spots; decent housing conditions in all parts rather than slums in most, and municipal paradises in a few, places. By means of regulative measures it ought to be possible for local authorities to enforce a minimum standard, and to this task the energies of municipal bodies and of the Local Government Board ought to be devoted. It is not necessary to be a Socialist in order to take up the position that those who construct new urban areas are undertaking a task in which they are in many ways the trustees of the public welfare. It is not Individualism but Anarchy to allow private persons to develop their lands (on which other people have to live) quite regardless of the future interests of the community. Before a sod is turned or a brick laid in a new urban area, some authority ought to be satisfied that the public welfare is being respected. This can only be done by means of by-laws. To draw up a model code is admittedly not a simple task; but improved by-laws are an urgent necessity. As a first step the Local Government Board should appoint an advisory committee to consist of architects and town-planning experts like Professor Adshead and Mr. Raymond Unwin, surveyors, medical officers of health and sanitary officers, with possibly a trained lawyer as chairman. Such a committee could ascertain which of the existing by-laws are really necessary and which may safely be discarded; what regulations can be devised to secure harmony between the owners of adjoining estates and to ensure that the essential principles of town planning shall be universally adopted without unfairly burdening or restricting the liberty of private persons.

Precisely the same principles that apply to urban areas in process of development can be seen at work in areas that are already built over. Throughout the country municipal authorities have been devoting their attention to the performance of the private function of pulling down and erecting houses, and have at the same time neglected their essential function of inspecting all insanitary property and enforcing its improvement.

Undoubtedly there are in most big towns, owing to past neglect of the municipal function of supervision, certain areas which it is not possible to put into sanitary condition by any

treatment of separate houses. The whole area is so squalid and unhealthy that the only remedy seems to be its total demolition and reconstruction. One of the most recent instances of this is the Tabard Street area in Southwark, which, according to official figures issued in 1910, comprised 14·3 acres containing 649 houses with a population of 3552 persons. During the period 1904–1908 the death rate per thousand for the whole County of London was 14·9 and for Southwark 18·2, but for this area the figure was 36·8. The London County Council came to the conclusion that 'the nar-'rowness of the streets, the closeness of the houses, the defective 'planning and the damp or otherwise insanitary condition 'of most of the houses rendered it impossible to effect any 'great or lasting benefit to the area by dealing with individual 'properties.' So a scheme under Part I. of the Act of 1890 was prepared which provided for an outlay of £364,500 for the acquisition of this slum property. As regards such schemes as this, the main question becomes the amount of compensation which is due to the slum landlords for their compulsory expropriation. It is often urged that the slum owner should be treated in the same manner as the proprietor of insanitary food—namely that he should forfeit his property without compensation. But this drastic treatment could scarcely be applied to the slum landlord, who is often a person of such small financial resources that he could not afford to reconstruct his property. At the same time it is indisputable that the present law governing the terms of expropriation in these cases operates to the unfair advantage of the owner and needs drastic reform. At present schemes under Part I. are prepared upon the unwarranted assumption that it is necessary for the local authority to purchase the freehold of the property. As an alternative scheme it may be suggested that the ground with its insanitary buildings should be valued and these values pooled. Reconstruction would then be undertaken on behalf of the whole body of owners subject to the control of the local authority, and if necessary with its financial assistance. After the reconstruction, the property would be redistributed among the owners in proportion to the value of their original holdings, proper deduction being made for the municipal services and outlay. This proposal is put forward with some deference as it has not yet been tested in

practice; but it would certainly limit the financial liabilities of the local authority and thus facilitate the reconstruction of slum areas.

The great danger, however, of schemes under Part I. is that they detract from the possibilities of what could be done by inspection and persuasion under Part II. It is no doubt a much pleasanter task for municipal politicians boldly to reconstruct a big area than to supervise its gradual improvement. Besides, it is impossible to be blind to the fact that drastic operations under Part I. afford great opportunities for municipal officials. A dozen inspectors with an advisory architect could cover a very large area under Part II., but a relatively small scheme under Part I. necessitates the employment of an army of official valuers, engineers, lawyers, architects, and administrators. A shareholder of an omnibus company doubtless thinks that increased traffic is to the public advantage. In like manner a municipal official is more than human if he is not of opinion that schemes under Part I. are of the greatest possible benefit to the community. This unconscious association of opinion and interest cannot be called immoral, for it is universal; but those who determine the policy of local authorities ought to take this human failing into account.

There is a further point to be considered in this connexion—namely that schemes of reconstruction can easily become instruments of political bribery. A party or a candidate that promised a big clearance scheme might reap a generous reward from the electors of the particular district. This danger haunts all government enterprise. There have been numerous instances where constituencies have been won by promises of public work, such as railways, harbours, or the like. Hitherto our country has been singularly free from this form of corruption, but in these days of political doles the utmost caution should be exercised in all cases where national or municipal authorities undertake schemes which affect a particular locality.

Mr. J. S. Nettlefold, who has had more experience than almost any writer on the subject, is emphatic that schemes under Part I. are not necessary: 'My experience is that Part II., 'administered with rigour and discretion, is capable of doing 'what is required without putting any serious burden on the 'ratepayers'; and again: 'Under Part II. it is possible to

'remove all the existing housing evils. Under Part I. it is a 'financial impossibility, no matter how generous and enthusi- 'astic the ratepayers might be.' He justly claims for Part II. the advantage 'that the housing committee sees its way by 'gradual and vigilant work to improve the housing condition 'of the whole city, instead of being pulled up for want of funds 'as it would have been if a policy of wholesale demolition, 'followed by municipal house building, had been adopted.' The Birmingham Corporation has been singularly successful in its housing work largely because it has proceeded on the principle that its primary duty is to deal with the whole city rather than with isolated areas. The method of procedure adopted in Birmingham is thus described by Mr. Nettlefold:

'Houses are represented to the housing committee by the medical officers of health as being unfit for habitation. Notices are served on the owners to make such houses fit and the owners are invited to interview the authorities before spending money. In order to preserve cheap houses, careful consideration is always given to the possibility of making bad houses fit to live in before it is decided to have them demolished. Each case is dealt with on its merits and every endeavour is made to consider it from the point of view of the property owner as well as from that of the local authority and the tenant. Ground landlords have in several instances facilitated this work by granting extensions of leases.'

The Corporation has, of course, the power to make closing orders, but it is by deferring this drastic remedy until all persuasive measures have failed that the Birmingham Committee have achieved their most beneficial results. One can well understand Mr. Nettlefold when he says that 'this work 'requires considerable patience and a great deal of attention 'to troublesome and difficult detail. It is not heroic and does 'not appeal to the imagination, but the results are satisfactory.' If only all local authorities would cease to crave for the heroic and attend better to the humdrum work of administration, there would be a vast improvement in general social conditions.

It is obvious that no amount of municipal energy and no sums of public money expended on clearance and rebuilding schemes will ever remove all existing slums. It was, indeed, the belief of Mr. Sidney Webb and the Socialist enthusiasts who launched the 'London Programme' of 1889 that the municipal authorities of London would be able to secure decent housing conditions by a lavish expenditure from the rates.

Mr. Webb wrote in 1891: 'The 400,000 new rooms which we 'need may cost for land and buildings as much as thirty millions 'sterling. Even if the annual deficit on this magnificent public 'estate were to amount to half a million a year it would be 'a small price to pay to get the people out of the slums.' Why a property on which the public is losing half a million a year should be called a 'magnificent public estate' it is not easy to discover, but it is beyond doubt that a far smaller sum would provide a complete scheme for raising the housing standard to a minimum level of decency by methods similar to those of Part II.

The whole question of the provision of houses by urban authorities ought to be considered anew. Municipal house-building was introduced during a period of municipal socialism, and at a time when in many districts there was a scarcity of cheap houses. But this excuse does not exist now. As regards London, for instance, a report of the Housing Committee of the County Council, dated 12th February 1913, has stated that 'the rents in the central area are no longer being forced 'up by exceptional demand for accommodation, as was the 'case some years ago. . . . There is no evidence that there 'is any lack of housing accommodation in any district of Lon-'don at the present time, and in almost all districts there is a 'considerable margin available.' Local authorities themselves often find difficulty in letting their houses. During the year 1912–13 the London County Council lost £11,470, or 5·2 per cent. of the gross rent, by reason of its property remaining empty; in 1907–8 this percentage was as high as 9·82.

To a great extent local authorities have been compelled by law to undertake the erection of dwellings. When the great railway companies were constructing their terminal stations in the centres of big towns, they were obliged to demolish vast areas of small property, and this wholesale destruction of housing accommodation resulted in serious overcrowding elsewhere. One of the worst instances of this occurred when the Midland Railway Company built St. Pancras Stations and their approaches. To remedy this evil Parliament adopted the principle that public authorities or companies should only be granted powers to acquire property compulsorily on the condition that they should provide accommodation for the persons of the 'working classes' whom they displaced. This 're-

'housing obligation' is now incidental to all clearance schemes under Part I. of the Housing Act, 1890, and to all schemes for the construction of new streets. As a rule, municipal authorities have willingly acquiesced in this compulsory house-building. But after nearly forty years' experience of this policy, it is impossible to claim that it has proved successful. In the first place, this enforced erection of houses has not benefited the actual persons who are displaced. That this would be so was anticipated by the Metropolitan Board of Works, as will be seen from the following extract from one of its reports:

'The displaced families suffer inconvenience from being turned out of their unhealthy dwellings, [but] this inconvenience is not diminished by the subsequent erection of better dwellings in the same locality. The new dwellings cannot be provided until after the old ones have been destroyed, and in the meantime the poor people leave and are scattered; it is highly improbable that any considerable number, if any at all, of the displaced families will return to occupy the new dwellings on the site of their previous habitations.'

To-day most local authorities have abandoned any attempt to re-house the actual persons displaced. Liverpool has proved an exception, and in the case of its Part I. scheme for the Hornby Street area, it successfully adopted the policy of accepting as tenants of the new dwellings only those persons who had been displaced through the demolition of insanitary property. Seventy-one per cent. of those displaced became tenants in the new municipal dwellings; but this is a rare instance.

One serious and unexpected result of this compulsory re-housing has been to render impossible the keeping of accurate accounts. A local authority, having cleared an area under a housing or street improvement scheme, has on its hands land which has been purchased at the marketable rate, but which must be used for housing purposes. If this land is sold, it cannot fetch anything like the real value, because of the re-housing obligation. The Metropolitan Board of Works adopted the policy of disposing of the sites when cleared, but it seldom obtained more than one-fifth of the original value. When, therefore, a local authority decides to fulfil the re-housing obligation by the erection of model tenements, it is faced with

the temptation not to debit the housing accounts with the actual cost of the land, but only with the 'housing value,' that is the sum that would be received if the land were sold subject to the re-housing obligation. To this temptation local authorities fall willing victims. When the London County Council reversed the policy of the Board of Works, it decided that 'the value of the site is fixed at such a price as 'it would probably fetch in the market, if offered for sale 'subject to the obligation to erect working-class dwellings 'upon it.' Thus, for instance, the Bourne Estate at Clerkenwell cost £201,469 to buy, but the housing accounts were only debited with a capital sum of £44,000. The result has been, to quote an official report, that 'the rents now charged 'are only sufficient to meet about 55 per cent. of the total 'cost of the site and dwellings.'

Numerous other cases could be cited where the value of the land has been written down to a small fraction of the original cost. And when enthusiasts for the municipal house-building policy take pride in the profits earned by their estates, the fact ought not to be overlooked that the capital charges are based upon the 'housing value' and not upon the actual cost of the sites.* Thus, when the County Council made it a rule that 'the rents to be charged for tenements shall not exceed 'those ruling in the neighbourhood, and shall be so fixed that, 'after providing for all outgoings, interest and sinking fund 'charges, there shall be no charge on the county rate' it attempted an impossibility, so far as re-housing in central areas is concerned. The London Traffic Branch of the Board of Trade has expressed the opinion that 'it is not practicable 'to re-house the working classes in the central districts at 'economic rents,' and the experiences of the London County Council certainly bear out this view. Although the published housing accounts may not show a deficit, municipal dwellings are in these areas a real charge upon the London ratepayers.

It must be further obvious that the imposition of this re-housing obligation acts as a serious deterrent to the construction of street improvements by local authorities. This is,

* This consideration does not apply to schemes under Part III. of the Act of 1890, where houses have been built in suburban areas, on land acquired for the purpose of building and for no other purpose.

perhaps, its worst feature. When one considers that the construction of Kingsway and Aldwych involved the erection of dwellings for 3700 persons, one can scarcely wonder why more schemes for new streets are not undertaken. Yet this is the most valuable work that a local authority can perform, and in the majority of towns there is great need for further improvement schemes. But as long as this re-housing obligation exists, local authorities wisely hesitate to embark upon street improvements.

Finally, this enforced re-housing is bad in principle because it tends to prevent local authorities from doing their real work properly. It encourages them to spend their substance and their energies in becoming the landlords of a small portion of the community, rather than the governors of the whole.

It remains to consider the different attitudes of political parties towards these questions. The attitude of the Socialists is simple enough. They are animated by the ambition to abolish private property, and they therefore naturally encourage every form of municipalisation. The Radicals regard housing as but a small part of their coming land crusade, and they are so closely associated with the Labour-Socialist party as to be severely infected with its doctrines. Unionists can claim that the principal housing legislation of the past has been due to Conservative Governments, and at the present time many Unionists are exhibiting a sincere interest in the housing problem. This is a hopeful sign, but the temptation for politicians to sacrifice principle in order to gain an immediate advantage is so great that a Bill prepared hurriedly by a party in opposition ought to be scrutinised with the utmost care.

Certainly the Housing Bill prepared in 1912 by the Unionist Social Reform Committee at the instigation of Sir Arthur Boscawen, M.P., deserves a good deal of the criticism that has been levelled against it, notably by Mr. John Burns. The authors of that Bill forgot that their main object ought to be to secure decent housing conditions everywhere rather than to establish model conditions in a few places, and that the Unionist party can gain little credit for itself, and do little good to the country, by slavishly following the lead of Radicals and Socialists. The Unionist Housing Bill undoubtedly provides many improvements in the law for which there is urgent need.

Thus, as regards the re-housing obligation, clause 7 proposes to allow local authorities to re-house, not on the actual sites cleared, but on the outskirts of their districts where land is cheaper. This reform would lessen the cost of municipal house-building, but it is submitted that a policy more in consonance with Unionist principles would be to enact that the building of dwellings should no longer of necessity follow the undertaking of clearance schemes. The erection of costly dwellings for a superior class of inhabitant is by far too indirect an advantage to the community to justify the financial risks and administrative difficulties involved. Again, clause 6 of the Bill deals with the question of by-laws and is to the effect that by-laws 'shall not apply to new buildings con-'structed or new streets laid out.' But this exemption applies only to development schemes prepared by local authorities. The Unionist Bill, like the Town Planning Act, admits the futility of our by-laws, but it refrains from any endeavour to reform them. Once again the legislature is being asked to secure by municipal trading model conditions in favoured spots rather than a universal minimum standard of health and amenity.

Unfortunately at the present time there is much uncertainty among Unionists as to their fundamental political beliefs. Some indication of this may be gathered from the policy followed by the Municipal Reform party (which may fairly be termed the London branch of the Unionist party) in their conduct of the affairs of the London County Council. When the Progressives were in power, the Municipal Reformers bitterly opposed the Progressive housing policy, recognising that municipal trading, being a branch of Socialism, could have no place in their programme. When the Progressives were driven from power in 1907, certain attempts were made to restrict the development of the previous housing policy. The Municipal Reformers endeavoured, for instance, to dispose of the large estate at Tottenham, which the Progressives had purchased. Yet the party pushed forward several similar schemes originated by the Progressives, and the Housing Committee of the Council have more than once reported in favour of municipal housing. On the other hand there are signs that Unionists and Municipal Reformers are beginning to realise that their proper programme is to control rather than to supersede the operations of individuals. The Progressives

have recently urged that the County Council should undertake an extensive scheme under Part I. for the demolition and rebuilding of the Brady Street area in Bethnal Green. In opposing the proposal at the Council meeting on the 10th of June last, the Municipal Reform leader said: 'This was a 'slum which ought to be put in order by the landlords, and 'the Council ought not to launch a new clearance scheme 'and buy the landlords out at an exorbitant price at the 'ratepayers' expense.' And on the 23rd of July the Housing Committee reported that 'it is increasingly felt by people of 'all shades of opinion that, under the law as it stands at 'present, landowners receive and the ratepayers have to pay 'too much for property of this description'; the Committee consequently refused to recommend the preparation of a clearance scheme. They also consulted with Mr. J. S. Nettlefold as to the possibility of proceeding under Part II. rather than under Part I. It is difficult to tell how far this indicates a change of policy, or rather a reversion to the old Municipal Reform doctrine that local authorities should govern and not trade. But it is at least a step in the right direction.

Some months must necessarily elapse before the Unionist Housing Bill can again be brought before the House of Commons. In its present form there can be little doubt that the Bill does not command the complete support of the Unionist party. It is the production of the advance-guard, and the Conservative element in the party is suspicious of the Socialist tendencies noticeable in this Bill. The present is a period of political transition. Liberals, the heirs of Bentham and Cobden, have abandoned their past beliefs and are rushing headlong upon the Socialist road. The coming fight must be between Collectivism and Individual Liberty. A hedging policy may be momentarily profitable in some constituencies, but loyalty to sound principles is the condition of permanent and national success. The time is ripe for hard thinking on fundamental problems, and the housing question forms an excellent ground for testing the real worth of party doctrines. Unionists would do well, if they truly desire to add another Act to the code of housing legislation, to employ this autumn in rendering their Bill, not only valuable in its detail, but sound in the principles upon which it is based.

GEORGE FLEET.

THE TRIUMPH OF SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

Le Matérialisme Actuel. Par MM. BERGSON, H. POINCARÉ, CH. GIDE, CH. WAGNER, FIRMIN ROZ, DE WITT-GUIZOT, FRIEDEL, GASTON RIOU. Paris: Flammarion. 1913.

FEW subjects of study are more attractive, and few indeed are more beset with difficulties, than an inquiry into the fundamental social changes which are at work in the society in the midst of which we live. The difficulties are not merely due to the fact that profound analysis, elaborate statistics, and difficult generalisations have to be employed: they are perhaps more due to the all-pervasive political sentiment which is almost invariably intruded into the study of social problems. The methods of the philosopher differ radically from the methods of the politician. The politician aims at improvement: action of some sort or other is his goal: he studies social problems, not for their own sake, but to guide himself in taking rational steps for the improvement of the lot of man.

Very different is the sphere of the philosopher. He is not interested in practical affairs: he is indifferent to efforts at political amelioration: he is not concerned with action to attain an end. He studies social problems with a single-minded effort to find truth, and to read the facts as they are. He is not by intention a philanthropist, as the politician is. *Quâ* philosopher he is indifferent to human welfare. His mind has to reflect outward nature with the accuracy that deep, still waters reflect the trees from their banks. Every ripple of emotion breaks through the calm, and sends distorted images, which change from moment to moment, and which appear quite different according to the position of the observer. The politician, in short, is moral: he works for humanity, he is driven by emotion and indifferent to truth for its own sake. The philosopher is a-moral: he cares nothing for humanity, his whole soul is given up to an almost inhuman and callous search for truth.

It is clear that the politician's outlook must for ever be more popular than that of the philosopher. It permits a

warmer and more generous mentality, it carries the excitement and pleasure of action and work done. It is in extreme contrast to the passivity and desperate stillness of the philosopher. It gives the rein to idealism and schemes of progress and welfare: it is not bound by chains to the hard and uninspiring realism of natural facts. It shakes off the bondage of 'what is' and revels in fancies of 'what ought to be.'

In the present essay it is not proposed to enter into ethical speculations, but merely to indicate certain important features which distinguish the intellectual tendencies of the present generation from those of the generation which preceded it. Of these tendencies the most conspicuous are the remarkable decline of scepticism and the growth of positivism, which especially characterise the thought of the present century in comparison with that of the end of the previous century. Philosophically, the dominating fact of the nineteenth century was Darwin's discovery of natural selection, and the triumphant establishment of the theory of evolution. The new doctrine did not merely shake existing beliefs, it introduced an altogether new way of looking at things. It produced an intellectual upheaval, in which so much was destroyed that a tendency towards general scepticism rapidly became apparent. The succeeding generation eagerly seized upon the term 'agnostic' to represent its views. Discussion was directed for preference towards problems whose solution was beyond the power of the human intellect, in which there was the freest play for doubt and vagueness. The victors in such discussions were naturally those who most vigorously emphasised the limitations of knowledge. Du Bois-Reymond started the famous cry 'Ignoramus, ignorabimus' which echoed back from the majority of thinkers specially distinctive of that time. The name agnosticism, purely negative in sense, embodies the quintessence of an almost Pyrrhonian scepticim.

Agnosticism, invented by Huxley, soon came to be regarded as the creed specially associated with science, and proclamations of ignorance were supposed to be specially favoured by scientific authority. Now it is obvious that this non-committal attitude towards philosophical problems is somewhat barren, and leads on to no further conclusions of interest or importance. A generation which speculates about the unknowable, and looks upon 'Ignorabimus' as the highest wisdom, sacrifices progress for the sake of safety. The fortress of truth will never fall

so long as the assailants remain safely ensconced behind their entrenchments. Science proclaiming its own impotence soon begins to pall in interest as compared with science proclaiming the discovery of new truth.

This expectation is justified by an examination of the facts. The post-Darwinian generation of sceptics cannot be said to have made any important contribution to any philosophical study. They have been to a great extent obsessed by the views of the more famous evolutionists. Their discussions turned more upon what Huxley thought, or what John Stuart Mill thought, than what they themselves thought about things. But it was hardly possible that such a state of affairs should last: and indeed the twentieth century has brought a slow but profound revolution and revulsion against the scepticism of its predecessors. If the past generation was lost in admiration of the great Victorians, the present generation will have nothing of them. The political ideals of the nineteenth century have been driven ignominiously from every seat of authority which they formerly occupied. In science, it is almost a craze to attack Darwinism, and to deny the importance of natural selection. In art and in music, the very name Victorian is a synonym for contempt. The reaction, in short, is in full torrent and, like all such reactions, is probably flowing greatly in excess of what will ultimately be considered justifiable.

The actual alteration of beliefs is, however, inconsiderable in comparison with the alteration in the subjects themselves which occupy public attention. We are a positive generation, and our interest is in those spheres where positive knowledge can be attained. High metaphysics may be in vogue at some universities, but it scarcely touches the reading public. The nineteenth century conflict of science *v.* religion no longer excites the smallest interest: as a commercial venture, no editor or publisher would look at it. Nor is this due primarily to any decline of conviction either in science or religion. On the contrary, it is said that in France, at least, there is in progress a great religious revival among the youth of the country: yet no country honours science so highly as France. The truth is that the modern generation avoids all topics that lead to scepticism or negation, and turns joyfully to any hope of positive knowledge or positive progress.

In France, the present time is often spoken of as a

'renaissance.' Works like those of Agathon, 'Les Jeunes 'Gens d'aujourd'hui'; of Etienne Rey, 'La Renaissance de 'l'orgueil français'; of Saint-Georges de Bouhélier, 'Les Elé- 'ments d'une renaissance française'; of Charles Péguy, 'Notre 'jeunesse'; of Gaston Riou, of Emile Henriot, of Jean Muller and Gaston Picard, and finally of Georges Le Cardonnel in the 'Mercure de France,' indicate the strength of the tendency to positive ideals.

Hence too the great revival of interest in scientific materialism—the philosophy of science: for that philosophy, notwithstanding its name, represents a great and noble ideal, capable of evoking in its defence 'une ardeur combative, une 'passion singulière.' It is true, for centuries past pious people have dreaded the onslaught of that dark and terrible monster materialism, which stood behind every new discovery or process taught by science. The struggle of materialism for existence differed greatly from the struggles of politics or of religion. For in these matters each side had its adherents, but materialism had no supporters. Every man's hand was turned against it, and against those whose discoveries seemed to support it. Of the latter some, like Galileo, were persecuted; others, like Giordano Bruno, were officially executed: some, like Priestley, had their property destroyed; others, like the evolutionists of last century, were merely cursed. Yet materialism slowly and steadily grew, for behind all the crudities fastened upon it by metaphysicians, it contained a solid core of truth. *Magna est veritas, et praevalebit.* It stands behind the modern advances of science no less immovably than it did of old. But no longer is it in the background, unrecognised and despised. It occupies the very centre of philosophical attention. Yet even among philosophers the ancient tradition continues. Every man's hand is turned against it: its very name has an unpleasant sound in our ears. One after another, systems of philosophy arise to do it battle: one after another they crumble away to dust.

What is materialism, then? The term is generally used in the vaguest of senses, and is made to cover as great a variety of meanings as, for instance, is the term 'radical' in politics. Confining the term to its sense in philosophy, we may affirm that there are two very different significations in current use. There is firstly what we have elsewhere called crude materialism, founded in its most rational form by

Democritus: this doctrine asserts the existence of matter and souls, and asserts further that souls consist of material particles. There is secondly what we have called scientific materialism, founded in the main by Cabanis. (Scientific materialism takes no interest in souls and embarks upon no hypothesis as to their raw material. It confines itself exclusively to a study of phenomena which can be dealt with by the methods of observation and experiment. And the central doctrine of scientific materialism is the uniformity of natural law, the invariable sequence of cause and effect, the doctrine that every physical event, and every motion of a material particle, is consequent, and necessarily consequent, upon some pre-existing cause of exclusively physical or material characteristics. Seeing that the entire range of activities displayed by animals, and by man himself, is comprised within this central proposition of scientific materialism, it is plain that that philosophy (if we may call it so) is no more than a physical and a physiological statement of the older metaphysical theory of determinism—the theory that the activity of the will is necessarily determined by antecedent mental conditions. Is it then contradictory to free-will? So assume the metaphysicians. Their speculations at all times have run far in advance of any means of verification by science. They hit upon determinism long before any scientific proof of it was forthcoming. Their arguments had no particular relation to any known facts or solid foundation, and the whole subject was rapidly overtaken by a sea of verbiage in which the hardiest swimmer was quickly drowned. 'The snare of words,' as Locke called it, is accountable for more errors in philosophy than any other single cause; and in the present case the dim and imperfect view of materialistic truths gave rise to the utterly false and wholly verbal antithesis between determinism and free will. It is a remarkable testimony to the power of truth to prevail, that not even the supposed opposition to free will could prevent a wide acceptance of determinism among thinkers.

Materialism, then, is a very positive and definite philosophy, which lies at the basis of scientific progress. It was greatly in evidence in the nineteenth century, encouraged by the attention paid to the conservation of energy, the correlation of physical forces, and organic evolution. It fell away from popularity in the later generation of sceptics, who were more

interested in discussing the limitations of their knowledge than in the things which lay within those limitations. But the growing wave of positivism has speedily brought it back to its old position. Once more it is the centre of gravity round which philosophical discussion proceeds. And here it occupies a very curious position. The metaphysicians as a class are opposed to it: the men of science as a class support it. But the men of science take small interest in philosophical disputation. They know the way their science leads them; and they find themselves in general sympathy with materialism while for the most part inadequately trained to state it in philosophically defensible terms. In consequence, various men of science have proposed materialistic theories, in which the metaphysicians have been able to find logical flaws or contradictions. A systematic and positive doctrine of scientific materialism has yet to be formulated. The tendencies to materialism, notwithstanding that they are the cynosure of modern philosophical discussion, still have no clearly defined body. To sum up, we may visualise the philosophical situation to ourselves in a manner analogous to our conception of the structure of the atom. There is a central charge of positive electricity, around which dances a swarm of particles, carrying negative electricity, and possessing clearly defined material properties and position in space. Just so do our negative sceptics of the present day oscillate about the great central doctrine of science. Formless and vague though it is, this central doctrine exercises a magnetic and fatal attraction for all rival systems.

While it is true that materialism has generally had no organised support, it is equally true that the tendencies towards it, always pronounced among thinkers, have been more pronounced in English philosophy than in any continental system of thought. Lange originally pointed out that England is the classic land of materialism, just as France is the classic land of scepticism. That observation was not only profoundly true at the moment it was stated: it continues at the present moment to represent a broad distinction between the thought of the two countries. No doubt materialism has often come to a head in other countries than England. France produced a Lamettrie and a D'Holbach—philosophers who, if their teachings had been more harmonious with popular sentiment, would have been recognised as among the greatest

thinkers that the world has ever seen. Germany produced a Feuerbach, a Karl Vogt, and a Büchner: who, if they certainly were lesser men, nevertheless guided a great popular movement in the materialistic direction. But still the truth remains that in no country in the world has materialism sunk so deeply into the national philosophy as it has in England. This truth is closely correlated with the further truth that no country can show so glorious a scientific record as the country of Newton and of Darwin. Nor does the scientific supremacy of England show any sign of falling off in the present century. Whether we look to the side of physics or to the side of physiology, England still occupies the position of *secundus nulli*.

In pure philosophy, on the other hand, there has perhaps been a tendency of late in England to go astray after the continental metaphysicians. Such men as Hans Driesch, Rudolf Eucken, and Henri Bergson have exercised more influence in England than the importance of their speculations appears to justify. Philosophers with foreign languages and foreign modes of thought have come galumphing over from the Continent, to preach their exogenous doctrines to a nation hitherto famous for its philosophic independence and its sturdy dislike of metaphysical subtleties. As a juggler charms and delights his audience by the unerring skill with which he tosses and catches his balls, so these visitors from abroad have fascinated their audiences in England by their incomparable juggling with words and phrases. It is wonderful how rarely people reflect that words should be merely the vehicles for ideas, and that beautification of the vehicle is no compensation for its emptiness. It is generally agreed that the greatest danger into which philosophy can fall is the divorce of words from meanings. The Henri Bergsons of the day are like great moths, whose bite conveys the infection of a dread disease. The trypanosome of word-sickness has begun to swarm in the cerebro-spinal fluid of English metaphysicians. A salvarsan is required which shall preserve the independence of British thought from the slow destruction which threatens it.

Fortunately men of science have remained immune. They have, it is true, from time to time attended the conferences, and watched the magical manipulations of words by the expert foreign prestidigitators, who provide reputations of science while you wait. And they have come away with

mixed feelings. Some harbour the sentiment 'Heave 'arf a brick at him.' Others have admired the metaphysical scheme as a pretty, painted, fragile thing, and asked why not leave it alone. But is not *Glossina palpalis* also pretty and fragile? And so it is that England, notwithstanding her metaphysicians, is still the greatest materialistic nation of the world. It is upon England that the defence of scientific materialism falls. And need it be said that it is from our sceptical friends across the Channel that the main attack has to be met? An attack upon materialism is a challenge to English philosophy.

The important work at the head of this article, entitled 'Le Matérialisme Actuel,' represents the latest effort of French scepticism to overthrow the positive philosophy lying at the base of every branch of science. It is an attack upon materialism from every side, and delivered by a body of writers of great distinction, though differing widely among themselves on almost every other question but this. The main frontal attack is delivered by the most famous of modern French thinkers, Henri Bergson, and the late Henri Poincaré, whose recent death must be deplored by every serious student, whatever his opinions may be. The movements on the flank and rear are carried out by such writers as Jean Friedel, Charles Gide, Witt-Guizot, Gaston Riou, Firmin Roz, Charles Wagner. These gentlemen deal with materialism in political economy, in literature, in the theatre, in morals. Interesting as are their general observations, it is difficult to believe that their co-operation has any more serious import than that of a strategical movement to draw off attention from the frontal attack of Bergson and Poincaré. The method adopted by each of these co-operating writers is to pick out either the most unpopular or the most discredited doctrine in the subject entrusted to him, and to call it materialism. No doubt they thus assist in inflaming popular dislike of materialism. They take advantage of the incomparable vagueness in the meaning of that word to deliver attacks upon all sorts and varieties of beliefs, old and new: beliefs to which no scientific materialist would dream of subscribing, and of which many of them have probably never even heard. The only discoverable bond of union between the members of this little band of authors is a general combativeness of attitude, and a fixed determination to hit something. They have certainly struck out with

vigour, and according to all metaphysical anticipations, the sole duty of a reviewer would be to hold a coroner's inquest on the corpse of the victim. But when the presumably defunct body has been examined no scratch or bruise of any kind is found upon its surface; nay, more astonishing still, instead of being dead, as any respectable doctrine would be, it retains a vitality unimpaired and even increased by the vigorous exercise of its assailants. These, on the other hand, appear (in their eagerness) to have frequently hit each other by mistake; at any rate, they carry away distinct signs of having been engaged in battle. They recall to memory the dog which set upon its master and bit him, with fatal results to itself, for 'the dog it was that died.' The first chapter in 'Le Matérialisme Actuel' is an essay by M. Henri Bergson, entitled 'L'Ame et le Corps.' The doctrine laid down is the same as that expounded in the author's 'Matière et Mémoire' and criticised at length by the present writer in his 'Modern 'Science and the Illusions of Professor Bergson.' M. Bergson's method has in no wise changed since the publication of his larger works. False analogies are the basis of his attempts at proof; and his use of words, without corresponding ideas, is so flagrant that all his command of language and charm of style are necessary to pass it off as at all tolerable.

Let us take as an example M. Bergson's famous analogy on the relation of body and soul, to which he evidently attaches the highest importance, for he reproduces it at length in the present work, although he had already made ample use of it in 'Matière et Mémoire.' The question at issue is whether consciousness is or is not entirely determined by cerebral conditions. Scientific materialism affirms that the connexion between mind and brain is absolute and indissoluble. M. Bergson sets out to contradict this almost unanimous verdict of men of science, and the logical weapon he uses in this quixotic adventure is the argument from false analogy. Here is his proposition:

'Un vêtement est solidaire du clou auquel il est accroché; il tombe si l'on arrache le clou; il oscille si le clou remue; il se troue, il se déchire si la tête du clou est trop pointue; il ne s'ensuit pas que chaque détail du clou corresponde à un détail du vêtement, ni que le clou soit l'équivalent du vêtement; encore moins s'ensuit-il que le clou et le vêtement soient la même chose. Ainsi, la conscience est incontestablement accrochée à un cerveau, mais il ne résulte nullement de là que le cerveau dessine tout le détail de la conscience, ni que la conscience soit une fonction du cerveau.'

The argument is destroyed by the most elementary analysis. We start off from the common ground that a connexion exists between mind and body. The further question then presents itself as to the nature of that connexion. Is it loose and easily dissoluble, as M. Bergson endeavours to show; or is there an intimate and point-to-point correspondence between mental and cerebral processes, a correspondence so absolute that it becomes indistinguishable from identity? This question M. Bergson professes to answer by putting forward as an analogy the case of a coat hanging from a nail in the wall, where the connexion of coat and nail is a loose and transitory one. What right has he to use an analogy which begs the whole question at issue? Supposing we adduce another analogy, and, borrowing a conception from medieval representations of saints, picture the mind as a halo surrounding the head. On the basis of this analogy the brain will be represented by the area of a circle, and the mind by the circumference thereof. We should then be in a position to point triumphantly to the absolute and indissoluble connexion between the circumference and area of a circle, and thence to deduce the indissolubility of the connexion between body and mind. But, it may be asked, what right have you to analogise body and mind with circle and circumference? Just as much right, neither more nor less, as M. Bergson has to analogise body and mind with nail and coat. In neither case does the analogy prove anything whatever, or advance the discussion in the slightest degree.

The futility of such a method is so apparent when once pointed out, that the reader may say 'Surely M. Bergson 'never meant his analogy to be taken as proof: he only pro-'duced it as an instance of the kind of connexion which he 'alleged must obtain between body and mind.' The reader is wrong: M. Bergson intends his analogy to be in the nature of proof, and this is clear for two reasons: (1) No other proof is offered. Up to the moment when the analogy is presented, the connexion is looked upon as doubtful in nature; after the analogy it is looked upon as decided, on the coat-and-nail principle. (2) If the analogy is not intended as proof, it can have no conceivable object whatever. Its only value as an instance would be to illustrate the fact that there may be such things as connexions that are indeterminate and loose.

But M. Bergson would hardly exercise himself so insistently for so childish a truism. He might as well endeavour to convince the world that men's heads are attached to their necks, by arguing from analogy that the heads of sheep, newts, frogs, and marmosets are attached to corresponding necks.

Nevertheless, if M. Bergson really thinks there is some sort of resemblance between the relation of mind and body and the relation of coat and nail, let us take him at his word, and see what the analogy implies. A coat and a nail are two material things. If you pull out the nail, the coat falls to the ground. The analogy would be pointless if the coat and nail were not material. Supposing for instance the coat were spiritual, what reason have we to suppose that it would fall to the ground when the nail was extracted? If ghosts are lighter than air, it would on the contrary fly upwards: if they defy the laws of science altogether, then there is no means of prophesying what the coat would do. As likely as not it might stick tight to the nail, and instead of proving dissolubility of connexion it might prove indissolubility. The analogy, in short, involves the crudest type of materialism, though it is doubtful whether any of the old materialists would have gone so far as this modern philosopher, who apparently regards his soul as an article of wearing apparel temporarily suspended from a peg.

Other analogies somewhat more plausible, but equally unfounded and misleading, abound in M. Bergson's recent work. 'Ce qui se fait dans le cerveau,' says he, 'est à l'ensemble de 'la vie consciente ce que les mouvements du bâton du chef 'd'orchestre sont à la symphonie.' And elsewhere he affirms that the physiologist who looks into the processes of the brain is like the spectator of a play, who sees the gestures and attitudes of the actors but cannot hear a word of what they say. A very pretty and fanciful conception: but more appropriate to the realm of art than of science.

Unlike M. Bergson, who deals in the present work only with the relations of mind and body, M. Poincaré undertakes a survey of the materialistic significance of modern physics. His essay is entitled 'Les Conceptions Nouvelles de la Matière,' and may with little hesitation be described as the most valuable and important chapter of the whole work. M. Poincaré begins by commenting on the vagueness of the word materialism:

and he selects two of its many connotations for special reference in the course of his study. The first implication which he attaches to it is that of determinism; and here his verdict is decisive:

'Tout nouveau progrès de la science est un succès pour le déterminisme; et si les conquêtes des savants ne doivent jamais s'arrêter, on est tenté de conclure qu'il ne restera plus de place pour la liberté et par conséquent pour l'esprit. . . . Qui dit science, dit dualité entre l'esprit qui connaît et l'objet qui est connu, et tant que cette dualité subsiste, tant que l'esprit se distingue de son objet, il ne saurait le connaître parfaitement puisqu'il n'en verra jamais que l'extérieur.'

M. Poincaré seems to reach the highest point attainable to one who insists upon assuming the fundamental duality of mind and body. Science leads inevitably to universal determinism: it is no longer a matter of doubt that every human action, such as raising the arm, is a resultant of a series of mechanically and materialistically determined events, governed exclusively by the ordinary laws of physics and chemistry. Yet we know that in raising the arm we are performing a 'free' action. We are not conscious of any mechanical necessity to raise the arm; indeed the verdict of consciousness in favour of free will is just as indubitable and emphatic as the verdict of science in favour of mechanical determinism. We are absolutely at a deadlock; by ordinary methods, the paradox is insuperable, and so it has remained for some centuries past. Not all the progress of science and philosophy has enabled men to see through this most hopeless of metaphysical puzzles.

Yet the solution is at hand! The attention of the whole philosophical world is trained upon the subject: they are backed by a physiological knowledge that advances almost daily by leaps and bounds. Probably another quarter of a century will see the end of the mind-and-body controversies. What are the possible contingencies?

It may, in the first place, be contended that the verdict of physiology is wrong, and that organic mechanism is a fallacy. This is indeed a very common way out of the difficulty, and very generally resorted to by those who have no knowledge of physiology. It is however wholly untenable: for functional mechanism rests upon evidence not less convincing than the evidence in favour of organic evolution. This solution is

simply running away from the difficulty. In the colossal problem before us we must be brave enough to face the facts however paradoxical they may appear; and one of the most fundamental facts which must serve us as an anchor for our future reasoning is the fact of physiological mechanism.

We may, in the second place, contend that the verdict of consciousness is wrong, and that our feeling of freedom is illusory. Such indeed has been the course very generally adopted by determinists and philosophers in the past. But that again will not hold water. For our sensation of freedom is not an opinion: it is an item of knowledge, and one of the most elementary *dicta* of experience. We cannot rationally go behind it; and thus the evidence for free will is scarcely less convincing than the evidence for determinism.

Are we then forced into some Manichean hypothesis, according to which two contradictory theories are both true? No; that again is nothing more than a panic-stricken flight from the difficulty. Indeed, the affirmation that two opposites are both true is one of those purely verbal pronouncements, so dearly beloved by metaphysicians, which really have no meaning whatever. Let us beware above all things of slithering away from our problem on the path of verbal accommodations; for in metaphysics 'broad is the way which leadeth 'unto destruction, and many there be which go in thereat.'

We have, it would seem, two theories which are both true and yet contradictory; and we have the fact that two truths cannot be contradictory. It is clear, then, that there must be something erroneous about the primary concepts from which we started; and if we examine those primary concepts we find them reduced practically to one: namely the duality of mind and matter. But what right have we to assume this duality? It is universally assumed by everyone who has not made a special study of philosophy. It is assumed *almost* universally even by those who have. Yet if we build upon this assumption, there is no conceivable way out of the paradox reached above.

But will the scientific materialist of the future accept this duality of mind and matter? He will not indeed assert that mind is matter, like the older materialists, for he will not commit himself to the belief in a mental substance or entity. But he will assert that mental processes are the same

thing as cerebral processes. The real obstacle to the acceptance of this proposition is in truth one of the most serious that can confront any new scientific doctrine: namely the profound shock that it gives to all our conventional modes of thought. The task of the expositor will be even more directed towards the alleviation of the shock than towards the defence of a doctrine which is becoming clearer every day.

Let not the orthodox reader be unduly startled! The free-will paradox is an intellectual disease that has passed the stage of therapeutic help. Nothing can extract us from that quagmire short of a surgical operation on some part of our pre-existing modes of thought. It is clear that our conventional philosophies are aside of the mark, in one respect; our most fundamental conceptions must be revised, and those who are not courageous enough to go forward and face the revision must perish in the quagmire of their own creation. Nor indeed is our proposition so desperately novel. Berkeley first pointed out that matter is only known to us through sense-impressions. He denied the fundamental duality of mind and matter, and founded the doctrine of idealism, which was greatly improved by Hume. But the idealists appear to be afraid of the results of driving their own theory to its necessary goal. If matter is mind, as they affirm, then mind is matter, or at the very least some part of mind is matter. The impassable chasm between mind and matter is bridged, and that is the main point: there is no longer any striking incongruity in asserting that mental processes are cerebral processes; or, let us say (to oblige the idealists), that cerebral processes are mental processes. And once this is said, the whole free-will controversy drops away, and is seen to be no true antithesis. Among modern philosophers, none save William James have perceived the implications of modern empiricism.

But we cannot linger on this fascinating topic: we can do no more than indicate a solution of the problem so lucidly proposed by M. Poincaré to the scientific materialists. M. Poincaré confesses that 'Tous les savants, lors même que leurs 'convictions philosophiques personnelles étaient très éloignées 'du matérialisme, ont toujours eu un faible pour les explications 'mécanistes.' In physics, he rightly identifies materialism with atomism and mechanism, and continues: 'Eh bien, 'je n'hésite pas: dans ce moment-ci nous allons vers l'atomisme;

'le mécanisme se transforme, mais il se précise, il prend du 'corps, nous verrons tout à l'heure dans quelle mesure. Il y a 'trente ans, mes conclusions auraient été toutes différentes.' That is to say, while the ignorant have been talking about a reaction against materialism, we have here perhaps the greatest modern philosopher of physics, in an essay written against materialism, confessing that modern physics is moving rapidly towards materialism, and showing a tendency little apparent thirty years ago, that is in the height of the literary materialism of Taine and Renan. But that is not all.

Nothing has been so common in recent writings as to quote the modern theory of the constitution of the atom as a blow to materialism; for it resolves the atom into a system of 'electrons' or charged particles which apparently need have no mass, a primary attribute of matter. 'Ce nouveau pas 'en avant,' says M. Poincaré, 'est encore une victoire de 'l'atomisme,' that is for materialism; and we can imagine few advanced philosophers who will differ from him. We confess to wondering how the editors of this book appreciated M. Poincaré's contribution to the general attack on materialism. What he has done is to point out some of the chief difficulties in the way; and for that he deserves not the enmity but the thanks of all reasonable scientific materialists.

The next essay is one by M. Jean Friedel, entitled 'Le 'Matérialisme et les données actuelles des sciences de la vie.' It calls for but little attention, and is chiefly of interest for its admissions. M. Friedel begins by defining materialism as 'le système imaginé par Démocrite, complété par Épicure, et 'que le grand poète Lucrèce a chanté avec des accents dignes 'd'une philosophie moins désespérante.' He might as well define Christianity as the system imagined by Moses and Aaron; but let that pass. M. Friedel's main attack upon materialism is in yet another of its connotations. 'Le 'caractère essentiel du matérialisme,' says he, 'est *l'absence de* '*toute notion de finalité.*' We fully accept this definition: it is perhaps the most obvious of the connecting links between ancient Greek materialism and modern scientific materialism. And what are his arguments in favour of finalism, or, as it is more commonly called in England, teleology? 'Les organismes 'ne nous apparaissent pas comme l'œuvre du hasard mais bien 'plutôt comme des essais tentés par une force mystérieuse

of the French theatre to the tastes of the foreigners who flock to Paris in search of a somewhat gross kind of amusement. He truly observes that the vicissitudes of the theatre are little affected by philosophy, but by the purely economic question of the demand of people who go to theatres.

At length we come to the final essay of M. Charles Wagner on 'Le Matérialisme dans les Mœurs.' Under the name of practical materialism, M. Wagner attacks many objectionable features of modern civilisation—the glorification of wealth, the importance attached to appearances apart from real worth, 'l'arrivisme,' etc. But as he himself says with admirable candour, these things have no connexion with philosophic materialism.) He wisely warns anti-materialists against 'la prière du pharisien.'

Here then we reach the end of this weighty onslaught on materialism, and what result do we find? About half the writers are irrelevant; of the remaining half several, and in particular M. Poincaré, indicate little more than a reluctance to accept scientific materialism. M. Bergson alone makes any show of real force. No new light is thrown on the relation of materialism to morals; yet we may fitly ask what is the moral effect, if any, of a belief in scientific materialism. Materialists are often looked upon by the ignorant as intellectual machines, devoid of feeling or sentiment. Yet the fact is that the whole gradual development of the psychology of feeling has come from the materialistic side: it is the metaphysicians who have always exalted intellect at the expense of feeling. Few doctrines can be more false than the statement of Melchior de Vogüé: 'Le 'pessimisme est sorti du matérialisme'; for materialism is above all others the philosophy of hope and self-help. What can be more helplessly pessimistic than the metaphysicians' discussions as to the nature of the soul? It is through scientific materialism alone that the welfare of humanity can be achieved. But to the real philosopher it matters nothing whether scientific materialism is pessimistic or optimistic: such questions only arouse emotional prejudice: he is concerned only to know that his philosophy is true.

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SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

1. **My Life.** By AUGUST BEBEL. London: Unwin. 1913.
2. **Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie.** Von FRANZ MEHRING. Stuttgart: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. 1913.
3. **Handbuch der Sozial-demokratischen Parteitage von 1863–1909.** Von WILHELM SCHRÖDER. München: G. Birt and Co. 1910.
4. **Protokoll des Parteitages 1910, 1911, 1912.** Berlin. Buchhandlung Vorwärts. Paul Singer.
5. **Unsere Ziele.** Von A. BEBEL. Berlin. Buchhandlung Vorwärts. 1910.
6. **Partei und Gewerkschaft.** Von AUGUST MAI. Dresden: Kaden and Co. 1912.
7. **Geschichte der sozial-demokratischen Parteiorganisation in Deutschland.** Von W. SCHRÖDER. Dresden: Kaden and Co. 1912.
8. **Geschichte des Sozialismus in England.** Von M. BEER. Stuttgart: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. 1913.

THE death of August Bebel, which occurred on August 12–13 in the present year, closes a chapter in the history of the Social-Democratic Party in Germany, and happens to coincide with the completion of fifty years from the date which the party regards as that of its birth. The occasion thus seems doubly opportune for a review of the movement and an examination of its present and prospective position. But the subject derives still more interest from the general state of agitation pervading the whole field of what, for want of a better word, we must call the labour movement, of which Social-Democracy or political Socialism is part. Now the German Social-Democratic Party is the oldest, the strongest, and, in a sense, the most successful of all political organisations of the kind. Germany has led the way in this field; the political Socialism of other countries is derived from German teaching and German example, though it has undergone various modifications prompted by national conditions. The root principles, the arguments, and the main items of every programme are taken

from the German original. To study this phase, therefore, of the labour movement and to estimate its significance we naturally turn to Germany, just as we do to England to study trade unionism.

It is, however, necessary for a full comprehension of the subject to insert here a qualification about the origin of political Socialism. Germany is not its original home. It made its appearance, and in an extremely active form, long before in England, if not in France, as Mr. Beer has convincingly shown in his scholarly and profoundly interesting history. Thirty years before the foundation of the Social-Democracy in Germany precisely similar elements were at work in England and produced the agitation which eventually became Chartism. The economic, social, moral, and political grounds were identical and the aims indistinguishable. The object of Chartism was to establish a social democracy in which political power would be in the hands of the working classes, who would use that power to revolutionise the economic system and transform it from the capitalistic to a socialistic order. This policy was based on the argument that Labour produces all wealth but is robbed by Capital through the latter's possession of land and the means of production, whereby it is enabled to seize, in the form of profit, the surplus value of the wealth produced above the cost of production, and to withhold from Labour all share except the bare means of subsistence in the form of wages; and, further, that this state of things must necessarily grow worse and worse. These propositions are the essentials of Marxian Socialism, but they were common property in England when Marx was a schoolboy at Trèves. Even the idea that the class war which will bring about the revolution is an inevitable phase in the evolution of society was then put forward. Nor can it be said that the social-democratic movement started in Germany by Lassalle in 1863 was based on any fuller, clearer or more coherent grasp of aims, methods, and principles. Quite the contrary. It took German Socialists many years to work out their ideas into a coherent scheme and to formulate their policy and principles as clearly as had been done by Chartist and pre-Chartist writers in England during the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless it remains true that German Social-Democracy

is the mother of the modern political movement carried on in the name of Labour in all countries. Chartism went to pieces in England after 1848 and eventually died a natural death. The parallel but much cruder and weaker movement in France led by Louis Blanc suffered the same fate after the collapse of the national workshops experiment in the same year. In both countries a strong reaction followed. It was in the comparatively virgin soil of Germany and after a considerable interval that a shoot from the same stock took root and began to grow. Ferdinand Lassalle was the gardener. In 1863 he planted a sapling in ground which had been for some time preparing and called it the General German Workers' Association or Union. The Social-Democratic Party regards the formation of this society as its birth. Like the great majority of Socialist leaders, Lassalle did not belong to the class which Socialism claims specially to represent. He came of a well-to-do middle-class Jewish family, wherein he resembled his contemporaries Marx and Engels; but unlike them he was a politician, and one of meteoric brilliance. His genius had an influence on the direction which the movement took, but he lived too short a time after the foundation of the Association—little more than a year—to give it much personal guidance. In any case a political movement of the kind must have arisen even without his lead. Germany was the right soil; the national temperament leans towards politics, and the country was seething with progressive and revolutionary ideas.

Bebel, who became and remained the parliamentary leader and was the mainstay of the party from the outset of its parliamentary career, was a born politician. He came to Socialism through politics, not to politics through Socialism. He began as a Radical and anti-Socialist by taking part in local politics at Leipzig while still a workman; for Bebel was one of the very few really prominent Socialists who have been workmen. It is worth noting, however, that his career as a wage-earner was very short. He had already set up for himself at the beginning of 1864 before he took to Socialism. When he went to prison in 1872 he employed six workmen as well as apprentices, and after he came out in 1874 he became the owner of a steam-driven factory in partnership with a friend. The early difficulties he encountered

as a 'little master' in his business, which was making handles of horn for doors and windows, probably influenced his views, but his conversion to Socialism was mainly an educational process. His acquaintance with Liebknecht, an educated man who had consorted with Marx and Engels, hastened it; but as he said himself, he was 'well on the road' and would have arrived independently of Liebknecht. He took an active and leading part in promoting the development of workmen's improvement societies or associations in Saxony, and in 1867 was elected to the North German Reichstag as one of their representatives. Two years later these organisations constituted themselves into the 'Social Democratic 'Workmen's Party' at a congress held at Eisenach. They were opposed to the North German organisation founded by Lassalle, and the two carried on an embittered conflict until 1875, when they united at the Gotha congress under the name of the 'Socialist Workmen's Party * of Germany.'

In January 1871 the German Empire was established and in the following March the first elections took place. The number of Socialist votes cast was 124,655 representing 3·2 per cent. of the whole, and two Socialist members were elected, both for industrial constituencies in Saxony. One of them was Bebel; the other, a barrister, afterwards left the party and joined the *Deutsche Volkspartei*, one of the numerous Radical sections. The table on p. 439 shows the progress of the Socialists at subsequent elections.

In the course of little more than a generation the proportion of votes secured by Socialists has risen from 3 per cent. to 34 per cent. of the total and the number of members elected from 2 to 110. It is immense. More than one-third of the votes cast in 1912 went to Socialists, and if the representation were in strict numerical proportion they would have 138 members. The discrepancy, which varies in extent but always occurs, is a great grievance. It is due in part to the fact that the party runs candidates all over the Empire and many of them fail, so that the accumulated minority vote cast for them is much larger than in the case of other parties,

* 'Workmen's Party' is the literal rendering of *Arbeiter-partei*, but 'Labour Party' is the English equivalent according to common usage.

whose strength is concentrated over a smaller area. But it is still more due to the growth and changes in distribution of the population which have occurred since the establishment of the Empire while the number and distribution of the constituencies have remained the same except for 15 seats added for Elsass in 1874. This has resulted in great inequality of representation. Thus there are eleven constituencies with over 100,000 electors, including one (a Berlin suburb) with over 300,000; and sixty-one constituencies with fewer than 22,000. Since the Socialists are strongest in the large centres of industry and trade, which have grown most rapidly and are most unrepresented, the situation is always unfavourable to them, though the actual incidence of the inequality varies with the caprices of polling.

REICHSTAG ELECTIONS

Year.	No. of electors on register.	Votes cast for Social-Democrats.	Percentage of total cast.	Social-Democrats elected.
1871	7,656,273	124,655	3·2	2
1874	8,523,446	351,952	6·8	10
1877	8,943,028	493,288	9·1	13
1878	9,124,311	437,158	7·6	9
1881	9,090,381	311,961	6·1	13
1884	9,383,074	549,990	9·7	24
1887	9,769,802	763,128	10·1	11
1890	10,145,877	1,427,298	19·7	35
1893	10,628,282	1,786,738	23·3	44
1898	11,441,094	2,107,076	27·2	56
1903	12,531,248	3,010,771	31·7	81
1907	13,350,698	3,259,020	28·9	43
1912	14,441,777	4,250,329	34·8	110

Particular interest attaches to the increase of the Socialist vote between 1878 and 1890, the period during which Bismarck's repressive laws were in force. The huge rise in 1890 conclusively proved their futility and led to their repeal in that year.

Since the Reichstag consists of 397 members the Socialists, who have now 111 seats, represent 27·9 per cent. of the whole. They have risen from a negligible proportion to be by far the largest single group or *Fraktion*, to use the German

term. The next in numerical order is the Centre, or Clerical Party, with 93 members. Since the number of seats has not been increased it is obvious that the gains of the Socialists have been secured at the cost of the other groups. In 1871 there were twelve groups in all and in 1912 there were fourteen; some had disappeared in the interval, others had sprung up, but the tendency has been for the Socialists to take toll of all, with a few exceptions, though by no means in an equal degree. The following table, giving the principal groups in the years 1871, 1890, and 1912, shows broadly the movement, though there have been many ups and downs at intermediate general elections:

MEMBERS IN REICHSTAG

Party.	1871	1890	1912
Conservative	57	73	42
Imperial (*Reichs-partei*)	37	20	14
National Liberal	125	42	45
Progressive (*Fortschritt*)	46	—	—
Free-minded (*Freisinnige*)	—	66	—
Progressive Popular (*Volkspartei*)	—	—	42
Centre	63	106	93
Polish	13	16	18
Alsatian	—	10	7
Social-Democratic	2	35	110

The outstanding feature of the party fluctuations is the advance of the Socialists. The only other parties which have improved their position since 1871 are the Centre and the Poles. They represent the stand made against Socialism by religious and racial influences. The Liberals have suffered most. As for the Radicals, they have undergone numerous group changes under various names but have fallen off heavily since 1890, as have the Conservative groups. Socialism is essentially the choice of the urban population. But neither the electors who support it nor the candidates returned should be confused with the party itself. This is very commonly done, as when it is said, for instance, that the Social-Democratic Party is over four millions strong. The party proper is a definite organisation of professed Socialists, who prove their faith by the most convincing testimony, which is the payment

of subscriptions. An outline of its origin has been given above down to the year 1875. It had then fewer than 25,000 members. Its income for the first year was £2938, out of which eight whole-time agitators were maintained at a salary of £80 a year, besides a number of other paid officers. Propaganda was the great object of activity, and it was carried on with the utmost energy by means of meetings, speeches, and the dissemination of literature. One of the secrets of the growth of Socialism in Germany is the use made of the Press, particularly in the form of daily and weekly newspapers. Almost from the first the organised movement had its own papers besides others which supported it, and they continually increased in number. By 1876 there were twenty-three, and in 1877 they counted forty-one political and fourteen labour papers. The income of the central fund that year fell to £2710, but this did not include large sums spent on elections. Prominent members were still harried by the authorities and prosecutions were frequent. No details of membership are available after 1875 until 1906, but the average income for the years 1887–8, 1888–9 and 1890–1 was £5750. The membership from 1906 onwards down to the present time is given in the following table:

MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Year.	Total members.	Female members.
1906	384,327	—
1907	530,466	10,943
1908	587,336	29,458
1909	633,309	62,259
1910	720,038	82,642
1911	836,562	107,693
1912	970,112	130,371
1913	982,850	141,115

The growth was very rapid down to 1912, and particularly on the women's side. The sudden falling off during the last year is striking and has been the subject of much comment. It would be a mistake to overrate its significance, but a much greater mistake to underrate it. The virtual standstill in the expansion of the organisation is accompanied by other

signs of a change in the atmosphere to which further reference will be made later on. We are at present dealing with the facts relating to the development and present position of the organisation. It will be observed that such small increase as there was last year consisted almost wholly of women. In fifteen districts and 164 constituencies an absolute decline in membership was reported and one of them was Berlin itself, the greatest stronghold of the party.

It is at once apparent that the numerical strength of the organisation bears no relation to the votes cast for Social-Democratic candidates at the Reichstag elections. In 1907 it was less than one-sixth and in 1912 it had not risen to one-fourth in spite of the rapid growth. If the women are excluded the proportion is less than one-fifth. That is to say, four-fifths of the voting strength of the party is drawn from persons outside the organisation. Who these supporters are is an interesting question to which we will refer after filling in the account of the party with a few more details.

The numerical growth has, of course, been accompanied by a corresponding increase in financial strength. In the election year of 1912 the balance-sheet of the central fund showed a turnover of £166,498. The expenditure somewhat exceeded the income on account of the large amount spent on the general election. This was the principal item and it exceeded £45,000. Other leading items were £16,000 spent on propaganda, and £3500 on salaries and office expenses. This year there is a balance in hand of nearly £20,000. The Press is a source of substantial profit although it draws a subsidy of £3000 or £4000 a year from the central fund. The number of newspapers is astonishing, according to English notions. The party now publishes ninety-two journals with a list of nearly 1½ million regular subscribers, but there has of late been some falling off. The chief paper is the 'Vorwärts,' a daily paper published in Berlin as the official organ of the party, and now in its thirtieth year. It is by far the greatest Socialist paper in the world and a tower of strength to the cause. It costs ½*d*. and consists of from twelve to eighteen pages and sometimes more. It has a good general news service and is conducted with marked ability. Among the other papers are weekly illustrated and literary journals, papers especially for women and for children. It has just been decided to

issue a first-class illustrated journal fortnightly at the price of 3*d.*, but the proposal to publish a fashion paper has been rejected. These facts, though trivial in themselves, are so instructive as signs of the times that they deserve particular notice. It is difficult to imagine anything more typically *bourgeois* than an illustrated family newspaper, except perhaps a fashion paper; but the one is to be provided and the other has been demanded by the proletariate for itself.

The organisation is, of course, democratic. The basis is the local society established in each parliamentary constituency, and the final controlling authority is the annual representative meeting or *Partei-tag* commonly called in English the Congress. This year's *Partei-tag* was held at Jena, September 15–20. The *Partei-tag* receives and discusses official reports on the work of the executive committee and on the action of the party in the Reichstag and it decides resolutions sent up from the district branches. The proceedings year by year form an index to the current of opinions within the party.

Such is the organisation which has gradually secured so great a hold on the electorate as to form the largest group in the Reichstag, and to poll for its candidates more than one-third of the total number of votes cast. Its success is due to its completeness and perfection as a machine and to the discipline and enthusiasm of its members. It claims to be the Labour party *par excellence* and to represent the proletariate as a class. To what extent does the claim hold good, first in regard to the party itself, and secondly in regard to the electorate? In one sense it does not represent them at all. It was neither founded nor inspired by them. Its intellectual leaders have always belonged to the middle classes, with a remarkable preponderance of Jews among them. The names of Lassalle, von Schweitzer, who succeeded him, Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Kautsky, Bernstein, Schoenlank, David, and Ledebour sufficiently prove it. In the parliamentary field pure middle-class leaders, whose strength lies more in the written than in the spoken word, have been less pre-eminent. Several of those just mentioned are or were members of the Reichstag, and others should be added to them; for instance, Singer (a manufacturer) and Vollmar (a military officer). But in the House and on the platform they were all over-topped by

Bebel, who was once a wage-earner; and some other prominent members, such as Molkenbuhr and Auer, came from the same class. But in a conflict between two classes—and the class struggle is the heart of German Socialism—how far can a man be said to represent one class when he has left it and passed into the other, which is theoretically opposed to it? Before Bebel was a party leader in the Reichstag he had become an employer and a capitalist, and during the last twenty-four years of his life he had retired from business. He was a well-to-do man, had a villa in Switzerland, and left a considerable fortune.

In an analysis of the composition of the party by Dr. Robert Michels, published in the 'Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft' for September 1906, it is stated that of the eighty-one members then forming the parliamentary group thirteen sprang from the *bourgeoisie*, fifteen from 'more or less proletarised layers 'of the lesser *bourgeoisie*,' and the remaining fifty-three consisted of 'former wage-earners.' The organisation as a whole has a larger proportion of working-class members, but is also made up of very miscellaneous elements. Considering the great numerical preponderance of the wage-earning population, for whose special benefit the party exists, the proportion of others is surprisingly large. In this connexion it should be noted that the word *Arbeiter* (Workmen) was dropped out of the official title of the party in 1891.

With regard to the voting strength of the party in the constituencies the case is similar. It draws support from many classes though the trade unions are its mainstay. The total number of organised wage-earners in Germany now exceeds four millions. They are classified into six groups: (1) Free, (2) Hirsch-Duncker, (3) Christian, (4) Independent, (5) Friendly (*Wirthschafts-friedliche*), (6) Local. Only the first group are reckoned as supporters of the Social-Democratic Party and are sometimes called by that name. The others are either definitely independent or actively opposed to it. The first group is, however, by far the largest and now numbers about two and a half million members. They are in no wise affiliated to the party and they call themselves 'Free' to indicate their independence of political parties; but they are more in sympathy with the Social-Democratic than with any other parliamentary

group, and no doubt generally support its candidates at the polls.

In his autobiography Bebel gives an account of the rise of trade unionism in Germany and of its relations with the Socialists. He names the year 1868 as the date of its birth, though some organisations of workmen existed before then. The political leaders, he says, had so far done little for trade unionism. Indeed nothing was done until Dr. Hirsch, founder of the Hirsch-Duncker union, who had been to England to study trade unions, urged their formation on the English lines as organisations for self-help and mutual support. Then von Schweitzer, Lassalle's successor, took up the idea in competition and tried to forestall Dr. Hirsch. The struggle of politicians for the capture of the unions, which has continued ever since, had begun. 'The organisation was condemned 'root and branch by Marx,' says Bebel, and 'the Lassal-'leans generally were hostile to trade unionism.' They only wanted to get the unions into the party 'in order to dissolve them.' Nor were the others any better. 'None of the 'political sections of the Labour Party,' says candid Bebel, 'would renounce the formation of its own special 'union, hoping thereby to obtain an accretion of power.' The trade union movement, he admits, was greatly impeded by these political discussions. What happened was that the workmen proceeded to form their own unions and got on so well that in 1872 they held their first Congress. The year previous the Social-Democratic Society of Leipzig had busied itself with the question and passed some resolutions condemning strikes, just as Mr. Snowden has recently condemned them. It has always been so. Codlin's the friend, not Short. 'Follow me and down tools!' shouts the strike-leader. 'No, no!' cries the Socialist; 'save your money 'and vote for me.' In 1872 Bebel had come to believe in trade unionism, but only as a step to Socialism.

In the last twenty years the unions—we are referring only to the 'free' unions and omitting the non-Socialist and anti-Socialist groups—have grown at a prodigious rate, far more rapidly than the Social-Democratic Party. The membership advanced from 237,044 in 1892 to 1,856,506 in 1907. It fell off a little during the depression of 1908–9, but has since risen rapidly again.

The parallel movement of the unions, the Social-Democratic Party and its voting strength at elections, in recent years is shown in the following table:

Year.	Trade Union membership.	Social-Democratic Party membership.	Social-Democratic votes cast.
1906	1,689,785	384,327	—
1907	1,865,506	530,466	3,259,020
1908	1,831,731	587,336	—
1909	1,832,667	633,309	—
1910	2,017,298	720,038	—
1911	2,339,785	836,562	—
1912	2,559,000	970,112	4,250,329

The table shows that the unions have grown much faster than the party and the increase of votes is greater still. The truth seems to be that the Social-Democratic Party has become the favourite refuge and rallying point of discontented persons, whatever class they may belong to; and discontent has been growing with increased taxation and rising cost of living. There is more of dissatisfaction with the Government than of love for Socialism in the swelling poll. The distinction does not alter the facts or lessen the strength of the parliamentary group, but it does affect the significance of the situation. Votes given without conviction and merely to express dissatisfaction are liable to be transferred to another quarter on another occasion, and the fluctuations of polling in certain constituencies have shown that Socialist candidates are subject to these vagaries as well as others. If there were any real prospect of the party being in a position to put their theories into practice the whole situation would be changed, and the effect on the electors might be very different from that which is suggested by the recent course of elections. Many who now nominally support at the polls a policy which has no chance of being realised would certainly draw back if its realisation were actually in prospect. This brings us to a consideration of what the Social-Democratic policy is.

In the earlier part of this article, dealing with the origin of the Social-Democratic Party, it was intimated that its principles have undergone some changes and developments since its foundation by Lassalle. His immediate purpose

was to create a political organisation of wage-earners in order to agitate for universal suffrage. 'Organise yourselves,' ran his famous Open Letter to Working Men, 'as a general 'union of German workmen for the purpose of carrying on a 'constitutional and peaceful, but unwearying and unceasing 'agitation for the introduction of universal direct suffrage 'in all German States.' The object was political power to be used for the emancipation of wage-earners by the State from the oppression of the iron law of wages through the formation of their own trading and producing associations. It was a blend of ideas and projects put forward in England and in France. The statutes of the union founded in response mentioned the 'effective abolition of class an- 'tagonism' as the object. In 1865 three main standpoints were laid down: (1) the universal solidarity of popular interests (internationalism); (2) a united Germany; (3) overthrow of the capitalist system. The rival Social-Democratic Workmen's Party, formed in 1869, laid down the following points: (1) equal rights and duties for all classes and the abolition of all class domination; (2) abolition of the present wage-system and its replacement by co-operation so as to secure to every workman the full product of his work; (3) political freedom and democracy indispensable for the economic liberation of the working classes; (4) union of working classes necessary for these objects; (5) interests of Labour international.

When the two organisations united in 1875 (see above) their ideas had already undergone considerable expansion through the teaching of Marx; but belief in Lassalle's iron law and in co-operative societies with State help still found expression. The basis of the ideal State was to be universal suffrage at twenty years of age (the constitution of the Empire had already established it at twenty-five years); direct legislation through the people; universal military service for defence in place of a standing army; popular judiciary and gratuitous justice; universal, equal and secular education; religion declared a private matter.

It was not until 1891, after the anti-Socialist storm, that the Marxian doctrine found full expression in the programme formally adopted at the Erfurt Congress and nominally retained to this day. The introduction lays down the theoretical

groundwork which has been the basis of political Socialism in all countries ever since. It must be quoted in full:

'The economic development of the *bourgeois* order of society leads necessarily and by the nature of things to the decline of the small industry, which is based on the private ownership by the workman of his means of production. It separates the workman from his means of production and transforms him into a property-less proletarian, while the means of production become the monopoly of a relatively small number of capitalists and large landowners. This monopolisation of the means of production proceeds step by step with the break-up and displacement of the small industry by the colossal great industry, the evolution of the tool into the machine, and a gigantic increase in the productivity of human labour. But all the benefits of this transformation are monopolised by the capitalists and landowners. For the *proletariate* and the failing middle ranks—small tradesmen and agriculturists—it signifies constantly increasing insecurity of existence, misery, oppression, subjection, degradation, and exploitation.

'Ever greater grows the number of proletarians, ever vaster the army of superfluous workmen, ever wider the gulf between exploiters and exploited, ever more embittered the class-war between *bourgeoisie* and *proletariate* which divides modern society into two hostile camps and is the common hall-mark of all industrial countries.

'The gulf between the Haves and the Have Nots is further widened by the trade depressions inherent in the nature of capitalist production, which constantly become more extensive and destructive, raise general insecurity to the standing condition of society, and afford proof that productivity has far out-grown existing society and that private ownership of the means of production has become incompatible with the fulfilment of their proper functions and with their full development.

'Private ownership of the means of production, which was formerly the means of securing to the producer the ownership of his own product, has become the means of expropriating peasantry, artisans, and small dealers, and of placing the non-workers—capitalists and landowners—in possession of that which the workers produce. Only the transformation of capitalist ownership of the means of production—land and soil, mines and quarries, raw materials, tools, machines, and means of transport—into social ownership and the conversion of production for sale (profit) into socialistic production carried on through and for society, can effect such a change as will turn the large industry and the ever-growing productivity of social labour from a source of misery and oppression for the hitherto exploited classes into one of the highest welfare and all-round harmonious improvement.

'This social transformation implies the emancipation not only of the *proletariate*, but of the whole human race which suffers

under existing conditions. But it can only be effected by the working class because all other classes, in spite of conflicting interests among themselves, stand on the principle of private ownership of the means of production, and aim in common at preserving the foundations of the existing order.

'The battle of the working class against capitalist exploitation must necessarily be political. The working class cannot fight its economic battles or develop its economic organisation without political rights. It cannot effect the transference of the means of production into the possession of the whole community without being in possession of political power.

'To make this warfare of the working class conscious and united and to inform it with a sense of its inevitable aim—that is the mission of the Social-Democratic Party.

'The interests of the working class are identical in all countries where capitalistic production prevails. With the expansion of international intercourse and of production for the markets of the world the condition of the workers in each country becomes constantly more dependent on the condition of those in the rest. The emancipation of the working class is therefore a task in which the workers of all civilised countries are equally concerned. In recognition of this the Social-Democratic Party of Germany feels and declares itself at one with the class-conscious workers of all other countries.

'The Social-Democratic Party of Germany is fighting, then, not for new class privileges or superior rights but for the abolition of class domination and of classes altogether, for equal rights and equal duties for all without distinction of sex or nationality. In accordance with this point of view it opposes not only the exploitation and oppression of wage-earners in existing society but every form of exploitation and oppression whether directed against a class, a party, a sex, or a race.' *

Here is pure water undefiled from the Marxian spring. This statement of principles contains the condensed essence of Marx's celebrated analysis of capital and forms the foundation of the whole structure. The stability of the latter depends on the soundness of the premises, which rest in their turn on certain theories of philosophy, history, and economics. The master word is *Naturnotwendigkeit*, a compound for which we have no precise equivalent in English. It connotes a necessity residing in the nature of things and therefore inevitable. The discovery or demonstration of the *Naturnotwendigkeit* of Socialism is Marx's great achievement. This is what makes

* Other translations will be found in 'Modern Socialism' (R. C. K. Ensor) and 'A History of Socialism' (Thomas Kirkup).

his Socialism 'scientific' in contradistinction to all earlier and inferior versions. But before considering the value of this conception it is necessary to go on to the actual programme, which can be stated in a condensed form. It is in the main an enlargement of the one of 1875 quoted above, but the Lassallean features have disappeared.

Franchise—Universal, male and female, at age of twenty; proportional representation; redistribution.

Legislation—Direct, popular, through the initiative and referendum; local self-government; election of officials; taxation voted annually.

Army—Universal training to bear arms; popular instead of standing army; peace and war decided by popular vote; international arbitration.

Freedom of Speech—Abolition of all restrictions on free speech and the right of combination and meeting.

Women—Complete equality of public and private rights for both sexes.

Religion—Declared a private matter; withdrawal of all support from public sources.

Education—Secular, compulsory, gratuitous, including maintenance and higher grade for deserving scholars.

Justice—Gratuitous; judges popularly elected; compensation of innocent persons; abolition of death penalty.

Health—Gratuitous medical treatment and burial.

Taxation—Graduated income, property and inheritance taxes; abolition of all indirect taxes and duties.

These are the measures immediately demanded and intended to lead up to the future socialistic order; but they do not constitute it. They are all modifications of the existing order, some good, some bad, some indifferent; and every one of them might be introduced without affecting the capitalist system in the smallest degree. From this point of view, the most important item is, no doubt, the first, by which it is hoped that political power would pass into the hands of the proletariate which would then be able to control affairs and abolish capitalism, though how the change is to be accomplished has never been indicated. But there is no reason to believe that the lowering of the voting age from twenty-five to twenty and the inclusion of women would have any such effect. The more democratic suffrage at twenty-one years in such countries

as France and the United States has had no effect except to degrade and discredit politics, nor has the inclusion of women in some States made any change in the direction intended. All, or very nearly all, of the proposed measures, including the franchise, are in force in one country or another, but without affecting capitalism at all. The only economic effect any of these may have is to ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes. That is still more clearly the case with a second list of immediately demanded measures appended to the first, and devoted particularly to the protection of the working classes. It includes an eight hours day, age limit of fourteen years for children, prohibition of night work, minimum weekly holiday, abolition of truck, factory inspection, legal position of agricultural labourers and domestic servants, trade union rights, workmen's insurance—all familiar objects of social reform intended to improve the condition of the working classes and for the most part not only demanded but to a considerable extent realised, at least in this country, years before the Social-Democratic Party existed and continuously extended since without any reference to it.

Now such measures of reform, instead of leading to the Social-Democratic goal must lead away from it, according to the theory enunciated above. The *Naturnotwendigkeit* of the transformation of capitalistic into socialistic economy lies in the inevitable breakdown of Capitalism through the increasing misery and oppression of the proletariate. But social reforms are intended to relieve this misery and prevent this oppression, and so far as they succeed must have the effect of postponing the inevitable consummation. The more tolerable the conditions of life for the proletariate the less disposed they will be to rise in their might and put an end to them. Thus the programme of Social-Democracy is directly opposed to its principles. The pure theorists saw this clearly from the first and consequently opposed remedial action, whether social legislation or self-help in the form of trade unionism and co-operation. Some stalwarts nominally maintain that attitude still, but as a parliamentary party the Social-Democrats have been compelled to abandon it in practice. Of necessity on two grounds: first, because the working classes who are their clients do not wish to sink deeper and deeper into misery now in order to promote a

glorious change in some indefinite future—they want immediate relief; and secondly, because the alternative before the party is either to do nothing at all but utter barren protests or to take part in practical legislation and help to shape it.

What is their record as a political party after fifty years of existence and over forty of parliamentary activity? On the side of their ultimate aims it is absolutely negative. The whole account consists of empty demonstrations and interminable strings of words, written and spoken; innumerable speeches of incredible length, millions of repetitions, and an endless series of futile proposals and votes. It is not their fault that they have done nothing else; it is in the nature of things. That is just the point. Even in regard to their main programme of actual measures intended to prepare the way for the socialistic State the result is *nil*. They have not got a single step nearer the goal in regard to the franchise, the referendum, the army, disendowment of religion, secular education, elected judges, and all the rest. Again it is not their fault. Nor is it due to the constitution, which under a democratic form keeps real power in the hands of a few. The changes are too large for general acceptance by the German people. The recent Report of the Reichstag members to the Congress at Jena last September, giving an account of their stewardship during last session, was both an apology and an appeal. It was an apology for what they had done and left undone and an appeal for more support from the rank and file:

'The participation of the masses in the activity of the parliamentary group and—when necessary—criticism by our comrades, is what we must demand on our side, if we are duly and successfully to discharge our duty as servants and members of the whole body of the class-conscious *proletariate*.'

They cannot do more than they do for lack of support.

What is it, then, that they do and have done on the positive side? It is stated in the same Report. They can acquiesce in the existing order, adjust themselves to accomplished facts, and take advantage of such opportunities as occur to shape and modify legislation to the advantage of the working classes. For instance, this session there was the Army Bill providing for a large increase in the standing army of Germany. The

conduct of the Reichstag members perfectly illustrates the discrepancy between theory and reality. It formed the chief subject of discussion at the Congress. Anti-militarism and abolition of the standing army are among the most important planks in the party platform, and to vote against military expenditure is a sacred duty on principle, though it produces no practical effect. But here arose a dilemma. The Army Bill providing for the increase and the Finance Bill providing the money to pay for it were separate. The Social-Democrats could vote against the first, that was clear enough, though they could not prevent it from passing. Then came the financial question, which presented an awkward choice. They were in a position by supporting the Government to have the burden placed mainly on the propertied classes; and they did so, though it entailed voting the Army estimates, which is high treason to the cause according to the straitest sect of the Pharisees. If they had not done so they would have run the risk either of forcing a general election, for which they are not prepared, or of endangering the favourable taxation and seeing it transformed in the autumn to indirect taxes, which fall on the proletariate. They chose the lesser of two evils.

This is what they can do and have done—influence legislation in the immediate interest of the working classes, or, in other words, promote social reform. There has been a vast body of legislation of this nature, including the great system of national insurance against sickness, accident, invalidity, and old age, factory laws, sanitation, housing, pauperism, and the like. As the party has gained power it has been forced by the compelling logic of circumstances to participate in this legislation, the effect of which is to ameliorate the lot of the working classes within the existing capitalistic order and so postpone the catastrophic downfall. At the elections also it has been constrained to traffic with the Radical parties on the second ballots.

One result of all this has been the controversy within the party between the 'Revisionists' and the orthodox Marxists. It is an empty warfare of words. The Revisionists are those who would openly acknowledge the situation and revise the preamble of their programme in accordance with the facts, which are in glaring contradiction with much of it. The

others object to any tampering with the sacred words; but in practice all the Reichstag members are Revisionists, and the Congress has just endorsed their policy by the substantial majority of 333 to 142 votes. Dr. Frank, of Mannheim, one of the acutest minds in the party, declared that the old uncompromising negative attitude was obsolete and that reform tactics are really in accordance with their principles, because though they apparently bolster up the capitalist system they actually strengthen the working classes ('Vorwärts,' September 18).

That is the position to-day, and what it signifies is the collapse of the Marxian theory. Bit by bit it has gone, partly by external partly by internal criticism, but actually and effectively through the course of events, until nothing but a ruin remains. Professor Sombart, no hostile observer, puts it more rhetorically thus:

'Here and there a stone was removed from the edifice of the Marxian system; a whole army of moles, hailing from the Socialist as well as from the *bourgeois* camp, endangered the foundations on which it stood, until at last the whole structure collapsed as silently as the Campanile in Venice.'

The foundations were laid in sand and water, which have slipped away or dried up. The materialistic interpretation of history which underlay the structure has shrunk up, like the philosophic materialism from which it was formed; the labour value theory, which is the heart of the celebrated analysis of capital, has evaporated so completely that it is never so much as mentioned. Thus the philosophic, historical, and economic bases have all been washed away. The dogmatic conclusions drawn from them with arrogant assurance have all been falsified by time. (1) The large industry has not driven out the small. On the contrary, the latter continues to thrive and increase, as the censuses of industry in various countries conclusively prove. New branches are constantly springing up and old ones are reviving through new applications of science and invention. In agriculture, on which Marx and Engels laid particular stress, the small has increased at the expense of the large. In several directions the workman is recovering the ownership of his tools. (2) Capital has not become concentrated in ever fewer hands but has become

more and more diffused, through stocks and shares and houses, in which the thrifty working classes continually extend their ownership. Trade unions themselves are large investors in capitalist enterprises. (3) The working classes have not sunk deeper and deeper into misery and oppression. On the contrary their condition has steadily and substantially improved to a surprising degree. The sweeping and progressive diminution of death rates and pauperism furnishes a proof too massive to be gainsaid, not to mention all the detailed improvements in sanitation, housing, food, clothing, locomotion, recreation, and culture. Bebel himself had to abandon the proposition of increasing misery, so untenable is it. He took refuge in the argument of relative misery, which he could do honestly enough, for he never was a convinced Marxian. To those who are it is a disingenuous quibble. Lassalle, indeed, laid stress on the rising standard of requirements, but Marx formulated the doctrine of progressive absolute misery in the most unequivocal terms, and it is essential to the theory of a catastrophic breakdown of the existing system. The prophecy about the recurrent depressions of trade, or crises. as the Germans call them, has fared no better. They are an important factor in the increasing misery theory, but they have not got worse and worse, as they should have done, nor has the 'reserve' army waxed greater and greater, as the decline of emigration and growth of immigration conclusively prove. The question of unemployment caused by crises and surplus labour furnishes a cogent illustration of the ameliorative policy the Social-Democrats are forced to adopt. They are now demanding unemployment insurance in order to take the worst sting out of the crises.

What then remains? Nothing but the class war. But of all the Marxian conceptions this has the least relation to actualities. In order to provide his inverted Hegelian formula with an economic content he borrowed two words from France and used them to represent two classes into which all society is divided—the *bourgeoisie* and the *proletariate*. The artificiality of this dichotomy is revealed by the terms themselves. One is a French word for which no true equivalent exists in other languages; it indicates a character, not an economic status. The other is a Latin word, perverted from its Latin meaning, for which no one has even attempted

to find an equivalent. This means that they do not correspond with any reality in modern life, for all realities have names. The Marxian doctrine postulates a 'chasm,' growing ever wider, between them; but it is impossible to draw any line of demarcation at all, much less discover a chasm. The lower ranks melt insensibly into the higher and an incessant movement up and down is going on. The Social-Democratic Party, which claims to represent the one class, is itself made up of all. It is supposed to be 'class-conscious,' but how can anyone be class-conscious of a class to which he does not belong? The whole thing is a make-believe stuffed out with phrases. There is a definite line of demarcation between employers and employed, but that is a different angle of cleavage which does not fulfil the requirements of the dogma, and it leaves out large sections of the population.

The tenacity with which the Social-Democrats cling to these out-worn shibboleths is due to the innate need of man for a creed. Having abandoned the Christian religion they must set up a god and a creed of their own; and they found them in Marx and his gospel. They have nothing to replace them now, so the pious worshippers laboriously prop up the top-heavy head of their idol, from which the supporting trunk has crumbled away, and religiously repeat the sacred phrases which have lost their meaning. To a dispassionate observer it is rather a pathetic spectacle.

The present troubles of the party are due to the unreality of their position and the discrepancy between the actualities of life and the obsolete reading of them to which they still cling. Their clients and supporters, stuffed for years with expectations of a tremendous change—expectations which have been enhanced by the recent electoral successes—are becoming impatient at the negative result. The end seems as far off as ever and no sign of realisation is visible. So the party membership has ceased to grow and the unfortunate Reichstag members are hauled over the coals. Some denounce them for not upholding the faith with sufficient vigour and energy, while others call for the general strike since parliamentary action is so futile. The general strike, by the way, is not that of Syndicalism. It is properly 'mass-strike' (*Massenstreik*), and is meant as a peaceful demonstration for political ends. There have been several examples—three

in Belgium, of which the last took place this spring, one in Sweden in 1902, and others elsewhere. It was discussed by the German Socialists at the Congresses of 1905 and 1906, and again the other day at Jena. It is being demanded by the trade unions, and the movement is growing; but the leaders, who have good reason to think it would fail, are opposed to it, and the Congress vetoed the proposal by a large majority.

In spite of these cross-currents, those who think the party is going to break up are probably mistaken. Unless the right wing joins the Radicals or the left takes up the mass-strike—both unlikely contingencies—it will go on and keep together as a party. It will, however, be more and more engaged in practical measures for the immediate benefit of the poorer classes of the population, while the great economic revolution will sink more and more into the background. For that is the true *Naturnotwendigkeit.* An economic revolution is as impossible as a political one is easy. The organism is too intricate and delicate for large and sudden changes; it is only susceptible of a very slow and gradual transformation. And that is going on. But it will not take the form anticipated by Socialists. Human affairs, as they change, never do take the form anticipated. That is the only thing certain about the future, and the reason is that anticipations are based on the past and the present, whereas the very changes that bring the future involve a different course with unforeseen turns.

In fine, we may say that the course of Social-Democracy in Germany illustrates the general process of curvature that this movement is undergoing. The more power it gets the more it is compelled by the logic of circumstances to adapt itself to realities and postpone or relinquish its theoretical aims. Only one thing is more futile than promoting Marxian Socialism, and that is opposing it.

HENRY LABOUCHERE

The Life of Henry Labouchere. By ALGAR LABOUCHERE THOROLD. Constable. 1913.

HENRY LABOUCHERE was born in 1831 when William IV. was king. He died at Florence on the 15th of January 1912; and during his eighty-one years he took a turn at so many occupations and brought so shrewd a wit into their service that, even if there were no additional justification, a history of his life was sure to come, and provided that it was written with the insight and ability which Mr. Thorold has brought to bear upon his work, no less sure to entertain. Paradox was the fairy who waited upon Labouchere's cradle. His parentage was of the most solid and respectable; yet even in his schooldays he was a Bohemian. As a youth he went touring through Mexico with a circus for love of the lady who did the *haute école* turn. It may be that he appeared in the ring in pink tights with a fillet on his head, as the 'Bounding Buck of Babylon.' Or again it may be that he merely fulfilled the humbler but no less responsible functions of manager of the box-office, receiving the admission fees in oranges and measures of maize as often as in cash. Which duties were Labouchere's is not quite clear. A gentle hint indeed is dropped by the author of this admirable Life that the reader should be wary. 'Brodez, brodez!' cried the lady in 'Cyrano de Bergerac' to her prosaic lover. It is unlikely that she would have been justified in giving such advice if she had been listening to Mr. Labouchere telling anecdotes of his youth. From the circus he went north into the United States and, falling in with a party of Chippeway Indians at St. Paul, travelled with them into the Far West. Amongst their wigwams he spent six months as the guest of the great chief Hole in Heaven, surely a prophetic conjunction; for it was Labouchere's destiny in after times to make holes in the particular heavens of a good many people. Ten years of life in the diplomatic service followed, ending in 1864 with that famous appointment as second secretary to the legation of Buenos Aires, which 'I shall be pleased to accept,' he wrote to

Lord Russell then Foreign Secretary, 'if, residing at Baden-'Baden, I can fulfil those duties.'

Of that period many racy anecdotes are to be found in this volume, some familiar, some new. Two may be quoted as examples.

When Mr. Crampton was Ambassador at Washington and Labouchere an attaché, an American citizen called one morning. 'I want to see the boss,' he said. 'You can't—he is out,' replied Labouchere, 'but you can see me.' 'You are no good,' replied the American. 'I must see the boss. I'll wait.' 'Very well,' calmly said the Attaché and went on with his letter-writing. The visitor sat down and waited for a considerable time. At last he said: 'I've been fooling round 'here two hours. Has the chief come in yet?' 'No; you 'will see him drive up to the front door when he returns.' 'How long do you reckon he will be before he comes?' 'Well,' said Labouchere, 'he went to Canada yesterday. 'I should say he'll be here in about six weeks!'

And this:

In December 1855 Labouchere was transferred to the Legation at Munich. 'Old King Louis was then alive,' he wrote thirty years later, 'although he had been deposed. . . . 'I used frequently to meet him in the streets, when he always 'stopped me to ask me how Queen Victoria was. I had at 'last respectfully to tell him that her Majesty was not in 'the habit of writing to me every day respecting her health.'

It will be seen that Labouchere took his duties lightly. But there can be no doubt that these ten years left their mark on him. He saw the world. Washington, Munich, Stockholm, Frankfort, St. Petersburg, Dresden, Constantinople—he passed from one to the other, not without adventures, making friends and making enemies. During these years he learnt to talk. For though an untalkative 'Labby' seems a contradiction in terms, there was a time when the art of conversation was not his. He wrote of his youth: 'On most subjects I was 'ignorant—in society I could argue but not converse. With 'a lady, with a duenna, with every person in whose society 'I found myself I introduced my sole subject—gambling.' And Paddy Green, the waiter at Evans's, a resort which Labouchere frequented in his youth, took him for little better than a simpleton.

Just before his diplomatic epoch came to an end, however, he produced a very different impression on a lady who judged with discrimination. Mrs. Emily Crawford, once the Paris correspondent of the 'Daily News' and amongst his oldest friends, described him thus: 'He had a very unguarded 'tongue, and discharged his shafts of satire, irony and 'humour in all directions, and every arrow that hit made 'an enemy.'

Diplomacy, moreover, gave him more than a flow of conversation. At Frankfort he met Bismarck, who was the Prussian Representative at the Diet, and a year and a half later the acquaintanceship was renewed in St. Petersburg, where Bismarck was then Ambassador. The two men had already in common a contempt for the red tape and the ceremonies of high politics, and over bocks of beer in the cafés of Frankfort, Labouchere learned that admiration for the statecraft of the German which he never abandoned. Was it during these ten years that he became acquainted with Grenville Murray? That is not clear in Mr. Thorold's Life. But if so, it would appear that Labouchere's years in the Embassies and Legations had far-reaching consequences upon his career. For his championship of Grenville Murray, whose fault it was impossible to defend, and his subsequent publication in the columns of 'Truth' of a particular Queer Story by that writer, are supposed to have been not the smallest amongst the powerful objections which prevented Labouchere from attaining Cabinet rank. Certainly in Constantinople he learned the hatred of Turkish rule which was the governing factor in his views of foreign policy.

From diplomacy Labouchere turned to the House of Commons, not with any ideals to be transformed by legislation into facts—ideals were never in his line—but out of curiosity and a conviction that contact with so good a Radical could not but improve that assembly. Curiosity we may take as the chief cause, that insatiable gift of his which, taken in conjunction with an ever-present love of mischief, led his enemies to call him a monkey. He was elected for Windsor in 1866 and unseated six months later through no fault of his own. In the following year he was returned unopposed for Middlesex and held the seat until the General Election of 1868, when he was defeated, a quarrel with the second Liberal

candidate, Lord Enfield, letting in the Conservative, Lord George Hamilton, then a young officer in the Guards. During his membership for Middlesex he spoke often, and one speech aroused amusement: that in which he protested against the exclusion of cabs from Hyde Park. His argument was characteristically elfish. Most of his friends were not in a position to keep their own carriages, yet they passionately longed to drive about in the haunts of fashion. He himself suffered cruelly under the same longing and disability, and such an exclusion was quite incompatible with the spirit of Liberalism.

But Parliament did not exhaust his activities, for in October of the year 1867 he went into partnership with that accomplished comedian Alfred Wigan, and opened the New Queen's Theatre in Long Acre with a play by Herman Merivale called 'Time and the Hour.' 'A splendid title,' said Labouchere: 'do for any play that ever was written.' His companies included many who afterwards were famous—J. L. Toole, Lionel Brough, John Clayton, Charles Wyndham, Henrietta Hodson, who became Labouchere's wife, Mrs. Wybert Rousby, a beauty but no particular actress, Ellen Terry and Henry Irving.

'To think, Labby,' said Irving at a banquet which he gave in later years when manager of the Lyceum, 'that I was once 'receiving five pounds a week from you.' 'Three pounds, 'Henry, my boy,' replied Labouchere; 'only three.'

But in spite of his company he lost money—not, after all, an unusual experience for an untried man, even if he be so shrewd as Labouchere. It is a very narrow path which leads across the quagmires of theatrical enterprise. One play alone of all which he produced seems to have outlived its first run, and even that is no more than a name to the present generation, Tom Taylor's ''Twixt Axe and Crown.' Paddy Green was not the only man who took him for a simpleton. He was snowed under with requests for 'free passes' and with impossible manuscripts. Here are the stage directions for the opening of one of them: 'The broad Mississippi is seen 'rolling its turbid flood towards the ocean and carrying with 'it the débris of a village. Steamers come and go upon its 'surface. On a frail raft a man and a woman are crossing 'the river. Enter the negroes monotonously singing.'

Even Drury Lane might be baffled by such a scene! But after all, this is the experience of every manager. The writer of this article was once shown a play in the office of a theatre, which was planned with an ignorance no less complete. The curtain was to rise upon a street of houses numbered up to fourteen. The directions then ran:

'Enter Major Halliwell from left. He counts aloud. "One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen. Then number fifteen must be round the corner." Exit the Major, Right, and the scene changes to the front door of number fifteen. Enter the Major from left. He mounts the steps, rings the bell and is admitted. The scene changes to the interior of the house.'

Thus did the playwright anticipate the cinematograph.

With any form of endeavour which finds it necessary to distinguish itself by great pretensions and the use of capital letters, Labouchere could have no sympathy. It would smell in his nostrils too strongly of shoddiness and quackery. 'The ' votaries of high art,' as he called them, discovered no resting-place in the New Queen's Theatre. He never found one of them willing to sacrifice a farthing of his own at the shrine.

'I was perpetually at war with authors and actors who wanted me to ruin myself on the altar of high art, but I soon found that this was a term which they used for their own fads. Once I produced a play by Charles Reade. It was a failure, and on the first night I was sitting with him in a box. "They seem to be hissing, Mr. Reade," I said. "What of that?" he replied. "If you want to please such a public as this, you should not come to me for a play."'

One can imagine that scene in the box, the bland, polite question of Labouchere. 'They seem to be hissing, Mr. Reade?' What is more difficult is to imagine Charles Reade as a votary of high art with a capital A. He wrote a big book in 'The Cloister and the Hearth,' and many others which are read widely and justly to this day. He was in his way a giant, but the giants are not as a rule votaries of high art. They are content to do their work and leave the high talk to the others. Almost as easily one might imagine Labouchere a Whig. Yet when his views on Socialism are considered, is it so certain that if he were in Parliament to-day that epithet of opprobrium would not be his?

From the theatre, Labouchere carried his activities to the office of a newspaper. He became part proprietor of the 'Daily News,' in a happy hour both for himself and the public. For he made a fortune and the public got the letters of a 'Besieged Resident,' that vivid and picturesque account of Paris during the siege of 1870–'71. The 'Daily News' was fortunate. It had Archibald Forbes outside Paris and Labouchere inside, and those two men between them trebled the circulation of the newspaper, and established it in prosperity. Labouchere's letters, shrewd in their insight, humorous and amazingly apt in the brevity of their descriptions, reached Fleet Street by the balloon post with a regularity unknown in the offices of other papers. How that came about he has related. When Jules Favre informed the correspondents that they had only to give their letters in a parcel to the man in the balloon, Labouchere noticed a complacent smile upon his face which led him to suspect that, unless the correspondents praised everything, their letters would not be likely to arrive. Labouchere accordingly wrote his upon tissue paper, addressed them to Miss Henrietta Hodson and put them in a post-box, calculating that as twenty thousand letters went out with each balloon, those posted in the ordinary way were not likely to be opened. The letters may be bought to-day and extracts from them are given in Mr. Thorold's book. Here is a phrase which Stevenson might have invented. 'The cannon makes 'a great noise. All night it is as if doors were slamming.' And here is a note of observation about the French within the city:

'Frenchmen cannot live without exaggeration, and for the last twenty-four hours they have taken to walking about as if they were guests at their own funerals. . . . Always acting, they are now acting the part of Spartans. It is somewhat amusing to see the stern gloom on the faces of the patriots one meets . . . more particularly as it is by no means difficult to distinguish beneath this outward gloom a certain keen relish founded upon the feeling that the part is being well played.'

Labouchere's connexion with the 'World' as financial journalist under the editorship of Edmund Yates, and his founding of 'Truth,' 'another and a better "World,"' with the object of doing his kicking in his own boots, came during the next ten years.

So far, then, the history of Henry Labouchere makes rather for entertainment than instruction. It is the record of a many-sided man with a keen eye, a nimble wit, no reverence and a vivid pen; a man who had travelled far, had been a sojourner in the capitals of Europe and everywhere had found much to amuse him.

But with the year 1880, when he had reached the age of forty-nine, there came a change. His life took a wider sweep. He was elected to Parliament for Northampton at the general election in the spring and retained his position as senior member for that borough until he retired from public life altogether at the end of 1905.

It is extraordinary how arduous with conflict, how crowded with dramatic incidents were the final twenty years of the last century. Ireland was never out of sight. The Land League, the imprisonment of Parnell in Kilmainham, Coercion Acts, Arrears Acts, the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, Home Rule, the Pigott forgeries, year after year in turn concentrated argument and thought in vain upon the ordering of that stormy island. In Egypt the revolt and suppression of Arabi, the Occupation, the mission of Gordon to the Sudan and his death at Khartoum; in South Africa Majuba, the Raid, the War; in England the splitting of parties and the rise of Socialism—of all the turmoil which these stirring events provoked Labouchere was an eye-witness and in most of it he took a hand. And he was Labouchere, a man with a distrust of enthusiasm and no faith in high destinies or great ideals. One wonders, for instance, what he would have made, or did make, of the Boy Scouts movement.

Thus his Life would be likely to prove a corrective. Most biographers are hero-worshippers—Mr. Thorold, by the way, does not fail in that quality—and the comments which Mr. Labouchere makes upon the great men of his day may well be read side by side with the eulogies of their appointed historians. A notable instance occurs in connexion with the introduction of the Home Rule Bill by Mr. Gladstone: 'Only one speaker,' Lord Morley writes in his 'Life of 'Gladstone' with reference to his leader's speech, 'held the 'magic secret of Demosthenic oratory.'

Here are Labouchere's comments in his letters to Mr.

Chamberlain: 'I have told them [i.e. Mr. Arnold Morley 'and Lord Herschell] that the speech has produced the most 'deplorable effect and that you are quite right in being 'indignant. . . . The funny thing is that Mr. Gladstone has 'walked off under the conviction that his speech was most 'satisfactory.' And again a few days later he writes: 'If 'the G.O.M. loses his bill, it will be from not having been 'able to be clear for five minutes in his seventy-five years.' The feat of Demosthenic oratory was to Labouchere 'an 'extraordinary shilly-shally speech.'

No doubt Labouchere made the worst of the speech. For he was writing to Mr. Chamberlain, and there were few wiles from which he would have shrunk to regain that statesman for the future leadership of the Liberal Party. Still, there the comments stand, and the historian will probably mix them with the praise of the biographer and get somewhere near the truth. Labouchere was the valet of politics in the sense that his leaders were not heroes.

Few things indeed were sacred in his eyes. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt relates in this book how when Labouchere bought Michael Angelo's Villa at Florence in 1902 he made plans to turn it inside out, uprooting old trees, planting new ones, and 'bedevilling the house with modern improvements.' 'Old 'Michael,' Labouchere explained, 'knew nothing about the 'comforts of a modern establishment and it was time that 'he should learn them.'

Labouchere was not merely the eye-witness: he took an active part in the business of Parliament; and in this book for the first time the extent of his activity is revealed. That he had played the friendly broker, to quote Sir Henry Lucy's phrase, in an attempt to mend the split in the Liberal ranks caused by the Home Rule Bill, all the world knows. But here is the full account of his brokerage in a series of letters which make very pretty reading. For they present a real comedy of politics, and a comedy of a very illuminating kind —though comedy sounds a strange word to-day with reference to Ireland. It is true that the light shines from the back stairs, but it is well turned on. It is right that this part of Labouchere's life should be fully set out as it is in this book, if only in recognition of the pains which he took. For the reputation of small men in Parliament, even when they have

been Cabinet Ministers, is often a very evanescent thing. They are as people who stand in fine attitudes for a little while before a mirror. And once they have passed it is not merely that they are not, but they never have been. The great statesmen live, and some fine measure of public service may keep the name of the private member green. Plimsoll, for instance, will always be remembered and honoured by the men who go down to the sea in ships. But these are the rare instances. So many pages of Hansard are filled each year, so hotly do members tread upon each other's heels, that for most, speak they never so often, twenty years of Parliamentary work will be forgotten even in the House of Commons itself within the passage of a session. Already Labouchere was beginning to figure in men's memories as the wit of the smoking-room; few remembered that he laboured exceedingly. Look through Lord Morley's 'Life of Gladstone,' with its account of the full years between 1880 and 1894, and you will nowhere find Labouchere's name except in the chronology, where you may read that Mr. Gladstone spoke on this or that resolution moved by the member for Northampton.

Yet from the first he was indefatigable. His partner in the representation of his borough was Charles Bradlaugh; and hardly had Labouchere passed within the doors of the Chamber but the long and violent dispute broke out of which Bradlaugh was the centre. 'The Christian member for Northampton,' as Labouchere loved to call himself, struck at once into that unwise battle, and the speech which he made on June 21st, 1880, was supposed to have had considerable influence upon the decision to which four days later the House of Commons came: that Bradlaugh was free to take his seat by affirmation at his own legal risk.

No doubt his habit of jesting stood in the way of his being taken seriously as a politician. There is a story told by Mr. G. W. E. Russell that once Gladstone in an odd fit of political speculation asked him if he thought that there was even one man in the House of Commons, however Radical he might be, who would vote for unwigging the Speaker.

'I rather obviously,' he continues, 'suggested Labouchere, 'and Mr. Gladstone replied "Yes, possibly; but that would 'be from freakishness, not from conviction."'

Labouchere was well aware of the obstacle himself. 'My

'amendment,' he wrote to Mr. Chamberlain, 'yesterday 'evening on titles was regarded in the House of Commons 'as a joke. But go to any meeting of Liberals and you would 'find that it was essentially a popular one.'

The man who banters is suspect. The British public prefers the simpler method of the sledge-hammer; its rulers, so far as can be, must be a humourless tribe. Nevertheless Labouchere so far broke his birth's invidious bar that, upon Lord Rosebery's resignation of the leadership of the party, serious journals like the 'Quarterly Review' held that he would be acceptable in the vacant place.

But for real leadership some quality of constructive statesmanship is required, and the inquirer must discover in an analysis of Labouchere's intentions whether he possessed it. What then were his politics? In home affairs the measures which he advocated were just the stock-in-trade of Radical policy, and the arguments which he used were just what one may hear to-day upon a hundred platforms with the one great exception of his wit. He had, too, that special form of Radical independence which is but another name for intolerance. You may take your own line with much applause and credit, provided only that your line is extreme, that your policy outstrips the policy of your Government. But show your independence by leaning to moderation, and you become at once that dreadful being, a Whig, for whom no abuse is too strong, more detestable and dangerous than any Tory, a creature whose death is hailed from day to day with glee, yet who takes such an unconscionable time in the process of dying that he still presents all the appearances of life. 'The Whigs 'are dead.' 'Hartington and the Whigs have dished them-'selves.' It is extraordinary how often they are killed off in the present volumes. Disestablishment and Disendowment, the breaking up of great estates, the abolition of the House of Lords, manhood suffrage, that wonderful thing a navy strong enough for defence and weak enough to make aggression impossible, were chief amongst his aims. He wanted too triennial Parliaments, with a preference for annual ones, if he could get them.

A similar spirit marks his first manifesto to the electors of Northampton: 'I am anxious to see Parliament again con-'trolling the executive.' Yet in 1880 when the question of

Sir Bartle Frere's recall from South Africa was prominent, her Majesty Queen Victoria complained to Mr. Gladstone that the House of Commons was trenching upon the business of the executive; and the Prime Minister admitted that within the last half-century 'there had been considerable 'invasion by the House of Commons of the province assigned 'by the constitution to the executive.' The last few years have seen the end of that tendency; the Government is now all in all, and the House of Commons retains about as much independence of its control as, say, the late Mr. Blondin's balancing-pole possessed when he poised it in his hands. It might perhaps be worth consideration nowadays whether, in order to restore that lost independence, some adaptation of the American system could not be grafted on to our constitution. Suppose, for instance, that there was a statutory period of five years during which the Government of the majority remained in office, no matter how the voting went, just as the Executive remains in office in the United States. The House of Commons would be elected for five years and could not be dissolved upon the initiative of ministers, before the expiration of that time. Would it not become by that one stroke, what it should be and what it certainly is not, an authentic deliberative assembly? Governments of course would oppose the plan. They would lose their one great weapon of coercion, the threat of a general election. But members would be able not merely to speak their minds but to record their votes with the knowledge that they might make their views prevail and still not run the risk of putting the Opposition into power. We should no doubt hear that ministers would never brook to go on holding office if their policy were defeated. But they would bend to the system when once it was established, and they would be at pains to avoid the humiliation of a check by guiding their policy according to the opinions of the House. There would be security of tenure for the ministers and independence for the private member. How often has the House of Commons heard the vain prayer of this or that unhappy section of dissentients, that the Whips may be taken off? That prayer, degrading at once to the man who makes it and to the assembly in which it is made, would no longer be heard and the country would have in fact what now it only has in theory, a free and independent Parliament

guarding its destinies and controlling its executive. But it would not really have suited Labouchere. For him, the sheep of Panurge must be boxed in the fold, as he once wrote to Mr. Chamberlain.

In foreign affairs he held the simple doctrines so easily preached by the Radical in opposition, so swiftly discarded by the Radical in office. He described them in an article which was published in the 'North American Review' of October 1892:

'To follow the example of the United States: to leave the Continental Powers to quarrel and fight as they please: to eschew further territorial aggrandisements: to regard with satisfaction the collapse of Turkey: to withdraw from Egypt: . . . to sympathise with the oppressed in all parts of the world, but to reserve our energies for the task of bettering the lot of the suffering millions within our territories: . . . to be ready if unfortunately we have a dispute with any foreign Power to refer it to arbitration; and never to allow ourselves to be diverted from domestic reforms by endeavours to maintain that most shifty of shifty things, the European equilibrium.'

Mr. Gladstone himself would probably have endorsed every one of these propositions. Yet within the first years of his second administration the implacable march of events forced him into Egypt. At the beginning Labouchere took the orthodox view. He actually pleaded for intervention, and not merely because Arabi had massacred Europeans in Alexandria, but because if the English nation withdrew from Egypt, India would not be worth one year's purchase. But the conversion quickly came, and the views which he henceforward advocated were typical of his whole frame of mind towards graver questions of foreign policy. A curious story is told in this volume by Mr. Wilfrid Blunt:

'Labouchere [he writes] in pressing intervention in Egypt . . . made no secret of the reason. He was a holder of Egyptian bonds. The bombardment of Alexandria and the massacre of Tel-el-Kebir, with the revelations which followed of the intrigues which had caused the war, proved too much for his political conscience, which then was really sound, and having unloaded his Egyptian stock, which had gone up to higher prices (he was not a man to neglect a Stock Exchange opportunity) he frankly repented of his sin and from that time onward did his best to repair the wrong to Egypt which he had been doing.'

Mr. Wilfrid Blunt rose in conversation to lyrical heights over this transaction. 'They [i.e. the shares] fell off his 'back like Christian's burden in "The Pilgrim's Progress," 'and Labby became an honest politician.' But we have Labouchere's own evidence that the story is not true. He wrote from the Reform Club to Sir Charles Dilke, then Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on October 10, 1882, as follows:

'Now that the war is over, it is really impossible for Radicals to accept a policy based upon administering Egypt, partly for the good of its inhabitants, but mainly for the good of the bondholders. I am a bondholder, so it cannot be said that I am personally prejudiced against such a policy.'

It is clear that Labouchere was still holding his bonds when he began to preach evacuation: and those friends of his who remember his denunciation of the impurity of the Rhodes policy in South Africa will not thank Mr. Blunt for his ill-service.

Labouchere's views on the Liberal policy in Egypt are set out in the letter to Sir Charles Dilke from which quotation has already been made, and in many speeches. The notables were to be called together, they were the representatives of the people—did ever a phrase lead a politician so far from the fact?—Egypt was to be handed over to them with the stipulation that there should be Ministerial responsibility and the control of the purse. 'Very probably the Egyptians 'will make a muddle of their finances, but that will no more 'affect us than the mistakes of Spanish finances affect our 'tenure of Gibraltar.' We should establish ourselves upon the Canal because it is the connecting link between Great Britain and India—(Labouchere always clung to the Indian Empire); Turkey was to be allowed a merely nominal authority, the European Powers were to be warned off, and the bondholders and the international obligation to pay them could go by the board. Egypt, in his phrase, was to be made an Eastern Belgium.

It was a policy narrow and without prevision. Narrow because it omitted altogether any recognition of a quality inherent in the British character which sets it at work labouring for the education and prosperity of subject races. The existence of such a quality he would have laughed to scorn.

Our missions are merely territorial aggrandisement and the making of money. We need not deny the existence of those ambitions; indeed, we could not. But the third element is there too, as any visitor to the Egypt of to-day or any traveller through the Sudan can surely testify. It was a short-sighted policy as well. 'The whole thing,' he wrote of English influence in Egypt in the 'North American Review,' 'is 'a curious exemplification of the fatal consequence of one 'false step.'

That fatal consequence of 1880 built the Assouan dam before the century was out.

But in truth Labouchere did not greatly care about Egypt or foreign politics at all. Just as the slavery and the sordid cruelties of the Mahdi's rule left him still the Mahdi's friend, so he would hardly have stirred a finger for the fellaheen. His eyes were turned homewards.

'It will not go down,' he writes to Sir Charles Dilke—a significant sentence. He was looking at the English votes. 'Radicals will sulk and not vote so long as the Radical prin-'ciples are ignored in Egypt.' Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Europe—they were all so many helps or hindrances to the Radical prestige. Ireland too: Ireland was a pawn in the game. The phrase is his own, and the game was the complete radicalisation of England with Mr. Chamberlain as its leader. This apparently was his one great constructive idea, and when it crumbled away between his active fingers he could not replace it with another. In this respect he was like his great friend Sir Charles Dilke. Wide apart as they were in their methods of speech and their manner of looking at a question—the one had a jest always on the tip of his tongue, the other was solemnity itself—both were destructive in their arguments and ended with destruction. Of themselves they did not contribute to the solution of problems. They could show you a hundred points where you were wrong. But the leader must be able to put you right. The leader too must have some flame of enthusiasm, even though he keeps it hidden.

But certainly so long as the possibility existed of a Radical England under Mr. Chamberlain, Labouchere worked with energy and a genuine earnestness. The series of letters which passed between him, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Healy during the first half year of 1886 are a revelation in that respect. They

are given to the world now for the first time; and they are the most valuable part of this biography. The story of the Pigott forgeries is related with the events fitted into their due sequence and something of the strange, elusive character of Parnell is revealed in a very skilful chapter. The facts of that remarkable episode were, however, already known. Labouchere himself, in the columns of 'Truth,' had told much of it. George Augustus Sala, the witness in Labouchere's smoking-room of Pigott's confession, has written of his share. Mr. Barry O'Brien has told the story again in the life of Parnell. But these letters of 1886 are a real contribution to the political history of our times.

Mr. Gladstone was defeated upon his Budget by a coalition of the Irish and the Tories on the 8th of June 1885. Lord Salisbury accepted office; Lord Carnarvon, the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, made a notable declaration in the House of Lords, renouncing the policy of coercion, and preparations were actively begun on all sides for the General Election. The Irish aimed, as usual, so to equalise the two great parties that the existence of any Government would depend upon its favour; and they leaned towards the Tories, partly because the Liberals were known to be at variance, chiefly because the Tories held the winning card.

'With the House of Lords behind them,' wrote Mr. Healy, 'and our help, they could play ducks and drakes with the 'Union were they so minded'; and no doubt Lord Salisbury's speech at Newport on the 7th of October led the Irish to think they were so minded. It was a time of rumours; prophecies were not wanting, and like most political prophecies they were either wide of the truth or had never a chance of fulfilment. In the first category are the forecasts of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Parnell was confident that whichever side got in, Home Rule would be conceded, while Mr. Chamberlain was convinced that the Irish would not hold the balance after the election: 'We shall have a majority 'over them and the Tories combined.' In the second stands a prognostication of Mr. Healy which makes curious reading to-day: 'As for the minority, the Protestants would soon 'realise that they were safe with the Catholics (and they would 'be the pets of our people).'

On the 24th of August Parnell at Dublin came out boldly for legislative independence. He was answered within a fortnight by Lord Hartington. It was a fatal and a mischievous proposal. No less clear was Mr. Chamberlain at Warrington: 'Speaking for myself,' he declared, 'I say that if these and 'these alone are the terms on which Mr. Parnell's support 'is to be obtained I will not enter into competition for 'it.' Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone held his peace; and when ten days later he issued his Midlothian address, the rolling thunder of its sentences meant no more than the colloquial phrase 'Yes and No.'

Here was a position after Labouchere's own heart. That he held strong views upon the question cannot be said. He had opposed the Crimes Act because in his opinion it made for oppression and restricted liberty, but he was not a declared Home Ruler. He was thinking of the Irish vote. 'If only 'we could square the eighty Irish in the House, Whigs and 'Tories would be dished.' To drive Hartington and his wing into the wilderness, and to keep Chamberlain ready to step into Mr. Gladstone's shoes were the aims he had at heart. And so the letters began to pour out, and they continued after the election until the split had become irreparable, with many a shrewd summing up of this or that great man's foibles. But there was no bitterness except against the Whigs. Good humour is the note of them and a certain almost ribald irreverence. They passed chiefly from him to Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Healy. There are some replies from the former, a good many from the latter. They present the reader with a little comedy in which the chief figures are Labouchere himself the go-between; Mr. Chamberlain not budging from his rock, however sweetly Labouchere piped to him; Mr. John Morley, as he then was, soon to be Chief Secretary, a little over-sensitive perhaps lest his dignity should be impaired; Mr. Healy at one moment inclining to underrate the strength of Parnell's authority, at another declaring that 'Parnell is the man on the horse'; and Mr. Gladstone aloof and very reticent. At times Mr. Parnell appears himself upon the scene. But as a rule it is only to acknowledge urgent letters which he had just received many days after any value they had possessed had altogether passed away.

The affair begins with a letter from Labouchere to

Chamberlain upon the 18th of October. Herbert Gladstone had called upon Labouchere just before the end of the session to ask him to arrange a *modus vivendi* with the Irish. The 'G.O.M.' was disposed to grant the fullest Home Rule, but he did not think it desirable to formulate a scheme before the election, and he pressed for the Irish minimum. For one thing, he wanted an assurance that the Irish would support him. For another, he did not wish to lose the Whigs. (That, by the way, was an abiding wish with Mr. Gladstone. About this very time he wrote to the Duke of Argyll of 'that most 'valuable characteristic of our history which has always 'exhibited a good proportion of our great houses at the head 'of the Liberal movement.') Labouchere had no real faith in the possibility of such a *modus vivendi*. He did not at this time believe in Parnell. 'My own experience is that 'he never makes a bargain without intending to get out of it, 'and that he has either a natural love of treachery or considers 'that promises are not binding when made to a Saxon.' In this letter Labouchere begins his piping to Mr. Chamberlain. He had attended some of the meetings of the metropolitan constituencies. 'You are first, the rest nowhere. . . . When 'you allude to Goschen there are groans, when you allude to 'Hartington there is silence; and you have to get up a cheer 'for the G.O.M. by dwelling upon his noble heart and that 'sort of trash.'

Mr. Chamberlain in reply found the letter interesting. He agreed that no common ground could be discovered, and he had a few words of his own for the Whigs. 'My 'impression is that Hartington will yield, grumbling as usual, 'but still yielding,' and 'I am glad to say there is a good 'chance of Goschen being defeated at Edinburgh.' There was no love lost in those days between the two wings which were soon to form so durable a unit. A further letter from Mr. Chamberlain followed in the same month: 'If the G.O.M. 'were ill-advised enough to propose a separate Parliament, 'he will find very little support from any section of the party.'

The Irish threw in their lot with the Tories and the election began on the 23rd of November. It was an election of ups and downs. For the first four days the Tories carried so many seats that a Liberal rout seemed probable. In the midst of it, however, 'that undaunted sportsman the G.O.M. is

'still hankering after the Irish and his general scheme of 'pacification.' Labouchere was not distressed by these first results. From his point of view a year or two of Opposition would be far better than a Cabinet with a Whig majority. 'They have dished themselves, however, thank God. Even 'Gladstone's name goes for little at public meetings,' he writes to Mr. Chamberlain. 'Yours is the only one which makes 'anyone stand up and cheer.' And he had no doubt of the reason. There could be no enthusiasm 'for a cause which 'was explained to be to relegate everything of importance 'to the dim distant future and to unite in order to bring 'back the old lot to power under a leader who was always 'implying, without meaning it, that he meant to retire.'

Then, however, came the country vote, and it began to be clear that the Irish would hold the balance. What was to be done? Mr. Parnell could not be found, and when at last he was found he thought it would be better to wait events. Lord Randolph Churchill wanted the Conservative Government to carry on, and if turned out by a Home Rule amendment to the Address, to advise an immediate dissolution. Mr. Healy and Labouchere himself were for keeping the Tories in; the first-named because he pinned his faith, as he describes in glowing words, on Mr. Gladstone and because he believed that a little time in Opposition would bring the dissentient Liberals to heel. But they counted without one man and him the most important.

'The G.O.M. is very anxious to come in again,' wrote Mr. Chamberlain. Labouchere laid himself out to get at the truth of it; and on the 23rd of December, just four days after the final polls, he wrote:

'That Mr. Gladstone will go on I think pretty certain, because —excellent and good man as he is—he sees that his only chance is to get the Irish. He is now engaged in a game of dodging. He has invented, as usual, "a principle"—that he can go into no details until he officially knows that the Tory Government will do nothing. The object is to get the Irish on generalities. They, however, are quite up to this and . . . they would at once turn him out if he were to play pranks.'

There is a certain piquancy in the fact that within four days of penning this frank estimate of his 'revered leader' Labouchere was writing to 'The Times' in the following strain:

'I turn therefore to Mr. Gladstone. His public utterances lead me to believe that he is prepared to sacrifice his well-earned ease and to endeavour to settle the question in a manner satisfactory to the Irish. His experience is vast, his patriotism is undoubted, etc.'

However, the great necessity was now that some definite understanding should be reached by Mr. Gladstone and the Irish and approved by Mr. Chamberlain. And at this difficult business Labouchere set to work. He obtained from Mr. Healy the Irish minimum and it included the one provision to which Mr. Chamberlain was most opposed. The Irish Party would not accept the veto of the Imperial Parliament. From Hawarden, however, came another suggestion, with the proviso that nothing would induce Mr. Gladstone to formulate a scheme until either the Tory Government had spoken or the Irish Party had publicly terminated its alliance with the Tories. The suggestion made was that the Irish veto might be exercised by the Crown on the advice of the Irish Ministry in ordinary cases, but on questions of religion, commerce, and perhaps taxation the Imperial Ministry should be called in. This Mr. Chamberlain bluntly declared 'a 'transparent fraud.' His own solution we are hearing again in 1913. It lay in a Federal Constitution on the lines of the United States: a separate Legislature for England, Scotland, Wales, and possibly Ulster—the three other Irish provinces might combine—an Imperial Legislature at Westminster; and a Supreme Court to arbitrate on the respective limits of authority. It was just about this time that Lord Randolph, who crops up from time to time in all this correspondence, wrote: 'I think Joe had better join us. He is the only man 'on your side who combines ability with common sense.'

Labouchere had no intention of allowing that. The mantle of Elijah was waiting for Mr. Chamberlain if only he would be sensible and understand what a very small matter Ireland was compared with the 'grandiose revolutions we might 'have—giving cows to agriculturists and free breakfast-'tables to artisans.'

Meanwhile January came and everything was still at sixes and sevens. At Hawarden, at Highbury, at Dublin the same cry was raised. Everybody wanted assurances and nobody would give a single one. Mr. Gladstone was in

his tent; Mr. Healy was very properly annoyed because the Duke of Westminster had called the Irishmen debauchees; Mr. Labouchere was in his element; Mr. Chamberlain was invited to meet Mr. Gladstone. 'Perhaps he may be explicit, 'but I am not sanguine,' was the comment from Highbury.

Half way through February, however, and just before the meeting of Parliament, there came a change. Mr. Parnell had, according to the letters, shown himself more than reasonable. His two necessities were now a Parliament for local matters and the police. Mr. Chamberlain thought that a close inspection of the difficulties in the way had brought Mr. Gladstone nearer to him; and Mr. Labouchere looked forward to much joy in the Radical heaven. But the harmony did not last, and on the 26th of March, after a Cabinet meeting, Mr. Chamberlain resigned. Labouchere still did not abandon hope. Why should Mr. Chamberlain wreck his 'beautiful 'future'? If the Irish made fools of themselves when left to themselves, it would be easy to treat them as the North did the South, rule by the sword and suppress all representation. The principles which had governed Labouchere's policy towards Egypt seem at this crisis somehow to have got mislaid. Would Mr. Chamberlain vote for the second reading and obtain what he wanted on Committee? But they knew a trick worth two of that at Highbury. Mr. Chamberlain wrote words of gold: 'I know enough of parliamentary tactics to be sure 'that in that case we shall get nothing, but be beaten in detail 'on every division.'

How many members of Parliament has just that humiliating fate befallen? They go gaily into the lobby to vote for a measure of which they disapprove because only the principle is involved and all the details are in the melting-pot; and thereafter the men who persuaded them to vote for the principle vote them down on their amendments. Principles have a knack of becoming details during the debate on the second reading; and details turn magically into principles once the Bill is in Committee. For the sleight of hand of ministers is wonderful!

Mr. Chamberlain would not vote for the second reading unless he received assurances that the Irish representation would be retained at Westminster and Imperial control exercised over Imperial taxation. Labouchere returned to the

charge. There was to be a great meeting at the St. James's Hall at which Labouchere was to take the chair. Would Mr. Chamberlain write a little note to be read at the meeting? Mr. Chamberlain certainly would, and did. But the little note was never read at the meeting, for it was not the particular kind of little note which was wanted. Labouchere wanted it left vague 'allowing some to think that you will vote for 'the second reading and others that you will not.' The little note, however, had the misfortune to be perfectly clear: 'I 'hope the Government may see its way to accept the modifica- 'tions which Radicals advocate, and if any assurance to this 'effect is given I shall gladly support the second reading.'

He was asked to authorise a trifling change, with a gentle hint that his popularity was at stake. But he would not budge. He had only written the letter because he was asked for it, and, as to his popularity, the honour of leading a party so uncertain appeared to him less than it had done some months before.

To make clarity still more clear he went and delivered a speech; and the speech accentuated the divergence. For it brought Lord Morley into the field. In his opinion the speech was an attempt to coerce the Government. 'Chamber- 'lain wants us to go down on our knees, and this cannot 'be done for the money.' Labouchere had still a lingering hope, born of experience, that Mr. Gladstone would 'dodge 'him into voting for the second reading.'

Lord Morley apparently tried his hand at it. He proposed that the Irish should be excluded from the Imperial Parliament for three years and that then they might come back unless in the meantime an amending Act had been passed. That hoary expedient cut no ice, as they say, at Highbury. Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that whereas before there had been 111 Liberals pledged against the second reading, there were now 133. Thus the game went on. Every now and then Labouchere's piping takes on a mournful note. He went down to Hastings (with 'Thérèse Raquin' in his pocket). 'At this meeting a speaker alluded to you—dead silence. 'A man next me said "A few months ago they would all '"have cheered."'

This was on the 8th of May, two days before the date fixed for the second reading. By that time Mr. Gladstone was supposed

to have elaborated another plan. On Labouchere's return from Hastings, Lord Morley called on him. Mr. Chamberlain was to get what he wanted. But 'he [i.e. Lord Morley] don't 'want you to be told more than that you will be satisfied.' The Cabinet was in some trouble about a *definite* statement, and Mr. Gladstone will be rather guarded, etc. Mr. Chamberlain's reply was blunt. 'What does your letter mean?' he asked. 'It seems to me that you are being bamboozled by 'the old Parliamentary hand.'

On the 10th came the 'deplorable speech' to which reference has been already made, and the last hope of a reconciliation vanished. On the 17th of May Mr. Chamberlain wrote a letter of great dignity. A further suggestion was made to him that the Bill should be withdrawn after the second reading, remodelled and introduced again either in the autumn or in the following spring. But it came to nothing. On the 5th of June Labouchere went down to Twickenham to meet some congenial friends in the world of art, 'who, thank God, 'probably have never heard of the infernal Bill.' And between one and two of the morning of the 8th of June the division was taken and the measure lost.

In the pages of this book strangers to Labouchere will find a true picture of the man as apart from the politician for which they will not perhaps be altogether prepared. Behind the mask of cynicism there lived a very kindly gentleman, a good friend, a devoted lover of children. There is a charming letter in which he describes how his daughter used him for the convenience of her dog. He was always finding meat-bones in his pockets which his daughter hid there as in a kind of ever-ready cupboard, lest the dog should be suddenly seized with hunger. And the trouble which he unostentatiously took after Pigott's suicide to befriend Pigott's children deserves a wide recognition. The 'Life of Labouchere,' in a word, is not merely a necessary volume in the library of the political student, it is also a thorough and careful presentment of a very human and attractive man. Mr. Thorold is greatly to be congratulated on his work.

A. E. W. MASON.

THE HOME RULE ISSUE

1. **The Two Irish Nations.** By W. F. MONYPENNY. Murray. 1913.
2. **Ireland of To-day.** Reprinted from 'The Times.' Murray. 1913.
3. **Is Ulster Right?** By AN IRISHMAN. Murray. 1913.
4. **Home Rule Finance.** By A. W. SAMUELS, K.C. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co. 1912.
5. **The Making of the Australian Commonwealth.** By B. R. WISE. Longmans, Green. 1913.
6. **Report of the Financial Relations Commission.** C.8262. 1896.

IT is just twenty years since the House of Lords by an overwhelming majority rejected Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill. The scene, both on account of the numbers voting and on account of the bitterness of the controversy, was one of the most impressive of the many historic scenes that the House of Lords has witnessed. Though the Bill of 1893 represented Mr. Gladstone's second attempt to give Home Rule to Ireland, it was the first Home Rule Bill to pass the House of Commons. Its passage through that House had been contested inch by inch by a powerful minority; each important clause had been the subject of a succession of debates of sustained brilliance, such as the House of Commons has never seen since; passions were so deeply stirred that on one memorable night a free fight took place upon the floor of the House. Nor was this prolonged struggle confined to politicians. Throughout the whole session the debates in the House of Commons were reported by the newspapers with the utmost fullness and every incident in the contest was watched by the country. At length the Bill, carried by the narrow majority of 40, went up to the House of Lords. It was there debated on second reading for six full nights, and finally rejected on the 8th of September by a majority of 419 to 41. As the peers streamed out of the Palace of Westminster they were cheered enthusiastically by a vast crowd that had been waiting for hours in the streets.

And nothing more happened! This Bill, which had been represented as a necessary measure of justice to Ireland, as

the one imperative remedy for ills that could no longer be borne, was quietly abandoned by its authors, and the subject was contentedly laid aside by the Liberal Party for eighteen years.

In view of this history it is legitimate to suspect that the present zeal of the Liberal Party for the cause of Home Rule is due rather to the balance of forces in the House of Commons than to the supposed needs of Ireland. There is, however, no need to lay stress upon this suspicion. A cause may be a good one even if its advocates are stimulated by personal motives. Liberals may fairly argue that the persistence of the Irish constituencies in returning over eighty Home Rulers to the House of Commons proves that the Irish people are dissatisfied with their present form of government, and therefore imposes an obligation upon Parliament to provide a new form of government which will bring content to Ireland. That is a strong *prima facie* argument, but it is not by itself conclusive in favour of this or of any other Home Rule Bill. Parliament has obligations to the people of England and Scotland as well as to the people of Ireland; it has obligations to the minority in Ireland as well as to the majority. Therefore even if the present Bill carried out the objects which the Liberal Party has formulated, the question of the moral right of that party to force the Bill into law against the will of the Irish minority and without consulting the electors of the whole kingdom, would still remain.

Let us first, however, compare the proposals of the Bill with the purposes for which it was introduced. The professed objects of the Liberal Party in pressing the Home Rule Bill upon Parliament are to bring content to Ireland and to relieve the congestion of business at Westminster. In addition many Liberals advocate Home Rule for Ireland as a step towards the establishment of a complete system of federal government for the whole of the United Kingdom. None of these objects is, or can be, advanced by the present Bill.

The essential purpose of the Bill is to create a separate legislative authority for Ireland with a separate executive responsible to it. In the Bill of 1893 it is noteworthy that the proposed new legislative authority was called the 'Irish 'Legislature' and its component parts were called respectively the 'Legislative Council' and the 'Legislative Assembly.'

In the present Bill, the new authority is boldly called the 'Irish Parliament' and its component parts are the 'Irish 'Senate' and the 'Irish House of Commons.' So far therefore as nomenclature goes, the intention of the authors of the present Bill is to go even beyond the Bill of 1893 in the direction of independence for Ireland.* A Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly might well be features of a provincial government; a Senate and a House of Commons suggest a national government. The very use of these words implies that the purpose is to create an independent government analogous to that of the Dominion of Canada, not a subordinate government such as that of one of the Canadian provinces or one of the American States.

In defence of this course it has been repeatedly argued by Liberals that if only Ireland had self-government as the Colonies have it, Irish disloyalty would disappear. That is a plausible argument for actually giving Colonial self-government to Ireland; it is no argument at all for verbally pretending to treat Ireland like a self-governing Dominion, while in effect providing for her a totally different form of government. The essence of the Colonial system of self-government is that the Colonies are masters in their own territory; they have no connexion with the Imperial Parliament and brook no interference from it; their single tie with the Empire is the allegiance they acknowledge to the Crown.

That is not the system which the present Bill proposes to set up in Ireland. The people of Ireland under this Bill in addition to electing their own House of Commons will still continue to send a considerable number of members to the British House of Commons, and every one of these members will have the right and duty of raising Irish questions in that House whenever he conceives that the interests of his constituents are affected. Nor can such questions be dismissed as being beyond the competence of the British House of Commons; for the present Bill expressly declares that 'notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or 'anything contained in this Act, the supreme power and

* The point was raised by the Nationalists in 1893, but Mr. Gladstone refused to give way.

'authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall 'remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters 'and things in Ireland and every part thereof.' In theory no doubt Imperial Parliament has a similar supreme authority over all Colonial matters, which in practice is not exercised. But the position is totally altered by the presence of Irish members at Westminster. If Irish members are to be sent to Westminster with the full privileges of other members of the Imperial Parliament, and if that Parliament has full power to deal with all Irish questions, it is ridiculous to suppose that it will be possible to exclude any Irish questions from discussion at Westminster. Thus at the outset we get a fundamental difference between the proposed new Irish Constitution and Colonial self-government.

But that is only the beginning. A self-governing colony has an exchequer of its own, entirely distinct from the exchequer of the United Kingdom; the proposed new Irish exchequer is to be tied hand and foot to the British exchequer. A Colonial government collects its own taxes; the new Irish government will have no power of collecting taxes. The Bill says: 'The proceeds of all taxes levied in Ireland, 'whether under the authority of the Parliament of the United 'Kingdom or of the Irish Parliament, shall be paid into the 'exchequer of the United Kingdom.' The Irish exchequer is to be fed by doles from the United Kingdom exchequer, and the precise amount of these doles is to be determined by a Joint Exchequer Board upon which Great Britain will in effect have three representatives and Ireland two. A Colonial government has unrestricted power to impose any taxes it chooses upon its own people; the proposed Irish Parliament will have its powers of taxation strictly fettered and confined. A Colonial government provides for its own expenditure in its own way; under the Home Rule Bill a large part of the expenditure in Ireland will be provided by authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and the Irish Parliament will have no control over it.

A more complete parody of the Colonial system of self-government it would be hard to imagine. Yet the men who have amused themselves by devising this complicated scheme, which at every moment must give rise to friction and irritation, still continue to repeat as an argument for their Bill that the

absence of Colonial self-government makes Ireland disloyal. It may safely be prophesied that if any such system of government as that contemplated in the present Home Rule Bill were set up in Canada or Australia or New Zealand, Colonial loyalty would vanish within six months.

Thus the supposed Colonial analogy is seen to be worthless the moment the Bill is examined.

Nor can the Bill be defended on the federal analogy; for the essence of federalism is that certain subjects are reserved to the provincial governments and others to the federal government. But the Home Rule Bill creates a mongrel system in which the Parliament at Westminster will more or less occupy the position of a federal legislature as regards Ireland, while remaining the sole provincial legislature for Great Britain. English and Scottish members will lose a considerable part of their present power of direct control over the domestic affairs of Ireland, but Irish members will retain full power to interfere in all the domestic affairs of England and Scotland. Nor will this power of Irish intervention in British affairs affect only matters of detail. On the vote of these forty-two Irish members may often depend the fate of a British ministry. Of late years we have been accustomed to somewhat large majorities in the House of Commons, but it is worth while to recall the fact that many of the most important divisions in our political history have been determined by quite small majorities, and may be again. Even in the present House of Commons the Government majority has frequently fallen below fifty, and it is more than possible—if our present party system is maintained—that future parliaments may see the fate of the Government hanging from day to day upon the uncertain vote of forty-two Irish members, divided among themselves doubtless, but all possessed of a common desire to exploit their position at Westminster for the benefit of Ireland.

By no one has such a violation of England's right of self-government been more forcibly denounced than by the statesman who first committed the English Liberal Party to the support of Irish Home Rule. Speaking in Manchester on June 25th, 1886, in defence of his first Home Rule Bill, Mr. Gladstone said: 'I will not be a party to a legislative body 'to manage Irish concerns and at the same time to have

'Irish members in London acting and voting on English and 'Scotch questions.' The fact that in 1893 under political pressure Mr. Gladstone abandoned this position does not destroy the sound sense embodied in his declaration. As long as two people are in partnership in one firm they have to give and take, and accommodate themselves to one another's views, for in no other way can the business be managed; but if they decide to dissolve partnership and create two firms in place of one, it is intolerable to both parties that each should have a continued power of interference in the affairs of the other. Yet that is exactly the system which the combined wisdom of Mr. Redmond and Mr. Asquith has evolved. Ireland and Great Britain are to become two separate firms, but the purely domestic affairs of Ireland will still remain subject to the intermittent interference of a parliament almost exclusively British;- while, on the other hand, the purely domestic concerns of Great Britain will be liable to be twisted this way or that by the votes of a small but compact delegation from Ireland. And this is what Liberals call solving the Irish problem, and bringing relief to the overburdened Parliament at Westminster!

Needless to say, the authors of the Bill have not planned this ridiculous muddle out of pure wantonness. It has been forced upon them by the circumstances of the case. Geography forbade them to treat Ireland like Canada or Australia; Irish Nationalism prohibited any solution of the problem on the lines of federalism or extended local self-government. Thus debarred from giving effect to either ideal, they have attempted to find a way of escape by combining the two in a meaningless hotch-potch. In proceeding upon these lines, they were possibly inspired by the reflexion that every Englishman dearly loves a compromise, and will often in his good-natured thoughtlessness accept the wildest proposition if put to him as a compromise between two extremes. There is a good deal of practical wisdom in that attitude of mind, when it is confined to purposes which by their nature lend themselves to compromise, such as bargaining about the price of a load of hay. But the doctrine of compromise is obviously not of universal application. For example, a difference of opinion as to the relative merits of the north and south sides of the river as a place of residence could not be conveniently

compromised by trying to live in the middle. With all respect to Mr. Redmond and Mr. Asquith, that is much the kind of compromise embodied in their Home Rule Bill.

Some of the broader results of this attempt to give simultaneous effect to two incompatible ideals have already been pointed out, but it is necessary to deal more in detail with the contents of the Bill, and especially with the question of finance. Money lies at the basis of every system of government, for unless a government has adequate means to discharge its obligations it cannot be successful. So long as the Union endures, the Irish people are free from anxiety with regard to their public finance. Whatever expense their government, i.e. the government which they share with Great Britain, may incur, will certainly be met out of the combined resources of the two islands; the Union will see Ireland through. But from the moment that the question of a separate government for Ireland is raised, the Irish financial question becomes urgent, for the Irish people then have to consider how far their own taxable resources will suffice to meet their own public expenditure.

Until 1853 taxation in Ireland was at a much lower level than taxation in England. It still remains lower. The old so-called 'land tax'—which was in its origin a general property tax, and is still levied upon buildings as well as land in Great Britain—has never been extended to Ireland. That portion of the kingdom is also exempt from the inhabited house duty, the railway duty, and various minor taxes. Therefore so far as Imperial taxation is concerned the inhabitants of Ireland are considerably better off than the inhabitants of Great Britain. More important still, Irish ratepayers are exempt from any burden for school rates, practically the whole cost of Irish public education being borne out of Imperial revenues. In the same way the Irish ratepayer, except in Dublin, has as a rule nothing to pay for ordinary police services. In defiance of these facts, Irish politicians have for many years devoted their energy to arguing that Ireland is overtaxed. This argument still has some bearing upon the Home Rule controversy, and a few words must therefore be devoted to it.

The primary fallacy arises from the misinterpretation of

a common and, on the whole, useful phrase. We all speak for brevity and convenience of the taxation of 'Ireland,' but Ireland is not taxed at all. Taxes are paid by persons, not by geographical areas; they are paid by individuals, not by communities. No individual Irishman pays more taxation, or even so much, as is paid by an Englishman or Scotchman or Welshman with the same income or with the same habits of expenditure. Undoubtedly a tax of 5*d.* on every pound of tea presses more hardly on a poor Irishman than on a wealthy Englishman; but all Irishmen are not poor and all Englishmen are not wealthy.

The whole truth is that taxes on tea and sugar and other necessaries of life always press more hardly on the poor than on the rich, but as long as the kingdom remains united these burdens upon the poor constitute a grievance for the whole kingdom, not for Ireland alone. When, however, we begin to treat Ireland as a separate entity from Great Britain, other considerations arise. If Ireland is to be one unit and Great Britain another, then we must clearly think not only of the individual interests of the separate taxpayers in each country, but also of the collective interests of each aggregation of taxpayers, and we must ask whether Irish taxpayers as a body are fairly taxed as compared with British taxpayers as a body; or, to use the popular phraseology, we must ask whether Ireland is fairly taxed as compared with Great Britain.

But as soon as the question is put in this form it is necessary to ask not only what Ireland pays but also w[illegible] receives. If she is to be treated as a unit for one p[illegible] must be treated as a unit for both. This very [illegible] sideration disposes of most of the inferences [illegible] drawn from the findings of the Royal Commi[illegible] on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, which sat from 1894 to 1896. In their various reports the Commissioners generally concurred in the calculation that on the basis of taxable capacity Ireland was contributing to the common exchequer about two and a half millions a year more than she ought to do, but—as several of the Commissioners hastened to point out—this extra contribution was more than counterbalanced by the extra sum which Ireland drew from the common exchequer for her private account. Since the Report

of that Commission was issued, Ireland's drawings on private account have continued to rise more rapidly than her contributions to the common fund, with the result that at the present time more than the whole of the Irish revenue is spent upon purely Irish purposes, leaving Ireland heavily indebted to Great Britain for her share of the cost of the common Imperial services, and also for part of the cost of the purely Irish services. Whatever plausibility there may have been fifty years ago in the complaint that Ireland was overtaxed, has long since disappeared.

The fantastic theory of a British debt due to Ireland was properly ignored by Mr. Gladstone both in 1886 and in 1893. Under the Bill of 1886 Ireland would have contributed a yearly sum estimated at £3,242,000; under the Bill of 1893, in its final form, the Irish contribution would have been in that year about £2,262,000. Mr. Gladstone, speaking on February 13th, 1893, said emphatically: 'The principle to which we are bound 'to give effect is that Ireland is bound to bear her fair share 'of Imperial expenditure.' Nobody then challenged this principle; why should it be abandoned now? Ireland is not poorer now than she was then. She is much richer. On this point it is sufficient to quote the evidence of prominent Home Rulers. Mr. T. P. Gill, secretary of the Department of Agriculture, said in August 1911: 'Ireland to-day is not 'only a progressive nation but within her own limits amongst 'the most rapidly progressive nations in the world.'* Mr. T. W. Russell in November 1911 said: 'Relatively, Ireland 'is doing quite as well as any part of the Empire.'† Mr. Devlin, M.P., the organiser of the Nationalist Party, speaking at Leeds on March 16th, 1913, said that during the ten years since he last visited Leeds wonderful changes had taken place in Ireland:

'They had seen two-thirds of the land of Ireland transferred from the landlord class to the tillers of the soil; they had seen 50,000 wretched hovels unfit for human habitation disappear and 50,000 labourers' cottages erected on their foundations. The families of Irish labourers, numbering 250,000, are now comfortably housed in clean, well-lighted and sanitary dwellings. . . . Old

* This quotation is borrowed from a statement made by Lord Londonderry in *The Standard* of September 17th, 1912.

† *Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 4th, 1911.

age pensions had brought joy and comfort into thousands of simple village and rural homes.' (See 'Times,' March 17, 1913.)

To this glowing testimony by Irish Home Rulers to the progress recently achieved by Ireland under the Union it would be possible to add, if it were necessary, the evidence of official figures showing the immense expansion in Irish oversea commerce, in the deposits in Irish savings banks and in the traffic upon Irish railways. Judged by all the available tests Ireland is strikingly more prosperous now than in 1893. What her exact share of the common expenditure should now be is a legitimate matter of dispute. By the Royal Commission in 1896 the ratio suggested between Ireland and Great Britain was 1 to 20. Since then Great Britain has possibly grown in wealth even more rapidly than Ireland. Therefore, to be well on the safe side, we may take Ireland's present liability at one-thirtieth of that of the whole kingdom. In the year ending March 31st, 1913, the Imperial expenditure of the kingdom was £104,195,000.* Therefore on the basis of one-thirtieth, Ireland ought to contribute £3,473,000 a year. Instead she is to contribute nothing.

That is bad enough, but it is only the beginning. In addition, the present Bill provides that the taxpayers of Great Britain shall take upon their shoulders the responsibility for a large amount of purely Irish expenditure. In the year 1912–13 this expenditure stood as follows:

	£
Old Age Pensions	2,605,500
Charges under Land Purchase Acts	711,500
National Insurance and Labour Exchanges	238,000
Royal Irish Constabulary	1,354,000
Collection of Revenue	299,000
Lord-Lieutenant and Household	19,500
Other Services	155,500
	£5,383,000†

All these services are essentially domestic in character, and if the phrase 'Home Rule' had a commonsense meaning, the

* H. of C. Paper No. 200 of 1913. † Cd. 6844.

financial responsibility for every one of them would be assigned to the domestic legislature which it is proposed to create in Ireland. The fact that they are 'reserved' for the Imperial Parliament proves that Mr. Redmond and Mr. Asquith not only ignore the theory that Ireland is a nation but even refuse to recognise her responsibility for her domestic expenditure.

As explained above, the Bill does not permit the new Irish 'nation' to collect her own revenues. The whole of the revenues of Ireland are to be collected by officials appointed from London, and it can be imagined how popular these alien tax-gatherers will be with Irish patriots. For so extraordinary are the provisions of the Bill that the Irish people and the Irish Government will have no motive for desiring that the revenue shall be fully collected. Whether much or little is gathered in from all the principal Irish taxes, which will continue to be imposed by Imperial authority, will not affect by one penny the amount of money coming to Ireland from the Imperial exchequer. If, for example, illicit distillers diminish the yield of the whisky tax, it is the Imperial not the Irish exchequer that will suffer; and when, after six years, the Irish Parliament is in control of the Royal Irish Constabulary it is conceivable that the police may be somewhat less active than they are at present in suppressing this profitable home industry. The only case in which the Irish Government will have any interest in a full collection of Irish taxes is where any addition to Imperial taxation has been imposed by the Irish Parliament within the very narrow limits of autonomous taxation permitted by the Bill. But in this case, humorously enough, the officials appointed from London will have less than the usual motive for vigilance and activity, for their paymasters will only be concerned with the yield of the taxes imposed by the Imperial Parliament. A more ingenious complication of devices for rendering the collection of revenue inefficient it would be hard to imagine.

The revenue collected, whatever the sum may be, is to be paid into the exchequer of the United Kingdom. That exchequer will be directly liable for the reserved services above mentioned; but if at any time these services or any of them should be transferred to the Irish Government the Imperial exchequer will still be liable for the cost of the service, as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board. This aspect of

Home Rule finance was expounded to a Dublin audience by Mr. Redmond on April 23rd, 1912, with brutal frankness: 'We get control of the Royal Irish Constabulary at the 'end of six years, and, mark you, when we get control of that 'force the cost of the service will continue to be paid from 'Imperial sources, and we will benefit on any economies 'that we may make.' Mr. Redmond went on to deal in the same spirit with the charge for Irish old age pensions. The Irish Parliament will have power, on giving twelve months' notice, to take over the pensions service and to cut down or even abolish future Irish pensions, but the exchequer of the United Kingdom will still remain responsible for a payment which already reaches £2,605,500 a year, and may grow to a still higher figure.

Side by side with this list of 'reserved' services is another list of 'transferred' services, and for these latter the Imperial exchequer is to provide a lump sum, leaving the distribution of that sum to the Irish Government. It is impossible to discover any principle upon which the two lists have been made up. Indeed in some cases one service appears under both heads; thus, part of the cost of the establishment of the Lord-Lieutenant is in one list and part in another. The land-purchase branch of the Land Commission is reserved, the rent-fixing branch is transferred; the Royal Irish Constabulary are reserved, but the Royal Courts of Justice are transferred; National Insurance is reserved, but the Congested Districts Board is transferred. The post office savings bank is entirely reserved, but the postal and telegraph services are partly transferred.

This last fact, as Sir J. C. Lamb has pointed out in a series of striking letters to 'The Times,' is alone sufficient to condemn the present Bill as a measure of practical statesmanship. The very first step taken by any group of separate States forming a confederation is to combine their postal administrations. This principle has not yet been completely carried out in Germany, for Bavaria and Würtemberg still retain their separate organisations, though under the close control of the Imperial Postmaster-General. In Canada, Australia, and South Africa the fusion is complete. Yet for some unproclaimed reason it is proposed to set up a separate post office in Ireland. From a postal and telegraph point of view

Ireland will become a foreign country. Not only will the inconvenience to business people be serious, but the administrative confusion will be almost intolerable. Except upon the assumption that Mr. Redmond wanted to control the post office patronage in Ireland for electioneering purposes, it is impossible to explain this astounding proposal.

Let us now see how the whole cost of Home Rule works out. The sum for which the Imperial exchequer is primarily responsible is £5,383,000 for the reserved services. This sum will certainly grow, probably to more than £6,000,000 a year. Next, the Imperial Exchequer will have to provide a lump sum representing the cost of the transferred services at the date of the passing of the Home Rule Bill, minus the revenue obtained from the Irish Post Office and from Irish fee stamps. The net sum on the basis of the figures of 1912–13 is £5,353 000. This second sum is to remain fixed for all time and is to be transferred in a block from the Imperial exchequer to the Irish exchequer. To it is to be added a sum of £500,000, gradually to be reduced to £200,000, to serve as a working balance for the new Irish Government. The aggregate total is £11,236,000. To meet this liability the Imperial exchequer will have all the revenue it can succeed in collecting from Ireland out of the taxes imposed by the Imperial Parliament. In 1912–13 these taxes yielded (excluding post office and fee stamps) £9,243,000. There is consequently a deficit of £1,993,000 to be made good for the benefit of Ireland out of taxation raised in Great Britain. In addition, there is the sum due from Ireland as a contribution to Imperial expenditure. This sum was estimated above on a very generous calculation at £3,473,000. Adding the two together, we get £5,466,000 as the very least sum which British taxpayers will have to provide every year as a free dole to a country whose politicians proclaim their hostility to everything British. An Irish Parliament is to be set up to legislate for the 'peace, order, and good government of Ireland,' and Great Britain is to pay for it.

In defence of this arrangement for permanently bleeding Great Britain in order to subsidise an ostentatiously hostile Ireland, it is argued that under present conditions the administration of Ireland costs more than the Irish taxes bring in, and that the Home Rule Bill would 'cut the loss.' This argument

rests upon exactly the same fallacy as that underlying the contradictory proposition that Ireland is over-taxed. As long as Ireland remains part of the United Kingdom all expenditure in Ireland ought to be treated as part of the common expenditure of the kingdom. Nobody ever thinks of asking whether the cost of administration in Cornwall exceeds the revenue from Cornwall; nor whether the East End of London pays its way and makes an adequate contribution to Imperial services. The only sound principle of public expenditure in any united kingdom is to spend money where it can most advantageously be spent in view of both present needs and future results.

But, even if we accept the English Home Ruler's point of view that Ireland involves a present loss which ought to be 'cut,' we are still no nearer to a defence of the financial provisions of the Bill; for the loss is not cut. To begin with, the present loss is increased at one blow by a sum of £500,000 a year, gradually to be reduced, but never to fall below £200,000. Next, the authors of the Bill, with a strangely perverted ingenuity, provide that as long as the Imperial responsibility for the reserved services continues, local Irish administrators shall have no motive for helping to diminish the cost of these services, but shall on the contrary have a motive for adding to it so as to increase the immediate flow of English gold to Ireland, and also to increase the permanent tribute from England when, if ever, these services are transferred. There is no cutting the loss here, but every prospect that it will grow greater.

On one head increase is certain. One of the most mischievous features of the Bill is the proposal to permit the Irish Parliament to alter customs duties within certain specified limits. This provision flouts the experience of every federal system in the world. In the United States, in Germany, in Canada, in Australia, and South Africa, there is a single customs service for the whole aggregation of States. The advantages are enormous, and hitherto every English free trader has pointed with triumph to the fact that these spacious countries, most of them protectionist in spirit, have the wisdom to maintain complete free trade within their own boundaries. The free trade which has existed between Ireland and Great Britain for nearly a hundred years is now to be swept away by a ministry composed exclusively of professed free traders. It is true that, as the result of

a quasi-revolt of Liberal members in the House of Commons, the Cabinet inserted in the Bill provisions which make it difficult for an Irish Parliament to set up a protective tariff against Great Britain. But in countries so closely connected as Great Britain and Ireland, even if there are no protective tariffs, the establishment of separate customs houses involves a mischievous interruption to trade. It involves also an enormous increase in the customs staff. This must be paid for, and according to the terms of the Bill it is Great Britain who will have to pay.

Finally, Great Britain is liable for the payment of a fixed tribute to Ireland to meet the cost of the transferred services, and this sum must be paid, however much the revenue from Irish taxes may fall off under a hostile Home Rule administration. There is no cutting the loss here.

But while the finance of the Bill is monstrously unjust to Great Britain it is at the same time by a curious paradox intolerably burdensome to Ireland. Wherever independent Irish opinion has been able to find expression it has condemned the financial proposals. Home Rule has been represented in Ireland as a fairy godmother who was going to bring unlimited boons—the draining of flooded lowlands, the afforestation of mountains, the improvement of education, and the development of industries. It is now discovered that Ireland is to be tied down to an income fixed on the basis of her present expenditure, that no appreciable economies can be made on that expenditure, and that she will have no effective power of obtaining fresh revenue out of new taxes. English Liberals, who get up on platforms and orate about self-government for Ireland, either do not know or else conceal the fact that under the present Bill Ireland has no real power to deal with her own taxation. She cannot impose any customs duty on any article unless that article is for the time being subject to an Imperial customs duty, and she cannot reduce any Imperial customs duty. This latter provision means that even the tea and sugar duties which are said to press so heavily upon Ireland cannot be reduced by an Irish Parliament. In the same spirit of pretending to trust the Irish people and carefully refraining from so doing, the Bill contains elaborate provisions to limit the power of an Irish Parliament to increase any tax imposed by Imperial authority, or to

establish any direct system of protection against British industries. This giving with one hand and taking away with the other is the most irritating of all methods of dealing with grown men, or even with children. It would be infinitely better either to give Ireland full control over her own system of taxation, including customs, as a colony has, or to say bluntly that the customs tariff is a matter for the Imperial Parliament alone. The complicated provisions of the Bill with regard to taxation are an insult to Ireland and would be a standing source of irritation to both countries.

The same self-contradictory spirit runs through the Bill. Like a drunken man who lurches first to one side of the pavement and then to the other, the Bill leans first to the side of complete self-government for the Irish people and then to the side of strict subordination to a British parliament. Such a Bill settles nothing; instead it creates a hundred or more new grounds for quarrel between the two countries. It carries out not one of the objects which Liberals and Nationalists profess to have in view; it can only lead to bitter disappointment and fresh agitation.

But even if the Bill really contained the means to accomplish its professed objects, there are two conclusive reasons why it should not become law: the first is the opposition of Ulster, the second is the lack of authority from Great Britain.

Until quite recently English Liberals were in the habit of contemptuously ignoring Ulster's opposition to Irish Home Rule. They argued that because the Ulster people were a minority of the inhabitants of Ireland, therefore they must accept whatever government the rest of the inhabitants of Ireland desired. This proposition would be plausible enough if the differences between Ulstermen and Nationalists were of the same character as the political differences which are found in every English county or every English parish. For underlying all the political differences of Englishmen is a unity of national spirit ever ready to assert itself in moments of national need. That is not the case in Ireland; for in Ireland there are two nations. This fact was first brought home to the present writer twenty-one years ago by an incident that is worth recalling. He was travelling in the north of Ireland on the eve of Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill, and one day ran across an American tourist and went for a walk

with him. With the cocksureness of ignorance the American was prepared to settle the Irish question out of hand. 'It 'is quite simple,' he said. 'You have merely to make Ireland 'a State in your Union, just as Massachusetts is a State in 'our Union.' The reply, that this was not what the Nationalists were asking for, only produced the suggestion that possibly Americans could judge the question better from a distance than Englishmen could from close at hand. Just then we came upon a peasant ploughing, and the American, delighted to have found a real son of the soil, rushed up to him and repeated with various explanatory elaborations the prescription that was to solve the Irish problem. The Irish ploughman listened with keen and courteous attention, leaning upon his plough. Presently he drew himself up, and in a tone of passionate defiance replied: 'Well, sorr, I am not sure that I 'rightly understand what ye be maning; but I can tell ye 'this, that ye'll not find a drop of Irish blood within ten miles 'of this place, and I thank God for it.' The American silently walked on and made no further suggestion for solving the Irish problem.

With such bed-rock passions as these it is useless to reason. They are there, and must be taken into account in any scheme for the good government of any country. The fundamental vice of the Home Rule Bill is its attempt to ignore the anti-Nationalist passion of Ulster. The Ulstermen deny that they are the same people as the Nationalist Irish, and they refuse to submit to Nationalist rule. If they were Poles objecting to the rule of Russia, or Hungarians to the rule of Austria, or Greeks to the rule of Turkey, every English Liberal would feel it his duty to support 'a people rightly struggling to be free.' But because Ulstermen live in the same island as the Nationalist Irish, the insularity of the English mind hinders the average Englishman from understanding that there are two Irish nations. Now that this fact is made patent by the declared determination of Ulster to fight rather than submit to Nationalist rule, the English Liberal grows uncomfortable. He sees that he cannot with any consistency support Home Rule for one Irish nation and deny it to another, and yet to admit the claim of Ulster means to incur the wrath of Mr. Redmond. To escape from this dilemma he tries to persuade himself that things are not what they are, and that the Ulster

opposition to Home Rule is an artificial movement worked up by Sir Edward Carson. But the hard facts remain. The people of Ulster who are opposed to Home Rule represent the strongest and most progressive elements in the life of Ireland. They know their own minds, and they count the cost of their actions. They have sworn together to resist Home Rule, and they have wisely taken precautions to make their resistance effective by organising armed force and a provisional government.

This may be very embarrassing to English Liberals, but it is exactly what almost every Englishman would do in similar circumstances and, judged by the standard of ethics which the whole world has always accepted, would rightly do. In all ages it has been held to be an honourable thing for men to resist a forcible transfer to another allegiance, and to fight in defence of their own fatherland. That is the position of Ulster; and if any Englishman is so dull-witted that he still cannot understand what Ulster feels, he has only to ask himself how he would feel if a British Parliament proposed to transfer the bit of England where his home lies to the rule of men who proclaimed their hostility to his country and repudiated his flag. If he had the instincts of a man he would fight to the death, and all mankind would applaud his action. Little account need therefore be taken of the unctuous solemnity with which certain Liberals now condemn in advance the crime of disobedience to an Act of Parliament which is not yet passed; the real crime consists in attempting to transfer to avowedly alien rule men of our own race, who only ask to remain indissolubly linked with us as fellow members of one nation.

The second reason against the passing of the present Bill is that it has never been sanctioned by the electors of the United Kingdom. It is true that in a vague way some of the electors were given to understand at the last general election that the passing of a Home Rule Bill would be one of the consequences of the passing of the Parliament Act; but it is impossible to argue that the question of Home Rule was brought primarily before the minds of the electorate. The Prime Minister himself omitted to mention the subject in his election address, and at least half of the Liberal Party made the same omission. But even supposing that Home Rule as a subject had been put forward and pressed as the main issue at the last election, it would still remain true that the present Home Rule Bill has

not been sanctioned by the electorate. That Bill was not drafted until more than twelve months after the election and until it was published no one knew its contents.

Do Liberals contend that they are entitled to force into law by a party vote any kind of measure which they choose to describe as a Home Rule Bill for Ireland? On the last occasion when Home Rule was seriously before the country, namely in 1893, Mr. Asquith said in his speech on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill of that year that there were two principles which he regarded as 'essential': 'First, that Ireland should pay a fair contribution to the Imperial exchequer; and next, that Ireland should be left with adequate resources for the proper management of her own affairs.' Neither of these principles finds a place in the present Bill. It is therefore impossible for Mr. Asquith to contend that he has a mandate for passing a Bill which does not do what he declared to be essential to a solution of the problem. To force such a Bill as this into law without a special consultation of the electors shows a cynical disregard for that very principle of self-government which the Bill professes to embody. In none of our own self-governing dominions, nor in the United States, nor in any of the principal countries of Europe, could such an enormous change be made in the constitution of the country merely on the authority of a House of Commons elected largely on another issue by electors who were kept in complete ignorance of the particular scheme of Home Rule contemplated.

Each of these two reasons—the lack of authority from the country and the strength of the opposition from Ulster—ought by itself to suffice to make the passing of the present Bill impossible, even if the measure were otherwise satisfactory. But our politicians have involved themselves in a tangle from which escape is difficult without disaster to the country. In spite of verbal denials there is grave reason to suspect that Mr. Asquith has given a definite pledge that he will force the Home Rule Bill into law under the operation of the Parliament Act. To meet this situation some persons have proposed to invoke the prerogative of the Sovereign. They urge that the King should on his own responsibility either veto the Home Rule Bill or dissolve Parliament. They apparently forget that either course would involve the dismissal by the King

of a ministry which commands a large majority in the House of Commons. That is impossible. Whatever the motive behind such action, its immediate effect would be injurious to the Liberal Party, and therefore the great majority of Liberals would argue that the King had become a Tory partisan. The ultimate injury to the country as a whole would be incalculable. The immense advantage of the King's position is that he is outside party politics and can therefore bring his influence to bear upon both parties for the benefit of the nation. The moment he takes sides this power disappears. By one party he would be regarded as a tool, by the other as an enemy. Unionists have had sufficient experience, in the case of the House of Lords, of the folly of straining the power of the constitution for their own advantage. They treated the House of Lords as their tool, and it broke in their hands. They will not repeat that experiment.

Of very different character is Lord Loreburn's suggestion that there should be a conference between the leaders of the two parties with the object of arriving at a compromise. The moment for a conference has perhaps not yet arrived, but the fact that such a proposal should come from such a quarter is most significant. Lord Loreburn was an influential member of the Cabinet during the whole period that the present Home Rule Bill was being drafted, and during the greater part of the time occupied in its first passage through the House of Commons. He is therefore as much responsible for the Bill as any of his colleagues. He now comes forward and says in effect that the Bill will not work and that the subject must be tackled *de novo* by a non-party conference. If these are the views of Lord Loreburn, what about the other members of the Cabinet? How many of the others who are still keeping silence, as Lord Loreburn kept silence for two years, may not be in their hearts convinced that the Bill will not work and ought to be abandoned? Such is the cursed tyranny of our party system that men who by nature are straightforward and honourable are compelled to profess approval of measures which they hate and to persist in a course which they know to be injurious to their country. But no escape from this tyranny is possible without the co-operation of members of both political parties, and so far—whatever their private anxieties may be—there is no

public sign that the Unionist leaders have any higher ambition than to go on playing the party game.

One obvious course they might take. They might declare that in view of the seriousness of the present situation in Ireland they are willing to maintain a Truce of God on all other political issues while the country is being consulted by means of a referendum on the Home Rule Bill. A referendum is infinitely better than a general election, for by the nature of the case a general election settles nothing unmistakably except which set of politicians is to have command of the machinery of State and enjoyment of the profits of office. No doubt a referendum, like every other human contrivance, has its defects, but at least it permits a single issue to be clearly stated to the sovereign people. In the present case there are two obstacles to a referendum. First, Mr. Asquith's pledge to Mr. Redmond, and, secondly, the apparent refusal of Ulster to be bound by any decision by whomever pronounced. So far as the first point is concerned, Mr. Asquith must be left to take care of himself. If the Prime Minister of England is so careless of the responsibilities of his great office as to pledge himself to a particular course, regardless of the national dangers that may be involved, he must get out of his personal difficulty as best he can. If it be true that he has made no pledge, then this difficulty disappears.

The position of Ulster is more serious. The strength of Ulster's opposition to the Home Rule Bill depends upon the nature of that measure, not upon the fact that it has no popular authority behind it, and a popular verdict in favour of the Bill would not remove Ulster's objection. But it would considerably modify Ulster's policy. To fight against the decree of a mere party majority in the House of Commons is a very different thing from fighting against the definite judgment of the country. Moreover, the appeal to the people by means of a referendum gives Ulster an alternative method of defending herself. Hitherto the Home Rule Bill has scarcely been discussed on its merits. Probably not half the members of the House of Commons have even read it, and certainly in the constituencies not one man in a hundred understands its provisions. If the Bill goes to a referendum the people of Ulster and other Irish Unionists

will have an opportunity of stating their case to the British electorate, and when that case has been fully stated it is hard to believe that the Bill will be endorsed.

The rejection, however, of the present Bill would not by any means involve a refusal to consider other schemes for improving the government of Ireland. No one with any cognisance of the facts can fail to recognise that the government of Ireland, as of other parts of the United Kingdom, might be very greatly improved. Whether the primary need is decentralisation is another matter. No amount of decentralisation will effect any real improvement as long as we retain the vicious system of making the character of our legislation dependent upon the personal ambitions and pecuniary interests of rival sets of politicians. As long as two parties are engaged in a perpetual warfare for the prizes of office it is ridiculous to suppose that our legislative machinery can work well, whether it is centralised or decentralised. Therefore, whatever else is done in Ireland, we ought to avoid the mistake of reproducing there the system of government which has grown up here.

The form which the internal government of Ireland should take is a matter which should be first thrashed out by the inhabitants of Ireland themselves. In his valuable book on 'The Making of the Australian Commonwealth' Mr. Bernhard Wise has shown how the difficulties in the way of federation were gradually overcome, not by forcing the views of one party into law regardless of opposition, but by open conferences and by inviting the people themselves to express their wishes by means of the referendum. On these lines of conciliation Irishmen and Ulstermen are quite capable of formulating a scheme for the better government of the island they inhabit. When they have arrived at an agreement, their scheme—since it must affect British interests—would be submitted for approval to Great Britain.

But before any steps can be taken in this direction it is necessary to clear the present Bill out of the way. That Bill is bad in almost every detail—so inconceivably bad that it is difficult to believe that any man who has studied it can honestly wish it to become law. Moreover, the Bill, while failing to give Irish Nationalists what they have persistently asked for, national self-government, goes sufficiently

far in that direction to make its acceptance by Ulstermen and other Irish Unionists impossible. Doubtless it will be a bitter disappointment to many Nationalists—though certainly not to all—to have to abandon this Bill, for it has been accepted by them as bringing nearer the attainment of their ideal, complete national independence.

With this necessary disappointment Englishmen who really love liberty can sincerely sympathise. For the Irish ideal, though essentially anti-English, is not one that Englishmen need necessarily condemn. There is no moral law requiring all the world to love England, and if it were possible to create a true Irish nation, those Englishmen who most love their own country would be the first to say 'Go ahead.' But it is not possible. Geography forbids it; racial differences forbid it. Indeed the impossibility of accepting the Nationalist ideal is proved by the Home Rule Bill itself. For the Bill, while pretending to gratify the Irish demand for national self-government, binds the proposed new Government of Ireland with fetters which no nation and no self-governing colony would tolerate. Further, the Bill, with the full approval of the Irish Nationalists themselves, makes Ireland financially dependent upon Great Britain. Yet the conception of a nation essentially implies self-support and self-defence. No man with any true sense of national pride would even for a moment permit his nation to be dependent for its external defence and its internal administration upon the charity of another nation. Possibly some Irish Nationalists may regret the humiliation of such a surrender of the pride of nationhood, but they accept it because they know in their hearts that if they were to suggest that Ireland should pay for her ships and soldiers, her own pensions and her own land purchase, there is not a constituency in Ireland that would return a Nationalist member. On the other hand, the people of Ulster are not only willing to pay for their ideal; they are willing to die for it.

Not on grounds of prejudice, therefore, but on grounds of equity, Great Britain is entitled to decide in favour of the Ulster ideal of a United Kingdom and against the Nationalist ideal of an Irish nation. Once that decision has been pronounced, the way will be clear for the work of construction.

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